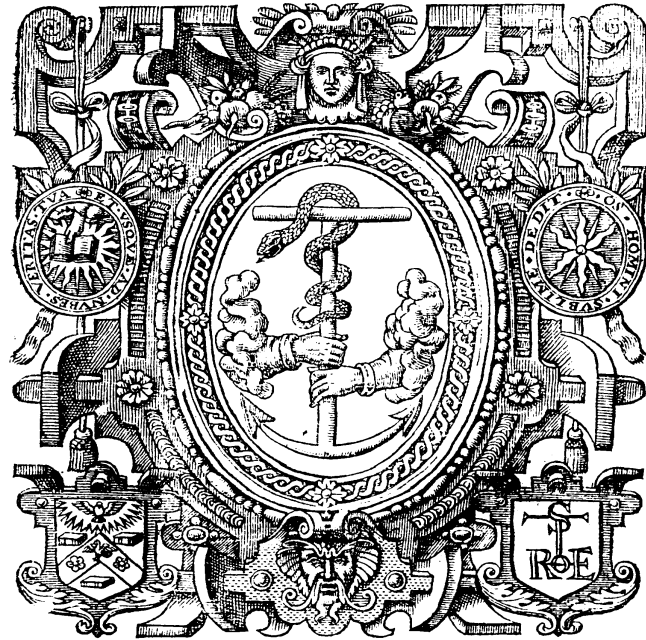


THE
FAMOUS
AND MEMORABLE
WORKES OF JOSEPHVS,
A MAN OF MUCH HONOUR
AND LEARNING AMONG
THE JEWS.

Faithfully translated out of the Latin, and French, by
Tho. Lodge, Doctor in Physicke.

Bernardus Epistola ad Sugerium.

*Tunc recentia incundius bona clarescunt, cum fuerint malis comparata
prioribus.*



Printed by Humfrey Lownes, for G. Bishop,
S. Waterson, and Tho. Adams.

1609.





TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
FATHER OF ARTS AND ARMES, CHARLES

LORD HOWARD, BARON OF EFFINGHAM,

Earle of Nottingham, High Constable of the Castle and Forrest of Windsor,
Lord chiefe Iustice in Eyre of England, Gouvernour and Captaine generall
of all her Maiesties maritime Forts and Castles, High Admirall of Eng-
land and Ireland, Lieutenant of Suffex and Surrey, Knight of the
most noble order of the Garter, and one of her Maie-
sties most honourable priue Councell.



*R*ight Honourable, there is a saying in
Zenophon most worthy the citing and
insight, that matters of worth and con-
sequence are both to be committed and
commended to their trust and protection;
who know the waight and value thereof,
and both can and will defend the same
by Authoritie and Reason. For this cause
and vpon this ground, I haue chosen your
Honour out for a most noble patron of this most famous and accom-
plished Historie of the Jewes: which (for dignitie and antiquitie of the
subiect, the elegancie and puritie of the stile, the choise proprietie and
copie of words, the grauitie and varietie of sentences, the altera-
tions and memorable euent; and lastly, for the birth and dignitie of
the Author) requireth a spirit of no lesse wisdom, courage, and no-
bilitie then your selfe, who haue power to defend, and knowledge to dis-
cerne the worth thereof. Vouchsafe therefore to leuell the eie of your
esteeme vpon the Center of this happy Historie: and as Themistocles
was animated to noble actions by beholding Miltiades Trophees; and
Alexander in seeing Achilles tombe, did grievously sigh with an ho-
nourable emulation: so let the Zeale, magnanimitie, and admirable con-
stancie which euery where affronteth you in this Booke (and raiſeth
the best mindes from the boundlesse troubles of this world, and draweth
eth them into the contemplation of true perfection) so settle your most be-
rable loue & affection to emulate the same, that as for glory in Aeneas yet
with ge-

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

so for preserving and protecting *Artes*, you may outstrip your competitors, and amasse too curious expectation. And in mine opinion the time chalengeth no lesse at your hands: for as your transcendent dignitie and courage hath returned vs a happy baruest in our expected and long possessed peace, as by your second care and diligence next vnder her sacred Maiestie we all reape the fruit and felicitie of blessed abundance; so by your example in reading and respecting both learning and the learned, you shall pull downe that Babel, which confused ignorance hath raised to ouerreach industrie; yea you shall strengthen the weakned abilitie of learning, which (alas the while) is now adadies like a commoditie without request scarce saleable by the hands of a cunning broker. Nothing is more worth money, and lesse in request: onely the worlds blinde creatures (as S. Hierom tearmeth them) the vnlettered, take delight in their errors, whose writings (as Plutarch speaketh of Aristophanes poeme) are written for no moderate mans pleasure. Let therefore your vpriight estimation of this worke (most noble Earle) awaken the dead deuotion of such as contemne *Artes*; and let no such crrrupt drones (as make sale of sinfull thoughts for good marchandise) buz about the biue of true science: But as Emperors, Kings, and Princes haue euer in their Greeke, Italian and French, with a respectiue acceptance, and bountifull hand, entertained this Historie; so let this translation of Iosephus which courteth you now in English, be accepted at your hands, and countenanced by your Honour: for whose vnconfined felicitie both I and other of my name haue euer praied, and will neuer cease to study.

Your Honors vnfaignedly deuoted,

THOMAS LODGE.



TO THE COVRTEOVS READER.

As touching the vse and abuse of Historie.



IF Historie were as easily conceited and made vse of, as (according to *Baldus*) it hath true proportion and documents for the gouernment of mans life; I should hold it no sinne, so precisely to prescribe a limitation and bound, to such as should enter the List, and consult with example: for what more pleasing to our selues, or profitable for societies could euer befall vs, then in this theatre of mans life, (wherein Historie affordeth all sorts of Actors) to sit and learne preuention by other mens perils, and to grow amply wise by forraine wreckes? All which being traduced to our priuate vses, we may either as partners in what we haue past, or obseruers of future casualties, by precedent euent, tie ages to our memories; and preuening our escapes, by suruey of other mens repentance, briefly beget experience by sight, or foresight of worldly casualties, and forme a mirror of forepassed errors, to foreiudge our future calamities. But for that it behoueth vs to enter this worldly Academie, the more prepared, the more that Historie is fraught and fulfilled with plentifull fruite: and whereas the difficultie and difference is alike, to yeeld an vpriight verdict both of a mans owne, and other mens life; neither may any man rightly examine another (how wise soeuer he be) except in equall ballance he weigh his owne imperfections; it must necessarily follow on both sides, that with the more wisdom, and the greater obseruation wee ought to entertaine Historie, least our minde like the winde should wander vncertainly, and our deuotion should preuent our resolution; our esteeme, our knowledge. For as in an ample and well furnished and affluent banquet; although some things, (and they to fewe men) seeme pleasant, other some to other are without taste and seeme tart, and euerie one iudgeth his meate not by prooffe, but by the palate; yet notwithstanding there is a certaine meane, which either Natures ordinarie, or the refined kind of nutriment (being simple and incorrupt) hath fashioned and fixed for most aptest for the bodie; from which whosoever varieth, or either beyond measure, or without iudgement, followeth his foolish appetite, in glutting himselfe beyond discretion, reapeth more incommodie then pleasure by these pleasures: So in the diuersitie of mans life, although a thousand formes, a thousand similitudes bee offered, and that euerie man fashioneth other mens manners to his minde, yet is there but one true path that vertue walketh in, which whosoever tracketh with

THE PREFACE

iudgement, doth truely know the vse of life; whereas they that sit in a plentiful banquet, in affecting all things, can make vse of nothing. Now, how many are there, I pray you, that in respect of either of their owne, or other mens acts & words (according to the rule of vertue) can be more choise in iudging minds, than meates, and that in this matter seemeth not sufficiently instructed? Wherein I wonder that men espie not their errors, whereas they imagine that Historie is the instructor of such as read the same; whereas it onely yeeldeth matter of instruction, even as the banquet ministreth meat according to euerie mans affection. Some therefore are seduced with the sweetnes of the stile, and in seeking their pleasure, lose their profit; who reape no other fruit off Historie, then to beguile time, and beget officious idlenes, laughing away houres, and nourish regent: others in reading glorie, hunt it in a shadow, where if they could make vse of it in proportion, they could not fall to repent it. And whereas no man can aspire to true glorie without true vertue, neither no wise man will hope further: yet see wee many men, that because they haue read many excellent workes, will bee Capricious and pretend wisdom; resembling those tragedians, who will, after they haue discharged themselves of their parts and apparell wherein they counterfained the Emperour, yet retain his Royall and princely manners: Some triuall and light witted, that make an Eclipse of a shadow, make more of the embleme, then the worke; the habit, then the Doctor: So admirable effects worketh History in mens minds. Now whereas it is the most exact and chiefest intent of Historie to awaken mens idlenes, and arme them against casualties, and the whole bent of example hath no other issue; it falleth out thorow mens securitie (who suppose that their neighbours perils concerne them not) that whatsoeuer is of note, is ouerslipped with a deate and sleeping iudgement, and things that memorie should best loue, are lost in her. To conclude, there are some that will haue euerie mans shooe fitted on their owne Last, and tie all mens pens to their owne pleasures: For which cause, partly by reason of this secret, partly thorow this ill ordered, confused and rash method of reading, as of corrupt humours, so is there growen a certaine καχεξία of iudgement and resolution: and as in intemperate bodies, meate yeeldeth very little profit; so reape they no fruit or benefit by their reading. By this, good Reader, thou maist easily conceiue, how a historie ought to be read: how mens liues ought in themselves be examined: finally how equal a proportion is required in both. And truly in my opinion, the chiefest ground of this difficultie, is the peruersnes of our iudgements: which is the cause, we rather respect our owne inclinations what they are, then the true life and force of example. Furthermore, this is no lesse miserie then the former, that such as write, set downe such things as are acted, not onely for our profit sake, but to feede their owne humours: and like to certaine Archirets (by interposing their iudgements) doe vainely praise some things, supposing that our imitation should be tied to their pleasure; where if they performed what they ought to do, the Reader should encounter with no such distractions: but now, in like manner as Cookes, who rather respect their masters pleasurable taste, then his profit; would God the Historiographer did not affect flatterie. It therefore appeareth, that in two sorts (first in our owne iudgement; and next to the preiudice of those that write) wee are circumuented; in that they

TO THE READER.

they set not downe such euents as passe, in their owne nature and as they are. For he that writeth an Historie, is the interpretour of those things that are past: whose iudgement beeing depraued, it fareth with him as with the purest & most richest wine, which waxeth mustie by reason of that vessell wherein it is inclosed, or is by sophistication corrupted: which is the greatest folly, & most intollerable deceit that may befall men. They therefore, who negligently vndertake a History, (or suppose that life were to be past rashly, and without an exact obseruance of all offices) are no lesse deceiued then certaine countrey peasants in the last troubles of France (of whose follie I drewe some example) who attempting and entring vpon a citie not far off from them, and lighting into an Apothecaries shop furnished with all kinde of drugs and dainties, and being allured by the pleasure, odours and delight of the confections they tasted; and supposing all to be of the same kind, deuoured, tasted, and swallowed downe euerie thing: wherevpon some fell sicke of feauers, some grew phrensie, and many lost their liues to please their appetites; at leastwise, he that scaped best, gaue occasion of laughter to the lookers on. For as life, so Historie (the image of life) is fraught with pleasure, and displeasure; and onely in the vse of life, the wisdom of life consisteth. Farewell: vse this, and my selfe, as two twinnes borne for thy profit.

Thine, THOMAS LODGE,





The Titles of all such Bookes as are contained in this Historie.

1. *A Historie in twentie bookes, wherein the Antiquitie of the Jewes is discovered.*
2. *Seuen bookes of the Warres of the Jewes.*
3. *Two bookes against Appion the Grammarian, in Iustification of the Antiquitie of the Jewes.*
4. *A booke as touching the memorable martyrdome of the Machabees.*
5. *Iosephus Life. Written by himselfe all.*



*A brieſe Computation of time, very profitable and neceſſarie
to the underſtanding of the Historie.*

From <i>Adam</i> vntill the Deluge, there were yeeres	1656
From the Deluge vntill <i>Abrahams</i> time	292
From <i>Abraham</i> vntill the departure out of <i>Egypt</i>	500
From the departure out of <i>Egypt</i> , vntill the building of the Temple by <i>Salomon</i>	480
From the building of the Temple, vntill the captiuitie in <i>Babylon</i>	410
From the returne from the captiuitie, vntill the Machabees time	432
From the Machabees time, vntill <i>Herods</i>	134
From <i>Herods</i> time, vntill the finall and farall deſtruction of <i>Ieruſalem</i>	103

The Jewes haue two ſorts of yeeres: the Politique ſort, which beginneth in September; and the Sacred or Eccleſiaſtique, which beginneth in March. They haue twelue Moneths or Moones, euerie third yeere hath a thirteenth Moneth of 22. daies, and the fourth yeere hath a thirteenth moneth of 23. daies. Before the captiuitie of *Babylon*, they accounted the moneths ſucceſſively by 1. 2. 3. &c. ſince their returne they haue named them rather after the maner of the Chaldees then Hebrewes.

The Hebrew.	The Engliſh.	The Greeke.
<i>Niſan</i>	March	<i>Andineon</i>
<i>Ziu or Iar</i>	Aprill	<i>Peritien</i>
<i>Sinan</i>	May	<i>Diſtro</i>
<i>Tamuz.</i>	Iune	<i>Xantique</i>
<i>Ab</i>	Iuly	<i>Arthemifon</i>
<i>Elul</i>	Auguſt	<i>Deſien</i>
<i>Ethanin or Tiſti</i>	September	<i>Panema</i>
<i>Bul or Markeſuan</i>	October	<i>Loie</i>
<i>Caſſeu</i>	November	<i>Gorpien</i>
<i>Thebet</i>	December	<i>Hiperbereto</i>
<i>Sebat</i>	Ianuarie	<i>Dien</i>
<i>Adar,</i>	Februarie.	<i>Apelleen.</i>

This nation in their beginning, was gouerned
by Iudges.

<i>Mofes</i>	<i>Iair</i>
<i>Iofuah</i>	<i>Ieptha</i>
<i>Othoniel</i>	<i>Abſan</i>
<i>Aod</i>	<i>Eton</i>
<i>Barnu and Debora</i>	<i>Abdon</i>
<i>Gedeon</i>	<i>Samſon</i>
<i>Abimelech</i>	<i>Eli</i>
<i>Thola</i>	<i>Samuel</i>

After them, they had theſe Kings.

<i>Saul</i>	<i>Ochozias</i>
<i>Dauid</i>	<i>Atthalia</i>
<i>Salomon</i>	<i>Ioas</i>
<i>Roboam</i>	<i>Amasias</i>
<i>Abia</i>	<i>Ozias</i>
<i>Aſa</i>	<i>Ioathan</i>
<i>Iofaphas</i>	<i>Achaz</i>
<i>Ioram</i>	<i>Ezechias</i>

<i>Manaſſes</i>	<i>Eluachim</i>
<i>Amon</i>	<i>Ioachim</i>
<i>Iofias</i>	<i>Zedeckias</i>
<i>Ioachas</i>	

The Captiuitie of *Babylon* continued 70. yeeres.
Gouernors after the Captiuitie.

<i>Zorobabel</i>	<i>Nagge</i>
<i>Rheſa</i>	<i>Hagaieli</i>
<i>Iehan Ben Reſa</i>	<i>Naum</i>
<i>Iudas Hyrcanus</i>	<i>Amos</i>
<i>Iofeph</i>	<i>Matthathias</i>
<i>Abner</i>	<i>Iofeph Arſes</i>
<i>Heli</i>	<i>Iannes Hircanus</i>
<i>Mabat</i>	<i>Matthathias.</i>

The Machabees, who haue been both Gouernors
and Priests,

<i>Iudas</i>	<i>Simon</i>
<i>Jonathan</i>	<i>Iohn Hyrcanus</i>

Theſe

These following have been both Kings and Priests.

Aristobulus 1.	Hyrcanus
John Alexander	Aristobul. the son of Arist.
Alexandra	Aristobulus 3.
Aristobulus 2.	Hyrcanus.

The race of Herod.

Antipater	Archelaus the great
Herod the great	Agrippa the son of Agrippa

The names of such as were high Priests, from the time of their departure out of Egypt, vntill the building of the Temple which was made by Salomon.

Aaron	Achitob
Eleazar	Achimetelech
Phineas	Abiathar
Abisua	Sadoc
Buquis	Achimaeas
Ose	Azarias.

From the building of the Temple, vntill the Captiuitie of Babylon.

Ioram	Urias
Iofes	Nerias
Axiorath	Odeas
Sudeas	Sellum
Ioabab	Helcias

From their returne out of Babylon, vntill the Machabees time.

Sarata	Isada
Iofedech	Jonathan
Iofua	Iadus
Ioachim	Onias 1.
Eliasib	Simon 1.
Eleazar	Iafon
Manasses	Onias 4.
Onias 3.	Elymachus
Simon 2.	Alcimus
Onias 3.	

High Priests since the Machabees time, vntill the last destruction and ouerthrow of that Citie and Nation.

Simon Boethus	Iofeph 3.
Iofeph 1.	Ananias
Iofeph 2.	Ismael
Ioazar	Iofeph
Eleazar	Annas
Iofuah the son of Sias	Eleazar
Ioazar	Simon
Ananus	Iofeph Caiphas
Ismael	Jonathan
Theophilus	Iofuah the son of Damneus
Simon	Iofuah the son of Gamaliel
Matthias	Matthias
Eliam	Phineas or Panaas

Kings of Israel, otherwise called Kings of the ten Tribes, or of Samaria.

Ieroboam 1.	Ioabaz
Nadab	Ioas
Baasa	Ieroboam 2.
Ela	Zacharie
Zamri	Manahem
Omri	Pecha the son of Manahem
Achab	Pecha the son of Romelias
Ioram	Oseas
Iehu	

Kings of Assyria and Babylon.

Phulbelechus	Nabuchodonosor 1.
Phulassar	Nabuchodonosor the great
Salmanassar	Eulmerodach
Sennacherib	Neriglissorar
Assaradon	Labofardach
Berodach Benmerodach	Balsassar.

Kings of Persia.

Cyrus	Zerxes
Cambyses	Sogdianus
Smerdes Magus.	Darius the bastard
Darius the son of Hystaspis	Artaxerxes Mnemon
Zerxes the son of Darius	Artaxerxes Ochus
Artabanus the tyrant	Arfames
Artaxerxes with a long beard	Darius the son of Arfames

Kings of Syria, after the death of Alexander the great.

Selencus Nicanor	Alexander Epiphanes
Antiochus Soter	Demetrius Nicanor
Antiochus surnamed God	Antiochus Sedetes
Selencus Callinicus	Demetrius Nicanor
Selencus Ceraunus	Alexander Zebina
Antiochus the great	Antiochus Gryphus
Selencus Philopator	Antiochus Cyrenenus
Antiochus Epiphanes	Selencus Gryphius
Antiochus Eupator	Antiochus Pius.
Demetrius Soter	

The Kings of Egypt, after the death of Alexander the great.

Ptolomey Soter	Euergetes Phiscon
Philadelphus	Lathyrus
Euergetes	Alexander
Philopator	Auletes
Epiphanes	Cleopatra
Philometor	

Kings of the Tyrians.

Abibalus	Phelletes
Hiram	Ithoballus
Belaftartus	Badezor
Abdaftartus	Mertimius
Aftartus.	Pigmahon.
Aftartimus	

For the better understanding of the Coines and Measures, whereof there is some mention made in this Historie, obserue I pray you that which followeth.

Sath was a measure containing about some seuen pintes French.

The Ephra contained three Saths.

The Core or Homer contained ten Ephas, that is to say thirty Saths, and was the same measure both in drie and liquid things.

The Log contained a French measure.

The Hin contained twelue Logs.

The Bath contained as much as the Ephra.

The Cad was a kinde of pitcher containing such a quantitie as a young maiden might well carrie.

The common Sicke contained the waight of foure ounces, whether it were of gold, siluer, or of any other metall.

The sacred or holy Sicke waighed halfe an ounce of any metal whatsoever.

The common Sicke of siluer was valued at about some shilling of our money.

The holy Sicke of siluer was valued at about some two shillings.

The common Drachme was the eight part of an ounce.

The sacred Drachme was the fourth part of an ounce.

The pound waighed twelue ounces.

The ordinarie Talent contained fiftie foure pounds, eight ounces, and a quarter of Troy waight in any metall: yet was it not currant money, but a masse made vp after the manner of an ingot.

The sacred Talent contained one hundred pounds.

Furthermore note this for your better knowledge, that when as Iosephus quoteth the Olympiades without any specification of the yeeres therein contained, he ordinarily comprehendeth the space of foure yeeres complet.

Furthermore, where the Latin word *Stadium* hath diuers significations amongst both Greekes and Latins (as the controuersie betweene Plinie and Diadorus Siculus may wel testifie) and for that diuers of our English translators haue sometimes called it a Stade, otherwhiles a Stound, and otherwhiles improperly, a Furlong; I pray you in reading this Historie, whereas any of these words occur, suppose them for one and the same measure of ground, and according to the Greekes account, (which I suppose Iosephus most respected in this Historie) conclude it to be either of 600. foote as the Olympique, that is of 120. paces, or as the Pyrrhique, which contained 1000. foote, that is 200. paces. As for the Furlong, either multiply him 8. times to make him a Stade, or as an ouersight in the printing, let it passe with the Errata.

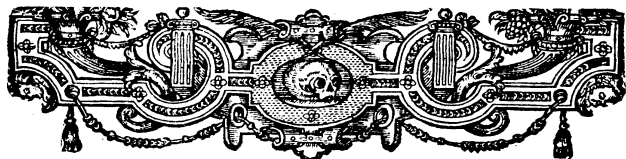
The names of those Authors which are alleaged in this Historie.

A	E	M
Acusilans	Ephorus	Maftas
Agatharcides	Eubemerns	Mochus
Alexander	Enpolumus	N
Andrew	H	Nicholas of Damas
Appian	Hecateus	P
Apollonius Melo	Helanics	Pherecydes
Apollodorus	Hermippus	Philon
Arifhanes	Hermogenes	Philoftratus
Aristens	Herodotus	Polybins
Aristotle	Hefiodus	Polycrates
B	Hefianus	Pofidonius
erofus	Hierom of Egypt	Pythagoras.
C	Homer	S
Cadmus	Hyperochides.	Serabo.
Caftor	I	T
Cheremon	Isidore.	Thales
Charilus	L	Theodotus
Clearchus	Titus Linius	Theophilus
Conon	Lyfimachus	Theopompus.
D	M	Theophrastus
Demetrius Phalereus	Manethon	Thucydides
Dinn	Menander	Timaeus
		Z
		Zopyriem.



Francif. Patritius de Regno, lib. 2. cap. 10.

Historiarum cognitio Regibus, Ducibus, Imperatoribus et omnibus principibus perquam necessaria habenda est: quam Cicero appellat testem temporum, vitæ Magistrum, veram memoriæ et veritatis nunciam.



A



B

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE MOST AVNCIENT HISTORY OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY JOSEPH THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS.

A most excellent Preface, containing the causes which induced the Author to write this Historie, together with the contents and intents of the same.

C

CHAP. I.



D

HEY that indeuour themselves to write Histories, seeme not (in my opinion) to haue one and the same intent and motiue, but diuers and verie different causes of their labours: for some of them are addicted to this studie, vnder pretence to exemplifie their eloquence, and vnder hope to purchase glory thereby; othersome to the end to giue them content, whose worthy actions they couch and commend in their writings, haue intermitted no time nor (to their power) spared no labour. Some there are that haueing bene present in person, and eye-witnesses in the execution of great affaires, haue necessarily bene enforced to reduce and digest the same in writing: neither wanted there some who seeing occurrences of high and necessary consequence

(which otherwise had bene buried in ignorance) haue bene incited (in respect of common good) to imploy both hand and head, in the publishing thereof: now of these forenamed causes, the two last are they that incited me to the like. For the warre which wee had with the Romans, and the accidents and issues on both parts, (all which in person I beheld, and to my perill I haue learned) do compell me to declare the same; and the rather for that there are some, who in their writings, haue deprauid, and peruered the truth. I haue therefore taken this worke in hand, for that in my opinion the knowledge thereof, will be both pleasing and profitable to the Græcians: for it shall contain the antiquitie of our whole nation, their forme of common-weale, both translated and gathered out of the Antiquities and Chronicles of the Hebrews. Truth it is, that heretofore, and at such time also as I composed the History of the foresaid warre, I had projected and purposed with my selfe, to lay open to the world, how & whence the Iewes had their first originall, what alterations in fortune they had fallne into, by what lawmaker they had been instructed in piety, and incited to the exercise of vertue: how many warres they haue sustained by long and diuers times, and finally how against their will they haue been intangled in this last warre, which they waged against the Romans. But for that the content of this matter, was too ample and copious, I haue separated it apart, assigning therunto this treatise accomplished from the beginning euen vnto the end: afterwards in proesse of time (as it vsually hapneth to those that attempt matters of mighty consequence) I was surprized with a certain delay, and slothfulness that withdrew me from the translation of so waighy a matter, in an vnfamiliar and forraign language. Yet some there were, who inflamed with a desire of knowledge, animated me in this

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A. j.

action

action; and especially *Epaphroditus*, a man enamoured of all learning, and who in especial, took G
it for a pleasure, to take knowledge of the diuers occurrences of common weales: as he that had
beene agent, in diuers affayres of importance, and sundry accidents, in al which he hath shewed
a marvellous magnanimitie of courage, with an vnmoveable resolution to follow vertue. Being
thus perswaded by him, who is accustomed to incourage those vnto good actions, whom hee
perceiueth to be apt and prepared to performe things profitable and honest: and (that which is
more) being ashamed in my selfe, that I should rather take delight to follow idlenesse, than ad-
dict my selfe to any laudable exercise; I inforced my selfe more courageously then before time,
and (besides all that which hath been spoken) I haue effectually considered with my selfe, that our
ancestors haue thought good to communicate and publish the knowledge of our Histories to
the Grecians, if so be that any of them were curious to vnderstand the same. I haue found there- H
fore that *Ptolemy* king of Egypt the second of the name (highly affectioned to good letters,
and desirous to store and gather bookes) was earnestly desirous, that our lawe and the rules
thereof, and the prescript forme of our liuing should bee translated into the Greeke tongue.
And as touching the hie Priest *Eleazar* (who hath not beene second in vertue to any other what-
soeuer) he refused not to make the said King partaker of the effect of his desire: to which he had
wholly contradicted, had it not beene the ordinarie course of our ancestors, nor to conceale
from other men, what thing soeuer was honest. For which cause I haue helde it a matter no
waies vndeceit for me, to follow the vertuous courage of that same great sacrificer, and the
rather for that at this day (only in as much as concerned learning) I supposed many alio to be I
no lesse affected to good letters then the king: for he vnderooke not to haue all the writings
which we had, but those translators who were sent vnto him to Alexandria, did onely com-
municate that vnto him which was in our lawe. But those things that are found written in the
sacred bookes of holy scripture are infinite, being such as containe in them, the Historie of
fue thousand yeares: in which diuers vnexpected chances, sundry fortunes of warre, and many
changes of politike estates are discovered. In summe, if any one haue a desire to read this Histo-
rie, hee shall principally learne and apprehend, that all things fall out happily, and beyond their
expectation to those men, who obserue the will of God, and are affraide to transgresse the
lawes of his commandements; and that God hath prepared for such the crowne and reward
of felicitie. Contrariwise, if they shall depart from the diligent obseruance thereof, that which
is easie shall be made impossible, and their endeouours in their opinion good, shall end in in- K
calculable calamities. For which cause I exhort all those that shall reade these bookes, to fixe their
mind vpon God, and that they approue our law-maker, if (as it worthily deserued) hee hath
considered the diuine Nature; and attributed to the same such actions as are alwaies agreeable
to his power, and hath kept and continued his narration, free from the vanitie of fables, wher-
with others are poisoned: although in respect of the length of time, and the antiquitie of things,
hee might without controule faigne and imagine whatsoeuer vanities: for hee was borne more
then two thousand yeares ago, which is a continuance of ages, to which the Poets neither durst
refferre the originall of their Gods; neither the deeds or lawes of men, whereof they make men-
tion. But in pursuit of our Historie, the sequell of our discourse, shall declare all things exactly,
and in conuenient order. For in compiling this worke, I haue promised to adde nothing, nei- L
ther to pretermitt any thing: and for that all whatsoeuer we shall declare, doth almost wholly de-
pend on the wisdom of our law-maker *Moses*; it is necessarie before all other things, that I
speake somewhat of himselfe, least perhaps any man should wonder how this labour hauing
beene enterpriued, to discover the words and workes of certaine persons, is also imploied for
the greatest part in describing and discovering things that are naturall. We ought therefore to
know, that *Moses* thought it most especially necessarie, either for him that will rightly dispose
his life, or impose lawes to other men, that first and in especial he haue the knowledge of the
nature of God; to the ende that conceiuing in his minde the greatnes of his workes; hee
might as much as in him lyeth, imitate his most vnequall example; and followe him with M
all diligence. For it is impossible, that a law-maker being voide of this contemplation, should
haue good sense; or that his writings should bee of any moment to induce them vnto vertue,
who should receiue those lawes, except before all things they should learne, that God who is
the father and Lord of all, and that seeth all, giueth happie life vnto those that follow him; and
contrariwise inuironeth them with great calamities, who forsake the way of vertue and righte-
ousnesse. *Moses* therefore intending to instruct his Citizeus in this doctrine, began not his ordi-
nances with the treatise of contracts, and couenants, which we practise one with another, as
other

- A other law-makers were accustomed to do: but he hath lifted their spirits on high to the end they
might thinke on God, and on the ornament of this world made by him, perfwading that the most
accomplished worke amongst all those things which God had made in the world, was the creation
of vs men. After that he had made them capable of things concerning piety; then might he more
easily perfwade them in the rest: Whereas other law-makers, addicting themselves vnto fables,
haue in their discourse imposed on their gods the infamy of sins committed by men, and by that
meanes haue brought to pass, that the wicked sort are yet more wicked and addicted to euill do-
ing. But as touching our law-maker, after he had declared that God had in himself all vertue pure,
and vnspotted, hee hath thought good that men also should endeavour themselves to be partakers
of the same, and on those that neither conceiue nor believe those things, he inflicteth a grieuous
B and inexorable punishment: I exhort the reader therefore to examine our writings according to
this Maxime: for to those that consider after this manner, nothing shall seeme either absurd, or vn-
worthy the magnificence of God; by reason that all things haue their disposition conformable
to the vniuersall nature, which our Law-maker hath declared sometimes obscurely, sometimes in
conuenient allegories: grauely; and otherwise expressing that manifestly, and publishing that in
plaine words, which he ought openly to make knowne. The causes whereof if any man would
search, he might find a most deep and very Philosophicall contemplation; which I ouerslip at this
present, without longer staying thereon: but if God shall giue me time I will inforce my selfe to
compose it in a volume as soone as I shall haue finished this worke. For this present then I will ap-
ply my selfe, to expose those things which haue been done, beginning at the creation of the world,
C according as *Moses* hath spoken, and I haue found it written in the holy Scriptures, which testifie
and intreat to this effect as followeth.

CHAP. II.

The Creation of the world.

- I**N the beginning, God created heauen & earth. Now the earth, not being subiect to light, Anno mundi. 1.
but couered with thicke darknesse, and traueried with an ayre comming from high: God before the Nati-
commanded that there should be light; and after the light was made hauing considered uity of Christ,
D the vniuersall matter, he separated the light from the darkenesse, and named the darkenesse, Night, 2963.
and the light Day; calling the Morning the beginning of the day, and the Euening the time wher- Genes. 1.
in we cease from trauell, and this was the first day vvhich *Moses* in his language called a day, wher- Hedio & Ruf-
of at this present I could giue a sufficient reason: but for that in a particular discourse I haue promi- finus, chap. 1.
sed to write the generall causes of all; I will referre the declaration thereof, to his conuenient time & The creatio of
place. After this, the second day, he placed the heauen aboue all the world, and hauing separated the world.
it from other things, he thought good to giue it a place apart; and making it firme by the means of The first day.
a Crystalline matter, he endowed it with a quality moist & rainy, and did harmoniously accord The second
the earth with it, to the end the increase thereof should be watered by dewes. The third day, he day.
firmly established the earth, spreading the sea round about the same; and the same day, he with a The third day.
E word caused all plants and seeds to spring vpon the face of the earth. The fourth day, he embelli- The fourth
shed the heauens with the Sunne, the Moone and the Starres, ordaining them their morions and day.
courses by which the seasons orderly ensuing, might be distinguisht. In the fifth day, he made all The fifth day
kind of liuing creatures which dwell vpon the face of the earth, as well they that swimme in the The sixth day
deepest waters, as those that flie in the ayre; vnitng them together by couples and paires, to the The sixth day
end that each in their kinde, might increase and multiply. The sixth day, he made all four-footed The sixth day
beasts, and distinguisht them into male and female: and in the same day, he formed man. So that
Moses saith, that the world and all that is therein was made in fixe whole dayes; and that on the 7-
day, God took rest and ceased from his labours. By reason wherof we likewise desist from trauell
on that day vvhich we call Sabbath, vvhich is to say, Repose. Sabbathum.
F After the seventh day, *Moses* began to describe the originall of man and the manner of his
Creation in these rearmes: God framed man of the dust of the earth, and poured into him a spi- Hedio & Ruf-
rit and soule, vvhich man vvas called *Adam*, an Hebreu word signifying ruddly, because he Hedio & Ruf-
vvas made of earth, tempered vvith red or yellovv: for the earth vvhich is rightly called a virgin, finus, chap. 1.
that is to say, earth not remoued but elementary, is of that colour. Then brought God all kinde Genes. 2.
of liuing creatures before *Adam*, thevving him as well the male as the female: on vvhome *Adam* The first ma-
bestowd those names, vvhich to this present time they retaine. And seeing that *Adam* had no ming of all
female creatures,

The year of the world, 1. before Christs Nativity, 3963. Eue the mother of all liuing creatures. Paradise.

The 4 foulds of Paradise. The 1. *Phison* or *Ganges*. *Phison*, *Hed. Selh.* 2. *Euphrates*. 3. *Tygris*. 4. *Gihon*, *Rhins*. *Hedio & Rufinus*. chap. 3.

The subtiltie of the Serpent

Adam and Eua's fall.

God speaketh vnto Adam.

Adam asketh pardon.

Adams punishment. Eua's punishment. The seed of the woman (that is Christs) shall bruise the Serpents head. *Genes. 3.* The Serpents punishment. * Iosephs ignorance in vnderstanding this place of Scripture.

female to accompanie and liue with him (for as yet there was no woman) and for that he thought it strange, that all other liuing creatures had their companions: God tooke one of his ribs from him at such time as he slept, and of the same he formed a woman; who beeing brought before him, he did acknowledge that she was made for him. Now in Hebrew a woman is called *Tha*, but this was called *Eua*, which is as much to say, as the mother of all liuing creatures. He declarerth also, that God planted in the East a garden, flourishing and adorned with all sorts of plants, amongst which was the tree of life, and an other the tree of intelligence, by which was knowne both good and euill. And after he had brought *Adam* and his wife into this garden, he commanded them to keepe and cherish the plants. Now this garden is wared by a riuer that runneth the whole earth, which diuideth it selfe into 4. chanelis or riuers. That which is called *Phison* (which name signifieth abundance or multitude) floweth by the land of India, and entereth into the great sea, and is by the Greekes called *Ganges*. As touching *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, they flow into the red sea. *Euphrates* is called *Phora* (that is to say disperſion or flower.) *Tygris* is called *Diſlat* (which signifieth streight and swift.) *Gehon* runneth by the countrey of Aegypt, and signifieth as much as coming from the East: the Greekes call it *Nilus*. Now God commanded *Adam* and his wife to eate of the fruites of all other plants, and that they should abstaine from that of science; telling them, that at what time ſoeuer they should taſte of the ſame, they ſhould die the death. Whereas then at that time, all liuing creatures were at accord one with another, the Serpent conuerſing with *Adam* and his wife, was inflamed with enuie, for that hee ſaw they ſhould be happy if they continued in the obſeruatiō of Gods commandements: and that contrariwiſe, they ſhould caſt themſelues headlong into ruine and deſtruction, if they ſhould diſobey the ſame. He therefore maliciously perſwaded the woman, to taſte the fruit of the tree of intelligence, giuing her to vnderſtand, that the knowledge of good and euill was in the ſame; and that as ſoone as they had taſted thereof, they ſhould lead a life no leſſe happie then Gods: and by this meanes he cauſed the woman to fill, which tooke no regard of the ordinance of God. For hauing her ſelfe taſted of this fruit, and finding it pleaſant and delicious in taſte, ſhe perſwaded her husband alſo to taſte the ſame: at which time they vnderſtood that they were naked, & ſought meanes to couer themſelues: (for this fruit had in it ſelfe, the vernie to giue vnderſtanding, and to quicken the thought.) Then couered they themſelues with fig leaues, which they put before their priuities, eſteeming themſelues more happie then they were before, in that they had found out that which they wanted. But when as God came into the garden, *Adam* (who before times was accuſtomed familiarly to talke with him) finding himſelfe guiltie of ſinne, hid himſelfe from his preſence: but God wondring hereat, asked him for what cauſe hee fled and ſhunned him at that time, whereas before time hee had taken pleaſure to talke familiarly with him? *Adam* knowing that he had tranſgreſſed the ordinances and commandements of God, answered him not a word, but God ſpake vnto him after this manner: I had prouided for you the meanes whereby you might haue led your life without ſufferance of any euill, or ſenſe of any miſery: ſo that all whatſoeuer was requiſite for neceſſitie or pleaſure, might happen of it ſelfe vnto you, by my onely prouidence, without any trauell or care on your parts; which if you had well vſed, age had not ſo ſoone ouertaken you, but that you might haue liued many yeares: but thou haſt ſcorned this mine ordinance, and broken my commandement. For in that thou art ſilent at this time, it proceedeth not of vertue, but of euill; of which thou findeſt thy ſelfe culpable: wherefore both olde age ſhall quicklier come vpon thee, and the daies of thy life ſhall be ſhortened. *Adam* excuſed his ſinne, and required at Gods hands, that hee would not be incenſed againſt him, laying the fault of that which had happened, on his wife, alledging that hee had offended by reaſon he was ſuborned by her: and the woman accuſed the Serpent. But at that time God puniſhed him, becauſe hee had ſuffered himſelfe to be overcome by the counſaile of a woman; that the earth thence forward neuer more of her owne accord ſhould bring forth fruit: but that when they had trauailed and almoſt deuoured themſelues in labour, it ſhould ſometimes giue them foode, and at other times reſuſe to ſuſtaine them. And as touching *Eue*, he chaſtiſed her with child-bearing, and throes in trauell, for that beeing her ſelfe deceiued by the Serpent, ſhe had drawne her husband by the ſame meanes into extreame miſerie. He tooke alſo from the Serpent his voice, and was diſpleaſed againſt him, * by reaſon of the malice hee had conceiued againſt *Adam*, and hee put venome on his tongue, declaring him an enimie both to man and woman; whom hee commanded to bruſe the head of the Serpent, as well for that the euill which chanced vnto men conſiſted in the head, as alſo in that being aſſaulted in that part he is moſt eaſily done to death. Moreouer hauing depriued him

him of his ſeete, hee condemned him to ſlide and traile himſelfe along the earth. And after that God had ordained them to ſuffer thoſe puniſhments, hee tranſlated *Adam* and *Eue* out of the garden into another place.

CHAP. III.

Of the Poſteritie of Adam: and of the ten ages euen vnto the Deluge.

B Vt *Adam* & *Eue* had two male children, the firſt whereof was called *Cain* (which ſignifieth acquisition) and the ſecond was called *Abel* (which is as much to ſay as mourning) they had alſo daughters. Theſe brothers addicted themſelues each one of them to their particular exerciſes. *Abel* the younger honoured iuſtice, and (ſuppoſing that *God* was preſent in all his actions) hee alwaies and wholly fixed his thoughts on vertue: and his exerciſe was keeping of ſheepe. But *Cain* (being the wickedſt man amongst men, and addicted to vnſatiable deſire of profit) was hee that firſt found out the vſe of the Plough, and who killed his brother for the cauſe which inſueth. Hauing concluded among themſelues to ſacrifice vnto *God*, *Cain* offered the fruites of his labour, and planting; *Abel* preſented milke, and the firſlings of his ſolde: which ſacrifice of his, was more acceptable to *God*, in that it rather conſiſted of things produced of themſelues by the order of Nature, then that which a couetous man had forcibly in a manner extorted from Nature. Hereupon *Cain* (being wroth becauſe his brother *Abel* was more honoured by *God* then himſelfe) ſlew his brother; and hauing hidden his body cut off ſight, he thought that ſuch a murder ſhould be concealed. But *God* (knowing well this fact) appeared to *Cain*, and queſtioned with him as concerning his brother, what might become of him, for that many daies ſince he had not ſene him; when as heretofore he had alwaies ſene him conuerſant before him. *Cain* (being troubled, and ignorant what anſwer hee ſhould make vnto *God*) ſaid firſt that hee wondered what was the cauſe his brother was ſo long time abſent: and finally, agreed in that *God* continued the queſt, and did more exactly ſeek after him; hee ſaid he was not his brothers keeper, or bound to take care of his affaires. Then *God* reprobred and conuicted *Cain* of murdering his brother, and ſpake vnto him after this manner, ſaying, that he wondered he ſhould denie the knowledge of his brothers death, whereas he himſelfe had ſlaine him: notwithstanding he acquitted him of the puniſhment deſerued for this murder, by reaſon that *Cain* had done ſacrifice, and made requeſt vnto *God*, that it might pleaſe him to remit ſomewhat of the ſeueritie of his iuſtice againſt him: yet did *God* curſe him, and threaten to puniſh his ſucceſſors to the ſeventh generation. Then did hee driue him and his wife out of that countrey: whereat being affrighted (for feare hee ſhould be encountered and taken by ſome ſavage beaſt, and that he ſhould periſh after that ſort) *God* commanded him to ſuſpect no dangerous euent for that cauſe, aſſuring him that he might ſafely trauaile thorow all regions, without being either aſſaulted or ſeaſed by ſavage beaſts: and hauing ſet his marke vpon him, by which hee might be knowne; hee commanded him to depart the countrey. After that *Cain* (accompanied with his wife) had trauailed thorow diuers regions, hee builded *Nais* (it was a place ſo named) and made his aboad therein, and in that place had children. But hee receiued not this chaſtiſement for his better amendment, but rather became worſe and worſe: for hee abandoned himſelfe to all pleaſures of the bodie, making it his ſport to outrage thoſe with whom hee conuerſed, filling his houſe with riches gotten by rapine and violence; and inciting other men to follow his pleaſures and thefts, he became their Lord and maſter of all miſchieuous exerciſes: hee ouerthrew that ſimplicitie which men before that time had vſed in their mutuall ſocieties, by the inuentions of meaſures and weights; the ignorance whereof was the cauſe that the life of man was eſtranged from deceite: but in ſteede and place of free and auncient courage hee introduced fraud and deceit. Hee it was that firſt bounded the fields, and builded the firſt Citie, and made wall and a rampire, enforcing his followers to dwell therein. This Citie was named *Enos*, by the name of *Enos* his firſt begotten ſonne. But *Iared* was the ſonne of *Enos*, of *Enos* the firſt ſonne of *Malehel*, whoſe ſonne was *Mathſala*, who begotte *Lamech*, who had 77. children by his two wiues *Sella* and *Ada*: amongst whom *Iobel* the ſonne of *Ada* was the firſt that made Tents, and tooke delight to leade a paſtorall life; contenting himſelfe with the ſame. *Iubal* his brother germaine exerciſed muſicke, and inuented the Plaſterie and the Harpe. And as touching *Thobel* one of his ſonnes, by his other wife, hee ſurpaſſed all other his brethren in force, & brauely managed the affaires of warre, by which waies hee got more ample riches, and meanes to maintaine his life with more pleaſure. Hee it was that firſt inuented the Art of forging, and the ſhop alſo: and was father to a daughter named *Naama*. But *Lamech* being well exerciſed in Gods

6 In the year of the world 700. before Christ's birth: Cain the first-born of Adam, and his brother Abel, were both of them wicked, and they were both of them murderers. Cain the first-born of Adam, and his brother Abel, were both of them wicked, and they were both of them murderers. Cain the first-born of Adam, and his brother Abel, were both of them wicked, and they were both of them murderers.

But *Adam*, the first man made of earth (for the Historie requireth that I should returne to speake of him) after the death of *Abel*, and the flight of *Cain*, betooke himselfe to beget children, highly affecting succession and posteritie, being about the age of two hundredth and thirty yeeres: besides which, after he had liued some seuen hundredth more, at last hee died: amongst whose children (which were many) hee had *Seth*. And for that it were to long to speake of all of them, I will onely touch that which concerneth *Seth*: He being nourished and trained vp by his father to the yeeres of discretion; studied vertue, and left his succession heires, and followers, of his fanetrie: who being all of them well borne, remained in the world free from all contention, and liued happily: so that it neuer happened that any of them in any sort did iniurie to any man. These inuented the science of the celestiall bodies, and all that which concerneth the beauty and order of the lump. And to the end that their inuentions should not be defaced out of the memories of men, neither should perish before they were perfectly knowne: (inasmuch as *Adam* had foretold them of the generall destruction of all things after two sorts, the one by the force of fire, and the other by the violence and abundance of waters) they made two pillars; the one of bricke, and the other of stone; and ingraued in each of them such things as they had inuented, to the end if that of bricke should be abolished by the ouerflowes and rage of waters, that other of stone should remaine, and expresse vnto men that which was imprinted therein for their instruction. That of bricke then was consecrated by them, and is in the countrey of *Lycia* euen at this present day.

CHAP. IIII.

The Deluge from which Noe and his family esaped, and dwelt in the field of Sennar.

7 IN this manner persecuted they during the course of seuen ages, honouring one God, the Lord of all things, hauing alwaies a respect of vertue. But afterwards in proceesse of time, they degenerated from the auncient institutions of their forefathers, neither observing humane lawes, neither continuing their accustomed seruice of God; and they that before time indolently exercised themselves in vertue, afterward with wife as zealous studie followed wickednesse; and grew at last to that height of impietie, that they prouoked Gods heauie displeasure against them. For diuers Angels of God accompanying themselves with women begendred outrageous infants, and contemners of all good, by reason of that trust they had in their forces, whose hainous actions were not much vnlike those which the Greekes haue in their fables stained of the Giants. But *Noah* perplexed and extremely displeased with such their misdemeanors, exhorted them to change their thoughts, and amend their misdeeds: and (seeing them mollified by no admonitions; but that they were wholly possessed with the pleasure which they tooke in vices) hee fearing lest they should kill him and his familie, left them to their loosenes, and with his wife, children, and all his familie departed into an other countrey. Then God (delighting in the iustice of man) not onely condemned the men of that age of extreme malice, but also concluded to destroy all whatsoeuer creatures were in the world, and to produce another new race, deuoid, and repurged from all impietie: he abridged also the life of them, so that they liued not any more so long time as they were wont, but only attained the terme of sixe score yeeres: and hee couered the land with waters, and by this meanes all of them were destroyed. Onely *Noah* esaped by the meanes and way which God had taught him in such manner as followeth: Hee builded an Arke of foure stages, in length three hundredth cubites: in breadth fiftie: and in height thirtie: into this he entred with his mother, his wife and his children and their wiues, purueying himselfe of all things requisite both for their sustenance and life: hee closed also therein all sorts of liuing creatures, two and two, Male and Female, for the conseruation of seuerie kinde, and of some of them seuen couples. The sides of this Arke were strong, and the couer also, so that no water could pearce the same, and whatsoeuer storme might come it was able to resist. Thus was *Noah* (by succession of nature) the tenth from *Adam* saued with all his household; for he was the son of *Lamech* whose father was *Methusala*.

A *Sala* the sonne of *Enos*, the sonne of *Iared*, the sonne of *Maleel*, who with diuers other brethren were begotten of *Cainan* by *Enos*: who was the son of *Seth*, the sonne of *Adam*. This destruction hapned, the sixe hundredth yeare of *Noahs* age (and the second moneth, which was called *Diuis* by the Macedons, and by the Hebrewes *Marfomane*) for so haue the Egyptians distinguished the year (but *Moses* set downe *Nisan* for the first moneth in his *Chronicles*, which is *Zanthicus* among the Macedons, for that in this moneth he brought the Israelites out of the thraldome of the Egyptians.) He made this lawe therefore, that all things which appertaine to diuine seruice, should take their beginning and reckoning from this moneth, but in respect of the times and termes of buying and selling, and all other trafficke, he obserued the first policy of the yeere, beginning in December: *Moses* wrote that the Deluge began the seuen & twentieth day of the about named moneth which was the yeare two thousand sixe hundredth fifty and sixe, after the creation of the first man *Adam* (which time is carefully calculated in holy writ, in which the birth & death of great personages of that time are most exactly set downe.) At such time then as *Adam* was 230. yeares olde, his sonne *Seth* was borne vnto him, and the said *Adam* liued 930. yeares; *Seth* about the age of 250. yeares, began *Enos*, who after hee had liued 905. yeares, left the gouernment of his affaires to his sonne *Cainan*, whose hee had begotten about the 190. yeare of his age. After that *Cainan* had liued 910. yeares, hee had his sonne *Maleel*, begotten by him the 170. yeare of his age. The said *Maleel* hauing liued 195. yeares died, leauing his son *Iared*: who about the age of 162. yeares, engendred *Enoch*, who liued 962. yeares. After *Enoch*, succeeded his sonne *Methusala*, begotten about the age of 162. yeares, at such time as the said *Enochs* father was yet aliue: & after that *Enoch* had liued 365. yeares, he was taken vp vnto God (whence it commeth to passe that his decaise hath not been exemplified in writing). *Methusala* the son of *Enoch*, in the yeare of his age 187. yeares, had *Lamech* for his sonne, who liued 782. yeares, to whom he left the souerainty, hauing held the same 969. yeares. And *Lamech* after hee had gouerned 707. yeares, declared his sonne *Noe* for gouernour, at such time as the said *Lamech* had liued 182. yeares, which *Noe* gouerned for the space of 900. yeares.

All these yeares calculated into one summe, accomplish the time about written. Yet to perfect this accompt, we ought not to seeke out the decaise of these personages (for they liued in the same time that their children and successours did: but the onely thing we are to obserue, is their birthes. As soone then as God had giuen the signe, and that it began to raine for the space of whole fortie dayes, the water fell and ouerflowed the whole earth fourteene cubites high (which was the cause that diuers could not escape, because there was no means of flight, or place of refuge.) But as soone as the raine was ceased, the water began to decrease by little and little for the space of one hundredth and fiftie dayes, about the 27. day of the seauenth moneth. *Noe* perceiving then that the Arke was on ground vpon the top of a certaine mountaine of the countrey of Armenia, hee opened the same, and seeing the earth did a little discouer it selfe round about the same, hee conceiued some better hope and held himselfe satisfied: Some fewe dayes after, when the water was ebbed somewhat more; he sent out a Crow (desiring to knowe if the rest of the earth were deliuered from the waters, and whether without danger hee might issue out of the Ark:) but the Crow finding the earth bebayned in water, returned vnto *Noe*: who the sequenth day after sent out a Pigeon to finde out the estate of the earth, which returned beiried, and bearing in his nebbe an Oliue braunch: whereby *Noe* perceiued that the earth was deliuered from the Deluge; and hauing as yet expected seuen dayes more, hee set at liberty all liuing creatures that were in the Arke. But as soone as himselfe, his wife, and his familie, forsooke it, he offered sacrifice vnto God, and feasted and reioyced both he and all his household. The Armenians in their language haue called the place where *Noe* descended, by a name *Aprobat* (which signifieth as much as descent) and in that place euen at this present the inhabitants of that countrey shewe some remnant and memories of the same. All those that haue written strange histories, haue made mention of this Deluge, and of the Arke: among the number of whom is *Berosus* the Chaldean, who setting downe occurrences of this Deluge, writeth after this manner: Some say likewise that a certaine part of this Arke is in Armenia, neere to the mountaine of the *Cordians*, and that some men haue brought from thence some part of the pitch wherewith it was calked, which the men of that place are wont to vse in steade of a preservative against enchantment. *Hierome* the Egyptian also (who hath written the *Antiquities* of the Phancians) hath made mention of this matter: as also *Mnaseus* with diuers other: *Nicholas Damascene* of Damas likewise in his nintie sixt Booke speaketh heereof after this manner. About the Region of *Mineans* there is a great mountaine in Armenia called *Baris*, in which

The year of the world, 1656. before the Nativity of Christ, 2308.

This comparison doth not exactly agree with the Hebrewes and the 70 interpreters.

Enochs death is not written in holy scriptures.

Gen. 7. 8. In the Greeke copie & Moses are 40. daies. The Latin Ioseph. 90.

Noe sendeth a crow out of the Arke.

Noe forsaketh the Arke, and sacrificeth to God.

Nicholas Damascene, of Noes Arke.

it is reported that diuers retyred themselves for safetie during the time of the Deluge, and there escaped they: and that a certaine man borne on an Arke arriued vpon the highest top of that mountaine, and that certaine timbers of that bosome had bene kept a long while: and it may be that this is that whereof *Moses* the law-maker of the Iewes maketh mention. But *Noe* fearing least God (having condemned all men to a generall perdition) should euery yeare overflow the earth after this manner; offered burnt sacrifice vnto God: beseeching him, that hereafter hee would entertaine the auncient order, and that no so great calamitie might succcede, by which all liuing creatures should come in daunger to be vtterly extinct and exterminated: but that inflicting desired punishment on the reprobate, he would spare the innocent, whom in his mercie hee had preserved from daunger; otherwise they should be more miserable and condemned by a harder censure, if they were not wholly warranted, but should be reserved to be swallowed vp by another Deluge; and hauing suffered the feare and sight of the first, to perish by the second. Hee praised him therefore that hee would bee pleased to accept of his sacrifice, and in his mercy vouchsafe that he would hereafter conceiue no more any so hainous hate and displeasure against the earth, to the end that men might by their labours till it, and building them Cities might possess the same in peace, wanting none of those commodities which they enioyed before the Deluge: but that they might equall their forefathers in olde yeares, and length of life.

Noe hauing in this sort finished his requestes, God (who loued him for the vprightnes of his heart) granted him his request, denying himselfe to bee the author of their deaths who were drowned, but that they themselves by their owne malice had procured those punishments due vnto them. For had he desired that they should bee extinguished, hee would not haue brought them into the world. For better is it, not to grant life; then to destroy those to whome thou hast giuen it. But (saith God) thorow their contempt of my seruice and graces, they haue enforced me to humble them vnder the rigor of this vengeance: hereafter I will not so exactly pursue and examine their iniquities to the end to chastice them in my displeasure; especially for thy sake; And if hereafter at any time I shall send any tempest, feare not (how huge and hideous soeuer the stormes be) for there shall be no more Deluge of water vpon the earth. In the meane time I command you to keepe your hands innocent from murders, and all manslaughter, and to punish those that commit wickednes. I leaue the vse of all other liuing creatures to your sustenance or seruice; in as much as I haue made you Lord ouer all, as well those that breath vpon the face of the earth, as those that swimme in the waters, and such as inhabite and flye amidst the ayre: but you shall not eat any bloud, in as much as therein consisteth the soule and life of liuing creatures. And I declare vnto you that I will desist to draw the shafts of my displeasure against men. And I will giue you the rainbow for a signe: for this bowe in their opinion is the bowe of God. And after that God had pronounced these words and made these promises, he departed.

Noe liued after the Deluge three hundred and fiftie yeares, and hauing spent all this time of his life in happines, hee died after he had liued in the world nine hundred and fiftie yeares. Neither is there cause why any man (comparing this our present age, and the shortnes of the yeares thereof, with the long life of the auncients) should think that false which I haue said: neither followeth it consequently, that because our present life extendeth not to such a terme and continuance of yeares, that therefore they of the former world attained not the age & long life which we publish of them. For they being beloued of God, and newly created by him, vsing also a kinde of nutriment agreeing with their natures, and proper to multiply their yeares, it is no absurd thing to suppose that their yeares were of that continuance: Considering that God gaue them long life, to the end they should teach vertue, and should conueniently practise those things which they had inuented in Astronomie, and by Geometry: the demonstrations whereof they neuer had attained, except they had liued at the least fixe hundred yeares. For the great yeare is accomplished by that number of yeares: whereof all they beare me witnesse, who (eyther Greekes or Barbarians) haue written auncient histories. For both *Manethon* (who hath written the historie of Aegypt) & *Berosus* (who hath registred the acts and assayres of the Chaldeans) together with *Mochus Hestianus*, *Hierome* of Aegypt who historified the state of the Phanicians with others accord with me in that which I haue said. *Hesiodus* also, *Heccatæus*, *Hellanicus*, & *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicolans* do declare; that they of the first world liued one thousand yeares. Notwithstanding let euery man iudge of these things, as best liketh him.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tower of Babylon, and the change of tongues.

Noe had three sons, *Sem*, *Japhet*, and *Cham*, borne one hundred yeeres before the Deluge. These first descended from the mountaines into the plaines, and there made they their habitation: which when other men perceiued (who for feare of the Deluge had fled the plaines, and for that cause were loth to forsake the mountaines) they gathered courage & perswaded themselves to do the like: and the plaine where they all dwelt was called *Senaar*. And whereas they were commanded by God that (by reason of the increase and multitude of men) they should send certaine distinct Colonies to inhabite diuers countries of the world (to the end that no seditions might grow betwixt the one and the other; but contrariwise in labouring and tilling a great quantity of ground, they might gather great store of fruit) they were so ignorant that they disobeyed God, and falling into great calamities suffered the punishment of their offences. For, whereas they flourished in increase (by reason of the great number of their youth) God counsellèd them again that they should diuide themselves into colonies. But, they (thinking that the goods which they possessed proceeded not from him, or his bounty, but presuming that their force was the only cause of their abundance) did not obey him, but rather suspected that God sought to betray them, to the end that being thus diuided he might the better subdue them: *Nemrod* incited them in this sort to mocke and contemne God. He was the nephew of *Cham*, the sonne of *Noe*; a man valiant and apt for arms: hee put them in the head that they should not beleue that their good hap proceeded from God, but that they ought to attribute it to their owne vertue, which furnished them with so much riches: so that in a little space he reduced the estate to a tyrannie; supposing by this only meanes that he might make men reuolt against God, if he might perswade them to submit themselves to his gouernment; giuing them to vnderstand, that if God should once more send a Deluge, he would take reuenge on him in mens behalf, and that he would build a tower, to whose top the water should not attempt, and reuenge the death of his predecessors. The common sort was ready to follow these ordinances of *Nemrod*, supposing it to be pusillanimity in themselves, if they should obey God. For which cause they began to build the tower with their vttermost industry, neither was there any one idle in all that worke: yea so great a number of labourers were there, that the worke was raised to a height beyond all expectation. The thicknes thereof was so great that it obscured the height thereof: and it was builded of burnt brick cimented & ioined with a bituminous mortar, to the end it should not receiue any cleft in the same.

But God seeing their madnesse, condemned them not to a generall extermination (by reason that they had made no profit by their example, who perished in the first Deluge) but made them mutine the one against the other by changing of their tongues; so that by reason of their diuersities of language, they could not vnderstand one another. The place where this tower was builded, is at this present called *Babylon* (by reason of the confusion of tongues that first began in that place) for *Babell* in Hebrew signifieth confusion. Of this tower and the diuersitie of languages *Sibylla* hath made mention in these words. At such time as men vsed one kinde of language, they builded a most high tower, as if they meant by the same to mount vp into heauen; but the gods sent downe winds and ouerthrew the tower, and gaue euery one his distinct and seuerall language, whence sprong the cause that their Citie was called *Babylon*. But as touching that place which is called *Senaar* in *Babylon*, *Hestians* testifieth after this manner. It is sayde of those sacrificers, that being escaped, they took the sacred reliques of *Iupiter Engelins*, and came into *Senaar* in *Babylon*.

CHAP. VI.

How *Noes* posterity disperst themselves thorow the whole world.

From that time forward (by reason of the diuersitie of tongues) they disperst themselves into diuers countries, and planted colonies in all places; and occupied those places whither eyther God or their good fortune had conducted them: so that both the Sea coastes, and the middle-land were replenished with inhabitants. Some there were also who pasing the sea in ships and vessels, first peopled the Islands. And there are some nations likewise, who at this day retaine the names which in times past were imposed on them: some other haue

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES
 They have changed them. Others are altered into a more familiar and knowne name, to neighbors, deriving them from the Greekes the authors of such Titles. For they in these latter times haue growne to great name and power, haue appropriated the auncient glorie to themselves, in giuing names vnto Nations deriued from the Greekes, and policying them, as if they had taken their originall from them.

CHAP. VII.

That euery Nation deriued his name from his Author.

NOW they in honour of whom the Nations receiued their first names, were the children of the sonnes of *Noe*. *Iaphet* the son of *Noe* had seven children who began to make their abode from the mountaines of *Taurus* and *Amanus*, and entered *Asia*, euen vnto *Tanna*, and *Europa*, vnto *Gades*, occupying the countrey which they first mettewith, and vvas not before time by man inhabited, each one calling his seuerall Nation by his owne name: for *Gomar* was the founder of the *Gomarians*, *Magog* dwelt amongst those, who (according to his name) were called *Magogins*, and by the Greekes *Scithes*. Of *Madus* (the first begotten sonne of *Iaphet*) issued the *Madians*, whom the Greekes haue named *Medes*; and of *Iavan* his other sonne, the *Ionians* & Greekes tooke their originall: *Thobelus* gaue name likewise to the *Theobelians*, vvhich at this day are called *Iberians*. *Mefchus* was the author of them that were called *Mefchates*, who are lately named *Capadocians*: for they shevv euen at this day a token of their auncient name, to vvhich the Citie of *Mafaca*, which testifieth to those that conceiue the same, that this Nation hath been so called. *Theres* named them *Therians*, vvhich were vnder his gouernment, whom the Greekes called *Thracians*: and thus many nations tooke their originall from the sonnes of *Iaphet*: but of the three sonnes which *Gomar* had *Afchanaxes* gaue originall to the *Alchanaxians* (at this day termed *Rhegiens* by the Greekes) *Rhiphates* ingendred the *Rhiphatians*, called at this day *Paphlagonians*. *Tygranes* ingendred the *Tygraneans*, who by the Greekes are called *Phrigians*. As touching *Iauan* the sonne of *Iaphet*, hee had three sonnes, of vvhom *Abisus* gaue name to the *Abisians*, who at this present are the *Aetolians*, ouer vvhom he commanded: *Tharus* ingendred the *Tharrians*, vvhich was the auncient name of the *Cilicians*, as it appeareth by the name of their renowned and Metropolitane Citie *Tharsis*; vvhose first letter is *Θ* in steede of *Th*. *Chetinus* obtained the Isle of *Chetina*, called at this day *Cipris* (whence it happeneth that not onely all the Islands, but also diuers other places on the sea coast are by the Hebrewes called by this word *Cethim*) vvhich was one of the Cities of *Cipris* vvhich hath had the reputation to conserue her auncient name. For it is called *Citium*, by those that vvest the same to the Greekes sense, a word not verie much varying from *Cethim*. These Nations were occupied by the sonnes and yong children of *Iaphet*. But I will first publish that which perhaps is vnknowne to the Greekes, and then prosecute my purposed narration vvhich I haue omitted, that is, that these names are formed after the manner of the Greekes, to the ende they should bee more sweet and pleasant to them that should ouer-read them. For this termination is not proper to our Nation, which hath but one forme, and no variation of termination: for vvhich the Greekes pronounce *Αδამος* we say *Adam*; and where they say *Noches*, the Hebrewes say *Noe*, and keepe this termination in all things.

But the sonnes of *Cham* possessed *Syria* and all the region that abutteth on the mountaines of *Amanus* and *Libanus*; extruding their Emphyre towards the sea, and signiorising all vvhich euen vnto the sea. Whose names are partly vvholly abolished, and partly chaunged, and applied to others; so as they are verie hard to be vnderstood: for of the foure sonnes of *Cham*, the name of *Chus* hath not beene chaunged by time: for the *Aegyptians* (ouer whom they extended their Dominion) haue heene named *Chuscans* by them, and by all the *Asians*: the name of *Misraim* hath continued also in the memorie of men: for we that bound vpon *Aegypt*, call that countrey, the countrey of *Misraim*, and the *Aethiopians*, *Misramites*. *Phut* likewise firmed the colonies of *Libia*, and called the inhabitants thereof according to his name *Phutians*; and there is a riuier in the countrey of *Mauritania* which hath the same name, of which it is most manifest that diuers Greeke Histories make mention, as also of the countrey neere adioyning, vvhich they call the countrey of *Phut*, but it hath chaunged his present name by the meanes of one *Libis* one of the sonnes of *Misraim*; (but why it is called *Africa*, I will hereafter signifie vnto you). As touching *Canaan* the fourth sonne of *Cham*, he dwelled in the countrey at this day called *Iudaea*, and called it the countrey of *Canaan* according to his name. They also had children:

Adren: for *Chus* had sixe) amongst whom *Sabaz* established the *Sabians*, and *Enilus* the *Euileans*. The year of the world, 1790. before the Deluge. *Sabathes* engendred the *Sabatheans*, whom the Greekes name *Asstracrabians*. *Sabathes* peopled the *Sabatians*: and the Romans were founded by *Romulus* who also had two sonnes, of whom *Indas* dwelt in the countrey of the *Indians*; amongst those that are called *Heperians* in *Ethiopia*, and *Sabans* founded the *Sabians*.

Nimrod the sonne of *Chus*, settled his Colony vpon the confines of *Babylon*, and tyrannized there as heretofore I haue declared.

All the eight sonnes of *Misraim*, occupied all the countrey from *Gaza* vnto *Egypt*: Only the countrey where *Philistins* gouerned, hath conserued his name: for the Greekes call *Palestine* a part thereof. As touching the rest, *Lom*, *Enam*, and *Labim* (who only inhabited *Libia* and called the countrey by his name) likewise as touching *Nethom*, *Phetrosim*, *Chreseen* and *Chephom*, we know neither of their countries, nor of their names. For, the *Ethiopian* war (whereof herafter we will make mention) hath ouerthrowne their Cities. *Chanaan* also had sonnes, amongst whom *Sidonius* builded and named *Sidon* (a citie in *Phenicia*) and *Amathus* builded *Amate*, which at this day the inhabitants call *Amathia*: but the *Macedonians* haue named it *Epiphania* (which is as much to say as famous) by reason of some that defended from *Epiphanes*. *Arudeus* possessed the Isles of *Aradus*, and *Aracrus* builded the Citie of *Arce*, situate in *Libanus*. And as touching the other seven, the *Eueans*, *Chetrians*, *Iebusians*, *Eudians*, *Semarians*, *Samaritians*, and *Gergesians*; there is no memory remaining in sacred scriptures but only their names: for the Hebrewes rated their Cities vpon these occasions.

After the Deluge, when the earth was established in his former estate, *Noe* gaue himselfe to tillage, and planted vineyards, and when the fruit thereof was ripe (and he had pressed and made wine thereof) he dranke and banqueted after he had done sacrifice: Being thereby made drunk, and ouerpresse with sleepe, hee lay discovered in a most vnseemely and shamefull fashion; which when his younger sonne beheld, he scornfully discovered it to his brothers: who being ashamed, covered their Fathers shame with reuerence. Which fact of his, comming at last to light, and the knowledge of *Noe*, hee wished all felicity to the two other, and as touching *Cham* (by reason he was his ally in bloud) he cursed him not, but his posterity after him. But although the others escaped this malediction, yet God inflicted it on the successors of *Chanaan*, whereof we will speake more hereafter. But *Sem* the third sonne of *Noe* had five sonnes, who inhabited the countrey of *Asia*, beginning at *Euphrates*, and extending to the *Indian Ocean* sea. For *Elymis* left the *Elemians* or *Elamites* for his successors, whence proceeded the *Perlians*. *Assur* made his abode in *Niniue*, and imposed on his subiects the name of *Assyrians* (who were rich amongst all the rest). *Arphaxad* named those of his command *Arphaxadians*, (whom the Greekes called *Syrians*) this day are called *Chaldeans*. *Aram* had the *Arameans* (whom the Greekes called *Syrians*) and they that are now called *Lidi*, and in times past *Ludi* tooke their descent from *Ludas*. Of those foure sonnes which *Aram* had, *Vses* dwelt in *Trachonite*; and in the countrey of *Damasco* (situate betweene *Palestine* and *Syria*, surnamed *Caen* or *hallow*.) *Otrus* obtained *Armenia*: *Gether* *Bactria*. *Misas* was father to the *Misurians* (who dwelt in a fort which is called at this day *Prasine*). *Sali*, *Arphaxad*'s sonne was *Hebers* father, by whose name in times past the Hebrewes were called: *Leber* begat *Loftan* and *Phaleg*, who was so called, for that he was borne at such time as the land was parted: for *Phaleg* in Hebrew signifieth partage. They that follow were sonnes of *Loftan*: *Elmodad*, *Saleph*, *Azeremeth*, *Eraus*, *Edoram*, *Vzalus*, *Dallis*, *Ebal*, *Etimarl*, *Saphas*, *Ophir*, *Enilus*, and *Iobel*: who occupied some parcell of that which was about *Cophen* a riuier of *India*, and the hither *Syria*. Hitherto haue we spoken of the progenie of *Sem*, herafter will I speake of the Hebrewes, of *Phaleg* the sonne of *Heber* *Ragaus*, by vvhom vvas begot *Seruch*, whence *Nachor* is descended, and of *Nachor*, *Thares*, vvhich vvas *Abrahams* father, the tenth in accompt from *Noe*, and borne in the yeere 292. after the Deluge. For, *Thares* being seventy yeeres olde begat *Abraham*. *Nachor* at sixe score yeeres of his age, begat *Thares*. *Nachor* vvas borne to *Seruch*, vvhich he vvas about the yeeres of 132. of his life. And *Ragaus* begat *Seruch* when he vvas thirty two yeeres olde, and about those yeeres *Phaleg* begat *Ragaus*. But *Heber* in the 34. yeere of his age, begat *Phaleg*: (himselfe begotten by *Sela*, when he vvas one hundredth of thirty and five yeeres olde) vvhich *Sela* vvas begotten by *Arphaxad*, vvhich he vvas 135. yeeres of age. And *Arphaxad* vvas the son of *Sem*, vvhich hee begat some two yeeres after the Deluge. *Arphaxad* had two brothers, *Nachor* and *Aram*, of vvhom *Aram* left *Lot* for his sonne, and *Sara* and *Melcha* for his daughters, and afterwards died in the land of *Canaan* in a City called *Vr*; of the *Chaldies*, vvhich his sepulchre is to be seene euen at this day. His daughters were married, *Melcha*

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 11. Genes. 10.

The Galatians descended from Gomar. The progenie of Iaphet. Nos first begotten sonne.

The progenie of the sonnes of Gomar.

The progenie of the sonnes of Iauan.

Tharus Saint Pauls country. Aeth. 9.

Whence grew the change of names.

Of the sonnes of Cham and their progeny.

Libia or Africa. The progenie of the Chanaanites.

The year of the world, 1790. before the Deluge. The children of Chanaan.

Nabrodes or Nembroth.

Palestine is named of Philistine.

The children of Chanaan.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 11. Gen. 9.

Noe is made drunke, lieth naked and is scorned, and curseth him that derideth him.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 14. Genes. 7. 1.

Of the sonnes of Sem the third sonne of Noe and of theirs and Abrahams progeny.

The originall of the Hebrewes.

Abrahams genealogy.

12 *Melcha to Nachor, and Sara to Abraham.* But *Thares* growing weary of *Chaldaea*, after the fur-
neralls of Aram, they all of them transported themselves into *Charan* a city of *Mesopotamia*, in
 which place they buried *Thares*, when he had liued the space of 250. yeeres. For, about this time
 the life of man was abridged, and grew more short vntill the time of *Moses*: when as the space
 of mans life limited by God himselfe was 120. yeeres olde, to which terme of yeeres *Moses* had
 attained. *Nachor* had eight children by *Melcha* his wife; *Vx, Barux, Mauel, Zacham, Azam,*
Pheldus, Ladelphus and *Bathuel*, (who were the legitimate sonnes of *Nachor*.) But *Tabus* and
Gadan, Taucus and *Macham* were begotten by him on his concubine *Rama*. To *Bathuel* one of
 the legitimate sonnes of *Nachor*, was borne a daughter named *Rebecca*, and a sonne called *Laban*.

The Terme of
 mans life about
 this term, 120.

CHAP. VIII.

*How ABRAHAM the Author of our nation departed from the land of the Chaldeans,
 and dwelt in a certaine countrey of the Chanaanites, which is
 now called I V D E A.*

13 *Abraham* hauing no issue, adopted *Lot* the sonne of *Aram* his brother, and brother to
Sara his wife: he departed out of the country of the Chaldeis, when he was 75. yeeres
 old (hauing had commandement from God to depart thence in to *Canaan*) in which
 country he remained, and left the same to his posterity after him. He was a man accomplished
 in all things, full of vnderstanding, and apt to perswade those that gaue eare vnto him, without
 any defaulte in his foresight and prouidence. For this cause he was supposed to surmount all
 men in vertue, and was he that first vndertook to conuince the receiued and erroneous opinions
 of men, as touching the Deitie. He therefore first of all did most manifestly preach, & prooue,
 that there was but one God, gouernour and maker of all things, and that otherwise if any
 thing conferred or furthered our felicitie, it happened vnto vs not by our owne workings, but
 his holy will. And this obserued and approued he by that, which chaunceth both in the earth
 and the sea, as also those things, which he sawe daily occurre by the influences of the sunne, the
 moone, and other starres: namely, that there was a certaine power that disposed them, and de-
 cently administred all things, without whose assistance, nothing would bee profitable vnto vs;
 whereas nothing of himselfe hath any vertue, but all things are obedient to his omnipotent will,
 and for that cause, that honour and thanksgiuing should wholly be ascribed to him. For which
 causes and countsailes of his (seeing the Chaldeans and Mesopotamians began to mutiny against
 him) he thought it expedient to forsake that country, and following the will and fauour of God,
 he went and dwelt at *Chanaan*; where being seated, he builded an altar and sacrificed vnto God.
Berosus amongst other things maketh mention of our father *Abraham*, although hee nameth
 him not, when he speaketh after this manner. *After the Deluge, and during the tenth generation,*
there dwelt amongst the Chaldeans, a most iust, excellent, and vpright man, and exercised in the
knowledge of the celestiaall bodies. But *Hecateus* made more then a mention of him: for he hath
 left a volume which he hath written of him. And as touching *Nicholaus Damascenus*, heare what
 he saith of him in the fourth booke of his Histories. *Abraham raigned in Damasco (where he was*
a stranger) whither he arrived with his army from a country situate aboue Babylon called Chaldaa, L
who a little while after (departing out of that region) went and dwelt with his people in a country at
that time called Chanaan, and at this day Iudaa, and his posteritie multiplied therein. In an other
 treatise I will recite that which is reported of him. The name of *Abraham* cuen at this day, is ho-
 nourable in the country of *Damasco*, and there is a village to be seene which beareth his name,
 and is called *Abrahams house*.

The yeare of the
 world, 2024, be-
 fore Christs birth
 1940.
 Hedio & Ruf-
 finus, chap. 15
 Gen. 11. 12.
 The wisdom
 of Abraham.
 Abraham the
 first preacher
 of the word.

Berosus.

Hecateus.
 Nicholaus
 Damascenus.

Abrahams
 house.

CHAP. IX.

*ABRAHAM oppressed by famine, departeth into Egypt, where staying a while,
 at last hee returned backe againe.*

14 After this (when famine had inuaded the land of *Chanaan*, *Abraham* had intelligence
 that the Egyptians abounded in all plenty, and decreed with himselfe to retire himselfe
 towards them: as well to conferre with their Priests (and discourse with them of diuine
 things, and their knowledge as touching God) as also to follow them, if they were more ground-
 ed in vnderstanding, or reconcile them, if his iudgement were more assured then theirs. He
 led with him his wife *Sara*: and vnderstanding that the Egyptians were much addicted vnto wo-
 men

The yeare of the
 world, 2026.
 before Christs birth
 1938.
 Hedio & Ruf-
 finus, cap. 16
 Gen. 12. 13.

A men (to the ende the king should not put him to death, of purpose that he might enioy his wife
Sara, who was very beautifull) he deuised this excuse to say that shee was his sister, charging her
 that if the matter came in question, she should not faile but confirme the like. But no sooner
 came he into *Aegypt*, but the like fortune encountered them, as *Abraham* had before time suspec-
 ted: for the beautie of his wife was sodainly published in euerie place. For which cause *Pharao*
 the King of that Nation (desirous to see that with his eies, the which he had heard with his eares)
 he sought for, sent, and lusted after her: but God withstood this his vnbridled lust by afflicting
 the Kings subiects with a plague, and his sayres by sedition. Whereupon taking counsell of the
 Priests what remedie might be vied, and meanes might be sought to appease the diuine maiesty,
 they answered him, that this was the cause of their afflictions, for that he thought to haue done
 violence to the strangers wife: whereat being much affrighted, the King first questioneth with
 the woman what she was, and who her companion should be? and at last resolu'd of the truerh,
 he satisfied *Abraham*, saying, he supposed her to bee his sister, not his wife, and that his purpose
 was not to offer iniury but seeke alliance: so giuing him a great summe of money, he gaue him
 leaue to conferre with the most excellentest & learnedest Priests among the Egyptians. Whence
 it came to passe, that he grew into great estimation in regard of his vertues: for whereas that Nati-
 on was diuided into different sects and opinions, and thorow mutuall contentpt & diuision were
 incensed the one against the other; hee declared that their opinions (different and confuted by
 themselves) in respect of religion, were most vaine and deuoid of all truerh. For these his dis-
 putations he was held in great regard among them, and esteemed for a man most wise, and a per-
 sonage most excellent; not onely in well conceiuing, but also in expressing and perswading that
 which he vndertooke to teach: to these most graciously imparted he the science of Arithmetike,
 and the obseruation of the celestiaall bodies. For before that *Abraham* came into *Egypt*, the Egyp-
 tians were altogether ignorant of those sciences: but hee transported them from *Chaldaea* into
Aegypt, and from thence are they deriued to the Greeks. As soone as he returned into *Chanaan*,
 he diuided the country with *Lot*: and for that there grew a contention betwixt their shepherds
 (as touching the bounding of those pastures where they fed their cattell) he gaue *Lot* the choise
 and election of the country which best pleased him, retaining vnto himselfe that which was left.
 Thus pitching his tents neere the mountaine in a Citie called *Hebron* (which is by seuen yeeres
 more auncient then *Tanis* in *Aegypt*) he dwelled there. But *Lot* chose the Plaine neere to the
 flood of *Iordane*, not farre from *Sodome*; which in those daies was a goodly Citie, but at this
 present by the diuine iustice and wrath of God is vtterly defaced; so that no memorie remaineth
 thereof. The causes of which iudgement shall bee exprest hereafter.

In the yeare of
 the world, 2026.
 before Christs
 Natinitie, 1938
 The lust of the
 Egyptians.

Abraham
 taught the Eg-
 yptians reli-
 gion and arts.

Abraham an
 excellent A-
 stronomer.

The diuision
 of the fields
 betweene A-
 braham and
 Lot.

CHAP. X.

The ouerthrow of the Sodomites by the Syrians.

15 That time when the Assyrians were Lords ouer all Asia, the estate of *Sodome* flou-
 rished in all affluence, increased in great riches, and multitude of gallant youthes, and
 the country was gouerned by fise Kings: these were *Ballas, Bareas, Senabarus, Symobo-*
rus and *Balin* (each one particularly seised of his prouince and kingdome.) Against these the
 Assyrians incamped themselves, and hauing diuided their armie into foure parts (vnder the
 conduct of foure gouernours) they waged battell with them; in which the Assyrians attayning
 the day, they imposed a tribute on the Kings of *Sodome*; who (after they had for twelue yeeres
 space performed their duety and paid their tribute) in the thirteenth yeere reuolted from them.
 Whereby it came to passe that the Assyrians leued a new armie against them, vnder the conduct
 and commaund of *Marphad, Arioch, Chodollogomar, & Thargal*, who sacked all Syria, and extin-
 guished the posteritie of the Giants. And drawing neere to *Sodome*, they incamped neere to the
 bituminous pits (for at that time their were pits in that place) but as soone as *Sodome* was de-
 stroyed, there arose a lake in that place, which (by reason of the bituminous matter that flowed
 in the same) was called *Asphaltites*, that is to say, bituminous: of this lake hereafter wee will
 speake somewhat. But the Sodomites encountering with the Assyrians, there was a dangerous
 skirmish fought, wherein many perished on both sides; and the rest were either slaine or taken;
 amongst whom was *Lot* led away captiue, who came thither to asist the Sodomites.

Hedio & Ruf-
 finus, cap. 17
 Genes. 14.
 Fise kings of
 Sodome.

The yeare of
 the world, 2038
 before Christs
 Natinitie,
 1933.
 The lake of
 Asphaltites.

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CHAP.

ABRAHAM pursueth the Assyrians, and returneth victorious.

Abraham hearing of these things, and moued, (both with the surprisall of his cosen Lot, as also with the slaughter of his friends and neighbours) presently addressed himselfe with all his followers to giue them succours: and such diligence shewed he in pursuite of them, that the fift night after he encountred the Assyrians neere to Dan, which is one of the sources of Iordaine.

Where surprisng them on the sodaine (vn suspected and disarmed) hee killed those that were asleepe without suspicion of his coming, and they that were not yet asleepe, and lay wallowing in their drunkennesse he easily defeated and put to flight, pursuing them in such sort, that the second day after he draue them all into Soba a Citie of Damasco: declaring hereby, that victorie consisteth not in the multitude of those that manage their armes, but rather in the courage of those that fight, and that a fewe generous hearts are more worth alwaies, then a faint-hearted multitude. For hee had not with him above three hundredth and eightene of his household seruants, and three of his friends, to defeat this huge armie; so that whatsoever they were that escaped out of this slaughter by flight, returned vnto their houses with ignominie.

As soone as Abraham had rescued those prisoners of Sodome which were taken by the Syrians, and his nephew Lot; he returned into his country, & met in his way with the King of Sodome (in a place called the Kings field) where also he was entertained by the King of Solyma called Melchisedech (which is as much to say as the iust King:) for in trueth he was no lesse; but was held worthy by reason of his iustice in all mens opinion to sacrifice as the high Priest of Almighty God. This Solyma in processe of time was called Ierusalem. This Melchisedech did friendly entertaine all the followers of Abraham, not suffering them to want any thing that was fit for their sustentance, but entertaining him also at his owne table he highly praised him, and sung due hymnes of praise to the great God, for that by his fauour he had vouchsafed to grant him victory. Abraham on the other side presented him with the tenths of his spoiles: but the King of Sodome remitted all the pray that was taken, and onely required to be possessed of those Captiues which were of the country: which condition hee accepted not, answering that hee would receiue no profit of that pray, but that which hee must needly haue for the entertainment of his seruants.

Yet gaue he a portion vnto his friends who had succoured him, the first whereof was called Eshcol, and the two other Ennerus and Mambres. For this cause God praised Abraham saying; thou shalt not want the reward which is due vnto thee for thy valiant actes. To which he replied, and what good shall I reape of this recompence, if I haue not an heire to possesse it after my decease? for as yet hee had no issue. Then did God promise him a sonne, whose posteritie should be so multiplied, that they might in number equall the starres of heauen; which when he understood, he offered sacrifice vnto God, following that commaundement which hee had receiued: hee tooke therefore a Heifer of three yeares old, a Goat of three yeares, and a Ramme of three yeares, and a Turtle, and a Pigeon: all which he diuided in twaine as hee was commanded, the birds onely excepted. But before the Altar was prepared (at such time as the fowles howered about to haue part of the bloud of those beastes which were sacrificed) hee receiued an Oracle,

that tolde him that his progenie should haue euill neighbours in Aegypt for the space of foure hundredth yeares, and that after they had suffered an insupportable seruitude, they should at last obtaine the victorie ouer their enemies. And after that they had by strong hand conquered the Chanaanites, they should be Lords and possessors of their countries and Cities. Abraham at that time dwelt neere to the Oake that was called Ogis, in the country of Chanaan neere to the Citie of Hebron. There being much grieved that his wife conceiued not, hee besought God to giue him an issue male: God commanded him to bee of good cheere in all things, and that being come from Mesopotamia vpon good occasions, he also should haue children. At that time

Sara by the commaundement of God caused one of hir handmaidens which was an Aegyptian borne to enter in vnto her husband, to the end he might haue issue by her; now Agar as soone as she perceiued that she had conceiued, began to contemne Sara, aspiring to principallitie, and supposing that her issue should succeed in the kingdom. For which cause Abraham deliuered her vnto his wife, to the end she should punish her: which the perceiuing, she decreed to flie, in that she was afraid of punishment; beseeching God to haue mercy on her: and as shee trauielled on her way thorow the desert, the Angell of God appeired vnto her, commanding her that she should

returne

A retorne vnto her master and mistris, assuring her that if hereafter shee would be more modest, she should be better intreated; and how at that present shee was fallen into those miseries, by reason she had proudly and insolently behaued her selfe towards her Mistris. Telling her moreover that if she disobeyed God, and wandred any further, she should die the death: but that if she returned from whence she came, she should be the mother of a sonne, who should one day be king of that country where she then was.

To this commaundement of God Agar submitted herselfe with all obedience, and returning backe againe to her master and mistris, she obtained pardon at their hands, and after a while brought forth *Ismael*, which is as much to say as; Heard of God, because God had heard the mothers prayers. *Ismael* was borne to Abraham when he was fourescore and six yeares old: but in the fourescore and nineteenth yeare of his age God appeared vnto him, and tolde him that hee should haue a sonne by Sara, charging him to call him *Isaac*; giuing him to vnderstand, that great nations and kings should issue from his loines, who by force of armes should conquer all the country of Chanaan, from Sidon euen vnto Aegypt. Commanding him, that his posteritie should be circumcised in their priuities, and that this circumcision should bee done the viij. day after their birth, by reason that he would not that Abrahams posteritie should be intermedled with other nations. But hereafter will I declare the cause of our circumcision. Abraham also asked counsell of God as touching *Ismael*, whether he should liue or no: who tolde him that he should flourish many yeares, and that he should become a father of many worthy nations. Then gaue Abraham thanks vnto God, and presently circumcised himselfe, his sonne *Ismael*, with all his family: and *Ismael* at that time was thirteene yeeres olde, but Abraham about fourescore and and nineteene yeeres of age.

CHAP. XII.

The punishment of Sodome.



About that time the inhabitants of Sodome became immeasurably proude, by reason of their affluence, prosperitie, and great riches; and committed outrages against men, and impieties against God: in such manner as they had forgotten the benefites which they had receiued at his hands, hating strangers, and disdaining to conuerse

the one with the other, but in disordinate and abhominable incests. Whereat God being displeased, hee decreed to punish their intolerable pride; to ruinate their City from the top to the bottome, and in such sort to make desolate their country, that from thence forward it should neither nourish plant, nor bring forth fruit. After that God had pronounced this sentence against the Sodomites; Abraham (as he late vnder the Oake at Mambres before the doore of his tent) behelde three Angels, and supposing them to bee men and strangers, hee arose and saluted them; and approaching neere vnto them, hee desired them that they would accept of his entertainment, and lodge with him. Whereunto when they had condescended, hee commaunded his seruants to bake them bread of the finest flower, and hauing killed and roasted a calfe, hee set it before them (as they late vnder the Oake) supposing they would eate: but they inquired of him

where Sara his wife was: to whom he answered that she was within in the tent. They told him then that they would returne againe; and that they should find her a mother. But when his wife smiled thereat, and said that it was impossible for her to beare children; especially in that herselfe was at that time 90. yeares olde, and her husband 100. they discovered themselves, and said they were Angels of God, and that they were sent one of them to assure him that he should haue a sonne; the other two to destroy the Sodomites. Which when Abraham heard, hee was sorie for the Sodomites, and arising, besought God that he would not destroy both the iust and the vniust together. To whom God gaue this answer, that there was not one iust man among the Sodomites, and that if hee might but find ten, hee would spare the citie from punishment. Whereupon Abraham held his peace, and the Angels entred into Sodome: where no sooner

were they arriued, but Lot inuited them to take their lodging in his house (for hee was a man much giuen to hospitalitie, and such a one as for bounty had bene Abrahams Scholler.) But the Sodomites perceiuing that those young men which were entred Lots house, were of excellent beautie, began to offer outrage and villany to their persons: notwithstanding that Lot exhorted them to moderate themselves, and not to offer villanie to his guests, but in some sort to haue a respect to his house; telling them, that rather then they should continue in that intemperance, hee would giue them his daughters to vse at their pleasure. But hee preuailed nothing with

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them;

them: whereupon God was in such wise provoked by their iniquitie, that he blinded their eyes: in such sort, as they could not finde the gate to enter into *Lot's* house, and condemned the *Sodomites* to a generall perdition. But *Lot* foremonished by him of their future ruine, departed from them, and tooke with him his wife and his two daughters, as yet unmarried (for his inbred husbands, although they were forewarned by him, consented & held him for a dotard). Then did God shoote his arrow vpon the Citie, burning it, and all the inhabitants therein: and declaring by the time fire all the countries round about; in such sort as it hath already bene declared by me in the History I wrote of the warres of the *Iewes*. But *Lot's* wife, as they retired thence, looking backe towards the Citie, and more curiously beholding the destruction thereof, contrary to the commandement of God, was transformed into a pillar of salt, which I haue seene: for it remaineth euen vntill this day. As touching *Lot*, he and his daughters fled & dwelt in a little countrey farre from the fire, which was called *Zoar* (which in hebrew signifieth little): In this place (which was voyd of men, and scant of victualls) *Lot* dwelled a long time, leading a solitary and poore life: and his daughters supposing that all mankind was extinguished vpon the earth, subtilly circumventing their father, they lay with him when he least suspected it: and the reason that drew the therunto was, for that they feared lest mankind should be utterly exterminated. By this their approachement, they bare him two sons: the elder *Moab* (which is as much to say as of my father) and this is he that was the father of the *Moabites*, which euen at this day are yet a great nation: and of the younger sister, came *Ammon* (which signifieth the sonne of Race or kind) and both these two nations inhabite the countrey of *Coelosyria*. In this sort departed *Lot* from the *Sodomites*.

Lot fled to Zoar.

The interpretation of the names of *Moab* & *Ammon*. *Hedio* & *Rufinus*. chap. 10. *Gen*. 19.

Abimelech surprised with the loue of *Sara*.

Berabe the pit of swearing.

Isaac laughter

As touching *Abraham*, he went and dwelt in *Gerar*, in the countrey of *Palestine*; leading with him his wife *Sara* in manner of his sisters, vsing the same subtiltie which before time hee had practiced for feare of the *Egyptians*: for hee feared *Abimelech* the King of that countrey, who surprised with the loue of *Sara*, would haue rauished her, had he not been hindred by a most grievous sicknesse, which God inflicted vpon him: so that being out of all hope of recouerie, at such time as he slept, there appeared vnto him a vision, which tolde him that hee should take heede least he offered any outrage to the strangers wife, who was come into his countrey: and after hee was somewhat recouered, he tolde his friends how God had sent him that sicknesse to warrant the right of the stranger, and to preserve his wife from violence; for that she was not his sister but his lawfull wife; willing *Abraham* thenceforward to be of good cheere, promising him that the honour of his wife was intiolate. This sayd, he dismissed *Abraham* by the counsaile of his friends; and tolde him that he needed not to suspect his wife, by reason shee had suffered no villany. Assuring him that God had care of her, and that he deliuered her in safetie to him (being to that end protected by his mighty power): and in confirmation thereof hee called God to record, and the womans conscience; vowing that hee would not haue required her, if hee had knowne shee had bene married: moreouer he required him to be at peace with him, and by his prayers to appease Gods wrath, which was kindled against him. And that if thenceforward he would stay with him, he should want nothing: or if he listed to depart, he promised him guides, and all other things, for which he came vnto him. *Abraham* answered him, that hee had in no sort dissembled with him as touching the alliance of his wife; but that shee was his brothers daughter, and that hee thought hee might not safely trauell thorough his countrey, except hee had vsed that subtiltie; avowing moreouer, that he had not been the cause of that sicknesse which had befallen him: but that he singularly affected his good, and was readie to abide with him.

Whereupon *Abimelech* imparted vnto him both lands and mony, and accorded to conuerse with him in all vprightnesse, and without offer of offence, and made a covenant and sware vnto him by a certaine pit which was called *Berabe* (that is to say, the pit of swearing or coucnant) which name that place retaineth vntill this day. Not long time after, *Abraham* had a sonne by *Sara* his wife according as God had promised him; and hee called his name *Isaac* (which in the Hebrew tongue signifieth laughter) because *Sara* laughed at such time as God sayd vnto her shee should beare a sonne, hauing in her selfe no likelihood of conceiuing, by reason shee was stricken in yeeres. For at that time she was ninetie yeeres old, and *Abraham* one hundreth when the child was borne, and incontinently the eight day after was hee circumcised; which custome is yet continued amongst the *Iewes*, who circumcise on the eight day.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIII.

Of *ISMAEL* *ABRAHAM'S* sonne, and of the *Arabians* his posteritie.

BUT the *Arabians* celebrate it in the thirteenth year. For *Ismael* the author thereof, and *Abraham's* sonne by his concubine, was circumcised in the thirteenth year after hee was borne. Of which *Ismael* it behooueth we speake more exactly in this place. *Sara* loued *Ismael* (begotten on her seruant *Agar*) from the beginning, with no lesse affection then as if hee had bene her owne sonne, for hee was brought vp as *Abraham's* heire. But after she had brought forth *Isaac*, she thought it no more requisite that *Ismael* should be brought vp with her sonne, in that he was the elder, and for feare least after his fathers decease, he should offer his younger brother iniurie. She incited *Abraham* therefore to send both him and his mother to some other place: but at the first he gaue no care to *Sara's* request, thinking it to be more then barbarous crueltie, to driue away a tender childe and his mother, destitute of all necessities. At length by the commandement of God hee listned to his wiues counsaile, and committed the child vnto his mother (being of himselfe as yet vnapt to traue) and giuing them a pitcher of water and bread, he commanded them to goe thither, whither their necessitie should driue them. And when their victualls failed them, and their water was consumed, shee laide the childe beeing faint and wake vnder an Oake; and to the end that in her presence he should not breath his last, she went far away from him. At that time an Angell of God appeared vnto her, shewing her a fountaine hard by that place, and charging her to looke to the carefull education of her childe: because that by the conseruation of *Ismael*, she was to expect great happinesse. Vpon these promises she tooke comfort, and falling into the company of shepherds, shee by their bountie escaped from milery.

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Afterwards, when hee attained mans estate, hee married a wife of the nation of the *Egyptians* (from whence his mother had her originall) by whom *Ismael* had twelue sonnes: namely, *Nabaioth*, *Cedarus*, *Abdeel*, *Edumas*, *Massamus*, *Memasus*, *Masmesus*, *Chodamus*, *Themanus*, *Ieturus*, *Naphasus*, *Calmasus* (all which inhabite the lands which are betweene *Euphrates* and the red sea; the name of which countrey is *Nabathæa*. These are they that began and made famous the nation of the *Arabians*, as well in respect of their prowesse, as also in respect of the dignitie of *Abraham*.)

The twelue sonnes of *Ismael*. *Gen*. 25. The Region of *Nabathæa*.

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CHAP. XIII.

Of *ISAAC* *ABRAHAM'S* legitimate sonne.

AS touching *Isaac*, *Abraham* loued him with an intire and fatherly affection; as his onely begotten sonne engendred in his age by the bountie of God. The childe also adding himselfe vnto all vertue, carefull to honour his father and mother, and studious of the seruice of God, inuited both his parents the rather to affect and loue him. So that *Abraham* was very desirous to forsake this present life: provided, that he might leaue behind him all the goods which hee had, vnto his sonne; which through the mercy of God he happily effected. Whereupon (vnder triall and conformitie of his faith) God appeared vnto him, and reckoned vp all the benefits which hee had bestowed on him, how he had granted him victorie ouer his enemies and how (he had established and blest him with present felicitie by his fauour) for which cause hee required him to sacrifice and make an oblation vnto him of his sonne *Isaac*, commanding him that he should conduct him to the mountaine of *Mora*, and there to sacrifice him. In doing whereof, he should manifest the desire hee had to serue him (in preferring that which was agreeable to God before the life of his sonne). *Abraham* supposing that it was no waies lawfull to disobey God, but that he ought to submit himselfe to his will, as to him by whose prouidence all things had their being) said nothing to his wife, as concerning that which God had commanded him, neither how he had determined the death of his sonne.

The year of the world 2074. before Christ's Natimie, 1890.

Abraham's obedience.

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Moreouer, he made it knowne to no one of his household seruants, because (as he supposed) they might haue hindered him from the seruice of God. Hee therefore tooke his sonne *Isaac* with two seruants (loading an Asse with such things as were requisite for sacrifice) and traualled towards the mountaine, his seruants attending him for two daies space; and on the third daie following, as soone as hee perceiued the mountaine, hee left the rest of those that accompanied him in the Plaine, and attended onely by his sonne and himselfe, he came vp vnto the mountaine.

Bij

caine

The year of
the world, 2074
before Christs
Natiuitie,
1890.

Isaac was 25
years olde
when hee
should haue
beene sacrific-
ed.

Abraham's o-
ration at such
time as his
sonne should
haue beene
sacrificed.

Isaacs an-
swer.

God offereth
Ramme to A-
braham to sa-
crifice in
stead of Isaac.

taine (vpon which afterwards king *Dauid* appointed that the Temple should be builded.) They carried with them also the rest of those things which were requisite for sacrifice (saue onely the beaust that was to be offered) now about this time, *Isaac* was five and twentie yeares old, and did himselfe prepare the Altar, and inquired of his father what he should offer, considering that as yet they had no sheep for sacrifice. *Abraham* answered him, that God would furnish them with what was of power sufficient, to giue men that in abundance whereof they had need, and to desire them of that they had, and whereof they helde themselves thoroughly possessed, and that it was hee would giue them wherewith to sacrifice (if it should please him to shew himselfe fauourable, and propitious to that sacrifice of his); now as soone as the Altar was made ready, and the wood prepared and laid vpon the same, and all things were in a readines, hee addrest his speech vnto his sonne and said thus.

My sonne, I haue oftentimes demanded at Gods hands that hee should giue thee life, by my infinite intercessions and prayers, and euer since thou wert borne into this world, I haue intermitted no care and diligence in thine education, neither haue I thought that in any thing I might be made more happie, then that departing out of this world, I might see thee at mans estate, and leaue thee the heyre and Lord of all my substance: but since it hath pleased God, that I should be thy father, and that the same God likewise now thinketh good that I should forsake thee, put vpon thee a constant mind, and take in good part that thus thou must be sacrificed: for in so doing I fulfill the commandments of God, who requireth at our handes that wee doe him this honour, for the fauours which hee hath bestowed vpon me, in assisting me, and in familiar manner conuersing and associating me both in warre and peace. Since therefore that being borne, thou art to die, (not after the accustomed manner of the liuing) but being offered in sacrifice by thine owne father, to the generall father, God: I deeme it reasonable, that since it seemeth good vnto him that thou depart out of this life (not by sickness, nor by warre, nor by any other inconuenience, that naturally happeneth vnto men) that it is behoofefull also that thou render thy soule vnto him in the midst of prayers, and the celebration of this sacrifice, to the end hee may receiue and feate thee neere himselfe: Thou shalt be my purueyor and stay of mine age (which is the cause for which I haue nourished thee, if thou leaue mee God for my purueyor and comfort in thy place. Then *Isaac* with a noble heart (like the gracious sonne of Godly a father) heard all that which his father said with great contentment, and answered that he would rather neuer haue beene borne, then that hee should once neglect the ordinance of God and of his father: or shew himselfe negligent to submit his will to both their pleasures, considering that if his father onely should command the same, he should doe very euill if hee disobeyed him: which said, he marched towards the Altar, and offered himselfe to the slaughter: which had surely happened at that instant, if God had not regarded him: for with loud voice hee called *Abraham* by his name, commanding him that hee should not kill his sonne, auerring that hee had not giuen him that commandment, because hee tooke pleasure in humane blood, neither for that by such impiety hee would deprive them of that sonne, of whome it was his pleasure to make him the father, but that by this act he intended to proue his affection, to see whether being commanded such a thing, he would be obedient; and for that he had made triall of his faith and readinesse, and his vnspokeable pietie, hee did not repent him of that good hee had done vnto him: that the time should neuer be wherein hee would forget to haue care of him, and his race, whensoever he should pray vnto him, and that when the course of his yeares were happily ouerpast, hee should leaue a great signiory to those of his children, which should bee good and legitimate. He tolde him moreover, that he would multiply the race in diuers Nations, and that he would bestowe great benefits vpon them, and that the memorie of the chiefe of his offspring should bee euertasting, and that when they had gotten the countrey of Chanaan by armes, they should be enuied by all men for their greatnesse. After that God had spoken after this manner, it pleased him on the sodaine (no man knoweth how) to cause a Ramme to be seene, & found thereabouts for the sacrifice. And thus (being deliuered from all euills and inconueniences beyonde their expectations, after they had heard so many promises of so many blessings) they embraced one another, and celebrated the sacrifice; which done, they returned towards *Sara* in safety, and past the remnant of their liues in happinesse, God giuing them his blessing in whatsoeuer they vndertooke.

CHAP. XV.

The death of *SARA*: *ABRAHAM*'s wife.

Or long time after this, *Sara* died, after shee had liued one hundred twenty and seven yeares, and was buried in Hebron: (for the Chanaanites freely offered them free buriall) yet *Abraham* chose rather to buy a place to burie in, of *Ephron* a certaine Citizen of Hebron, for foure hundred sicles, where the monuments both of him and his posteritie are builded.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Nation of the Troglodytes came of *CHETURA* The wife of *ABRAHAM*.

After this, *Abraham* married *Chetura*, by whom he had sixe children, strong in trauell, and excellent in wisdom, namely *Zambranes*, *Isar*, *Madar*, *Madian*, *Lonsabac*, *Suus*, who likewise had sonnes; *Suus* had *Sabacan* and *Dadan*. Of *Dadan* issued *Latusmus*, *Afusinus*, *Lurres*. The children of *Madan* were *Ephra*, *Ophres*, *Anochus*, *Ebidas*, *Eldas*. Of all these children & their successors *Abraham* gathered and established the Colonies which possessed the countrey of the Troglodytes, and all the countrey of Arabia the happy, whose confines extend euen vnto the red sea. Some report that this *Ophres* conducted an Army into Libia & possessed the same: & that his successors (making their abode in that countrey) called it by the name of Africa. And this my opinion is confirmed by *Alexander Polyhistor* who writeth after this manner. *Cleodemus* the Prophet who is also called *Malchus*, and hath written the acts of the Iewes (according as *Moses* their law-maker hath compiled the same in writing) saith, that of *Chetura* there were diuers children born vnto *Abraham*, and he nameth three by their names: to wit *Apher*, *Sarim* and *Iapher*, and that of *Sarem* the Assyrians tooke their name: of the two others *Apher* and *Iapher*, the Citie of Affricke and the countrey of Africa take their names. That they warred with *Hercules* against *Libya* and *Antens*, and how *Hercules* hauing taken *Ophra* his daughter to his wife, had begotten of her *Dedor* who was father to *Sophen*, from whom those Barbarians that are called *Saphaces* haue taken their name.

But *Abraham* knowing that he should prouide a wife for *Isaac* his sonne, being almost forty yeares old, sent the oldest seruant of his family to betrothe and intreat for *Rebecca* the daughter of the sonne of *Nachor* his brother for *Isaac*, and bound him to the performance thereof with great oathes (celebrated according to these Ceremonies, which were that laying their two hands one ore anothers thighe, they should call God to witnesse of their intent) hee sent also strange prelents vnto them; such as were seldome seene in those parts: hee then departing from him was long time vpon the way (because that in winter time it is troublesome to trauell through *Mesopotamia*, by reason of the deep bogs, and in summer for want of water) besides the robberies of the country, which strangers & traouellers could not possibly escape, except they stood vpon their guard, and had conuoy. Hereupon at length he arrived & entered a City called *Curas*, and being in the suburbs of the same, hee encountered with diuers damels that went to fetch water, whereupon he inwardly besought God, that if the marriage were pleasing in his sight, he might find *Rebecca* amongst them, for whose cause *Abraham* had sent him thither to require her in marriage for his sonne: and that he might know her by this signe, that asking all the rest for water, they should refuse him, and the only should satisfie him. Tormented and tossed with these thoughts, he approached the Well, & required those virgins that they would giue him drinke, which they denied him, saying that they could not get water but with great labour, which they must beare into their houses, and not laushly bestow on others: whereupon one amongst them reproued the rest for that discourtesie, which they vsed towards the stranger; saying that they had neuer been conuersant amongst men, that refused to giue him water that requested it, wherupon she gaue him drinke with an amiable countenance: and he conceiuing good hope of all his businessse, yet being further desirous to know the euent of the matter, he praised the honesty and courtesie of *Rebecca* who had not refused to trauell in her owne person to satisfie his necessitie, asking her of what parents she was, learning them happy that had such a daughter, praying God that it might please him to grant them the good hap to marrie her to their contentment, and march her with a man of honest reputation, by whom she might be plentifull in good and lawfull children: *Rebecca* made no difficulty to tell him the names of her Parents, (the better to gratifie him) neither concealed she her owne name, but answered in this sort. I am called, sayd she, *Rebecca*, my father was named *Ba-*

The year of the
world, 2087.
before the birth
of Christs
Hedio & Ruf-
sinus chap. 23
Gen. 23.
The age of
Sara, 127.

Genf. 22.9.11.
The originall
of Troglodytes

Libya called
Africa
Alexander Po-
lyhistor.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, cap. 24
Isaac marieth
Rebecca.
The manner
of swearing
among the an-
cient Iewes
In the yeare of
the world, 2089.
before Christs
Natiuitie, 1875

20

The year of the world, 2087. In the 8th of Chrift, 1775. Rebecca grows acquainted with Abrahams seruants.

The sake which Abrahams seruants had with Rebecca.

The year of the world, 2124. Before Chrifts birth 1840.

Medio & Rufinus, cap. 18 Gen. 24.

Abraham died after he had lived 175 yeares.

Medio & Rufinus chap. 26 Gen. 25.

thuel, who is long since dead. *Laban* is our brother, who together with my mother hath care of all our family, and hath the charge and protection of my virginity. Which when he vnderstood he reioiced at al that which had happened vnto him, and was comforted with those things which he had heard, perceiving manifestly how God had prospered his journey. Whereupon drawing out a Jewell (with certain other ornaments, such as virgins take delight to wear) he offered them vnto the maide, telling her that he gaue her these presents in requittall of that kinde of service which she had offered him in satisfying his thirst, for that she amongst so many other virgins had only lawd her selfe affable and gracious; requiring her that hee might be entertained in her brothers house (by reason that night had depriued him of the means from travelling any further) & that he was charged with certainiewels of an espoused of great price, which in no place (as he said) might be in more safety then in their custody, whom in effect he had found so courteous & honest, assuring her that the vertue which appeared in her, gaue him sufficient testimony both of the curtesie of her mother and brother, who would not (as he supposed) take it in ill part if he were entertained: to conclude, that he would in no waies be chargeable vnto them, but would pay for his lodging and expences.

To this *Rebecca* answered, that he had reason to conceiue a good opinion of her Parents humanity, but yet did in some sort preiudice them in suspecting their liberality, assuring him that his entertainment should in no sort be mercenary but voluntary, and free & according to their affection. Yet first (said she) I will certifie my brother *Laban* hereof, and afterwards guide and intertaine you in our house: which done, she conducted him into their tent, commanding her brother *Labans* seruants to take care of his Camels, as for himselfe she entertained and feasted him at her brother *Labans* table.

When supper was past, he spake both to the brother and mother of the virgin after this manner. *Abraham* the sonne of *Thares* is your cousen. For, *Nether* (good mistris) the grand-father of your children was *Abrahams* brother of one and the same father and mother. He now sendeth me vnto you, requiring you to giue this Damsell for wife to his legitimate and only sonne, educated & brought vp to be heire of all his substance: whom although he might haue matcht with the richest maidens of his countrey, yet hath he refused all of them, desiring rather to impart this honour to one of his kindred and nation: set not light therefore his good affection and desire. For, besides all other blessings and good fortunes, which haue happily befallen mee in this my journey, I haue by Gods especiall prouidence, found out both the maid, and your house. For, I be at such time as I drewe neere the City and beholding many virgins that went a watering, I besought God that I might light vpon this maiden, and he vouchsafed me my desire: Ratified therefore on your part this marriage contracted by Gods prouidence, and honour *Abraham* in granting your consent by this your daughters marriage, whom I am sent to request at your hands, with most intire affection. Now they in that they both allowed a thing so behoofefull, and perceiued also that it was conformable to the will of God, they sent their sister vnto him vnder the conditions demanded: and *Isaac* then married her at such time as he had the managing of *Abrahams* affaires, by reason that the other sonnes of *Abraham* were already departed to take possession of their Colonies.

CHAP. XVII.

Of ABRAHAMS death.

Few daies after this, *Abraham* deceased (a man full of vertue vntill his last end) and honoured by God (according to that intire loue he had to vertue) with great affection. All the daies of his life contained one hundredth seuentie and fise yeares, and he was buried in Hebron with his wife *Sara*, and by his sonnes *Isaac* and *Ismael*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of ISAACS sonnes, ESAV & IACOB, and of their nativity and education.



After the death of *Abraham*, *Rebecca* (*Isaacs* wife) waxed bigge with childe, and the time of her reckoning being neere at hand, *Isaac* was fore troubled, and sought counsell at Gods hands: who answered him, that *Rebecca* should bring forth two twins, and that of those two sonnes, two nations should be deriued, both which should be called by their names, and that he who seemed to be the least of them, should growe to be the greatest: not long time after

After (according as God had foretold him) hee was brought a bed of two twinnes, the eldest of whom was very hairy from the top of the head vnto the sole of the foote: and at such time as he issued out of his mothers wombe, his younger brother held him by the heele: the Father used the elder, who was called *Esau*, and *Seir* by reason of his haire; (which the Hebrewes will say in their language) but the younger who was called *Jacob*, was decreely beloued by his mother.

Now for that a great famine mighed in that countrey, *Isaac* (having resolved to retire himselfe to Egypt, by reason of the abundance and plentie of that countrey) hee went and dwelt at *Gerar*, according as God had commanded: In which place king *Abimelech* receiued and entertained him (according to the lawe of hospitallitie, and the league of friendship which was betwixt

Abraham his father and him.) In the beginning therefore, hee shewed vnto him great signes of friendship, but afterwards, the enuie he had conceiued, kindred him fro persuing in the same: for perceiving that God was fauourable vnto *Isaac*, and had an especiall care ouer him, hee drave him out of his countrey: but he perceiving well that enuie had altered him, and that *Abimelech* began to be charged, hee retired himselfe not farre from *Gerar* into a place called the *Sinights*, and as hee there digged to find out a watering, *Abimelechs* shepherds came and set vpon him, & hindered him in such sort as he could not finish his purpose: and for that he purposely teryed from them, they verely supposed they had gotten the victorie: Anon after, when hee began to digge in another place, other shepherds of *Abimelech*, outraged him anew, as at the first: for which cause he left this fountaine imperfect also, expecting with ripe iudgement a more conuenient opportunitie, which was afterwards offered him by reason that the King gaue him leave to digge; whereupon he laboured out a fountaine, and called it by the name of *Rooboth*, which signifieth *large*. And as touching the other two, he called the first of them *Eison*, which is as much to say as *strife*: and the other *Sienna*, which signifieth *hostilitie*.

Thus increased he daily more and more both in power and riches. But *Abimelech* supposing that his affluence would be many waies hurtfull vnto him, and remembering himselfe that he had not faithfully entertained friendship with him, but in some sort giuen occasion of suspicion, by meanes of some hard measure: fearing lest hereafter the iniuries fresh in memorie, should more distrust him then their old and auncient plighted friendship; and misdoubting his reuenge, hee repaired vnto him, and contracted a new league of amitie with him, leading with him one of his

chiefest captaines, as an abiter betwene them, by whose meanes hee obtained whatsoeuer hee required: so courteous was *Isaac*, and so readie in memorie of his fathers olde couenant to forgive new iniuries. And so *Abimelech* hauing obtained his purpose, returned to his house. *Esau* one of the two sonnes of *Isaac* (whom the father especially loued aboue all the rest) hauing attained the age of fortie yeares, tooke to wiues *Ada* the daughter of *Edom*, and *Alibama* the daughter of *Esebeon*, two princes of the Chanaanites (and that of his owne authoritie, without his fathers aduise or priuities, who would not haue consented, had the matter bene remitted vnto him, because he held it inconuenient to mix and ioyne him, or his, in affinitie with any dwellers or inhabitants of the countrey.) This notwithstanding, he would not displease his sonne by commanding him to giue ouer his wiues: but determined with himselfe to concale and keepe the matter silent.

When *Isaac* was waxen olde and wholly depriued of his sight, he called for *Esau* his sonne and said vnto him: that although he had not any default or blindness in him, yet his age would hinder him to dooe that seruice, which hee both ought and wished to dooe: and therefore he willed him to goe on hunting, and that he should make readie some meate for him that hee might eat: and after his repast, he might pray vnto God that it would please him to be assistant vnto him all his life time, and be a comforter and aide vnto him: protesting moreover, that since he was vncertaine of the houre of his death, he thought good to blesse him, and by his prayers to procure Gods mercie towards him, before he slept with the dead. Herevpon *Esau* went on hunting: but *Rebecca* in the meane time (desirous that *Isaacs* blessing should light vpon her son *Jacob*) contrarie to her husbands intent and mind, commanded him to go, and kill two kiddes, and prepare a repast for his father. *Jacob* being obsequious and obedient to his mother in all things, fulfilled her command, and as soone as the meate was readie, hee wrapped his armes and couered his hands with the Goats skins, hoping by the hairines thereof, to make his father beleue that hee was *Esau*. For being his brother at one and the same birth, hee resembled him in all things except in this thing onely: but fearing lest hee should be surprised in his subtiltie before his father, *Isaac* had finished his prayers, and in stead of his blessings he might be loaden with his curses, hee

Gen. 27.

Isaac sendeth Esau on hunting. The year of the world, 2186. Before Chrifts birth, 1778.

Jacob by his mothers counsel stealeth his brothers blessing.

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presented the meat vnto his father. But *Isaac* perceiuing some alteration in his voyce, calleth his sonne, who stretching out his hands vnto him couered with the kids skinnnes, Thou art (saide he). more like vnto *Jacob* in thy voyce; but by thy hairnesse, thou seemest vnto me to be *Esau*. Thus suspecting no deceit, and hauing already eaten, hee addressed himselfe to pray, and called vpon God saying. O Lord of all ages, and maker of all creatures, thou hast promised great blessings vnto my father, and hast giuen me many and present felicities, and hast vowed that thou wouldest be merciful vnto my posterity, and plentifully powre vpon them more & more ample benefites: let this thy fauour, I beseech thee, be continued towards me; neither despise thou mee by reason of this my present weaknesse, which is the cause that I haue more neede of thy help. Saue and keepe this my sonne by thy clemency, warrantize him from all euill, giue him a happie life, and possession of all blessings & benefites which are in thy power to bestow vpon him: make him feare his enemies, and gracious to his friends. Thus prayed he vnto God, thinking he had blessed *Esau*. Scarce had he finished his prayers, but *Esau* returned from hunting, which though *Isaac* perceived, he was no waies moued with displeasure, but held himselfe silent. *Esau* besought him that he might obtaine as much as he had vouchsafed his brother; but *Isaac* denied him, in that he had bestowed all his blessings vpon *Jacob*: for which cause *Esau* lamented and wept. His father (amazed and moued by his teares) foretold him that he should excell in hunting, in force of body, in arms, and other such exercises, whereby he should purchase immortal glory both to himselfe and his posterity, yet notwithstanding that he should be his brothers vassall. But for that *Jacob* feared least his brother should seek to be reuenged of him for robbing him of his fathers blessing, he was by his mothers means deliuered from this perill. For, the perswaded her husband to take *Jacob* a wife neere called vnto him, out of Mesopotamia. *Esau* at that time had married another wife called *Basemath* the daughter of *Ismael*: for neither *Isaac* nor his were well affectioned towards the Chanaanites: but were offended by reason of his former espousals. For, which cause *Esau* to giue them contentment married *Basemath*, whom afterward he loued more intirely then all the rest.

CHAP. XIX.

How *Jacob* fled into Mesopotamia for feare of his brother.

Gen. 28.

BVt *Jacob* being sent into Mesopotamia by his mother, vnder hope to marry the daughter of *Laban*, her brother (wherunto *Isaac* consented through the counsaile of his wife) passed through the country of Chanaan. And for that there was a conceiued & open hatred betwixt *Isaac*s people and the inhabitants of Chanaan, hee would not take vp his lodging amongst any of them, but lay abroad in the fields, resting his head vpon stones, which hee had heaped together in stead of a pillow: and during the time of his rest, this vision following was presented vnto him. It seemed vnto him that he saw a ladder, that extending it self from the earth, reached vp vnto heauen, along the steps whereof there descended certaine resemblances more excellent to look on, then the ordinary port of humane nature could impart; and on the top thereof God manifestly appeared, and calling him by his name, spake vnto him after this maner. *Jacob*, sure thou art the son of a good father, and descended from a grandfather renowned & famous for his great vertue: thou must not be daunted, or appauled by thy present trauels; but rather be confirmed in hope of future good hap. For by mine assistance thou shalt be blessed, and endowed with many benefites. For I am he that brought *Abraham* hither, from the country of Mesopotamia, at such time as he was pursued by his parents: I haue also made thy father happy, and will be no lesse gracious and fauourable vnto thy selfe.

Jacobs ladder.

God speaketh vnto *Jacob*.

Be confident therefore, and prosecute thy iourney vnder mine assistance. The mariage which thou pursuest shall haue a happie issue, and thou shalt haue good children, who in number shall grow infinite, and shall likewise leaue after them a plentifull and famous posterity, and I will giue them the souerainety ouer this country, both to them and their successors, and they shall people and replenish both the earth and the Sea, as farre as the Sunne enlighteneth the world. Let not therefore any danger dismay thee, nor trouble discomfort thee: for besides all this, whatsoever thou shalt vnder take, I will not cease to assist thee. These things did God foretell vnto *Jacob*; who very highly reioicing at that which he had seene, and that which had bene denounced vnto him, annointed the stones on which the promises of so many blessings had bene made, and vowed to offer sacrifice vnto God on the same, if at such time as hee had attained the good hee sought, he should grant him the grace to returne in health and safetie into his country: which

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As soone as hee returned backe hee performed, offering vnto God the tenth of all that which hee had giuen him. And as touching the place where this vision appeared vnto him hee hallowed it, and called it by the name of Bethel, which in the Greeke tongue signifieth the house of God. Continuing thus his journey into Mesopotamia hee trauelled so long, till at last hee arrived at Charran: and hauing met in the suburbs of the City with certaine shepherds and young men accompanied with young maidens, sitting neere to a certaine fountaine, he drew neere vnto them, desiring them to giue him drinke: and falling in discourse with them, hee asked them whether they knew one that was called *Laban*, and whether he were yet aliue. All of them answered that they knew him well, and that he was a man of that reputation that his name could not bee concealed, that his daughter was accustomed to feede her flocke with them, and that they wondered that she was not as yet arrived: of whom (saide they) thou maist perfectly vnderstand all that which thou desirest to know. Whilest thus they past the time in talke, the Damsell drew neere accompanied with her shepherds: whom one of the company informed that *Jacob* was inquisitiue after her father; who, reioicing after the manner of young maidens, asked him what he was, and whence hee came, and what necessity had driuen him thither? wishing shee had the means to supply whatsoeuer his necessities required. *Jacob* being overcome, not by the force of affinitie, or by her good behaviour and curtesie, but with the loue of the maiden, was inflamed seeing her so faire and matchlesse in beauty, and layd vnto her. If thou art the daughter of *Laban* there is a greater and more auncient coniunction betwixt both thy father, thy selfe and me, then either thy yeares, or my birth can attaine vnto. For, *Abraham*, *Aran* and *Nachor*, were *Thares* sonnes; *Bathuel* thy grandfather was *Nachors* sonne, *Isaac* my father was the son of *Abraham*, and *Sara* daughter of *Atam*: there is yet a neerer and dearer bond of friendship wherewith we are linked one vnto another. For, *Rebecca* my mother is sister vnto *Laban* thy father, borne of one father and mother; so that you and I are colens: and therefore now am I come at this present to salute you, and renewe that auncient loue which our alliance requireth at our hands. But shee remembering her of all those things which her father was wont to report and discourse of *Rebecca*, and knowing that her Parents were desirous to heare some news from her, she wept for ioy, remembering her of the loue of her father, & hung about his necke, and embraced the young man, and after she had saluted him she said vnto him: Thou bringest a most desired & great pleasure to my father & all his family, who neuer forgetteth thy mother, but often times maketh mention of her: and would esteeme it a great felicity to heare tidings from her. Then desired she him presently to follow her to her father, least any longer he might be deprived of so desired a pleasure. This said, she brought him vnto *Laban*, where being acknowledged by his vncke, he both by that meanes liued securely amongst his friends, as also brought him great contentment, by his vnexpected access vnto them. Some few dayes after, this *Laban* told him that hee tooke so much contentment in his presence, that he could not expresse it in words, yet required hee him to manifest the cause that had induced him to leaue his father and mother in their extreame age, at such times as they had most neede of him, to find him out; moreouer he promised him all assistance and fauour in whatsoeuer case hee had to make vse of him. Whereupon *Jacob* discoursed vnto him the whole matter, that *Isaac* had two sonnes, himselfe and *Esau*, that his brother (in that by his mothers deuise and counsell, he had defrauded him of his fathers blessing) sought and desired to kill him, as he that was the rauisher of that principality from him that was destinated vnto him by God, and the surpriser of all his fathers other intended vovues: that this, as also his mothers command was the cause why he came thither: by reason they are all brothers, and by reason that in especiall his mother was their chiefe kinne; telling him that next after God hee hoped to finde his greatest assistance and helpe by the means of his vncke. Whereupon *Laban* promising vnto him whatsoeuer humanity hee could imagine (as well in respect of their common ancestors, as for the loue hee bare vnto his mother, towards whom although she were absent, he would expresse his good affection, in shewing himselfe well affected towards him that was there present) he told him then that hee would giue him the charge of his flocke; and make him master ouer all his shepherdes, and that when he should thinke good to returne backe againe to his friends, he should depart with such rewardes and honours as might well become a friend so neerely allied vnto him as he was. Which when *Jacob* vnderstood, he answered that he would willingly indure any sort of labour in *Labans* seruice, and that his deuoir towards him would be a delight to himselfe, but that in lieu of his labours he required *Rachel* to wife, who deferred to be honoured by him with no lesse title for many causes, but in especiall for that she had brought him thither: knowing that the loue which he bare vnto her was the cause why he used those speeches. *Laban* (being

In the year of the world, 2866, before Christes Nativity, 1778. *Jacob* arriveth at Charran in Mesopotamia among his mothers kindred.

*Jacob*s talke with *Rachel*, *Rachels* excellent beauty.

*Jacob*s talke with *Laban*. The year of the world, 2893, before Christes birth, 1771.

Jacob for *Rebecca* requieth *Rachel* for his wife.

But

The year of the
world, 2206. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1738.

Jacob sendeth
messengers to
his brother
Esau.

Genes 39.

But as *Jacob* traualled towards the countrey of Chanaan, he encountered many visions, which *G*
prelaged vnto him good hope and fortunes to come; and he called the place where this thing
happened, the Field of God. And being desirous to know how his brother *Esau* was affected to-
wards him, he sent messengers before him to sound and gather the exact truth thereof; by re-
wards him, he sent messengers before him to sound and gather the exact truth thereof; by re-
son he stood in feare lest the memory of his old discontent should be renewed: charging his
messengers to signifie vnto *Esau*, that *Jacob* (deeming it to be a thing inconuenient to liue with
his brother, who was displeased with him) had of his owne freewill forsaken the countrey, and
that at this present he was vpon his returne, thinking that the length of time were sufficient to
procure a reconciliation between them. He therefore led with him his wiues and children, with
all those riches which God had given him; offering himselfe vnto *Esau* with all that of most
esteeme which he had, by reason that he thought it the greatest benefit that might happen to
him, to impart vnto his brother a part of those commodities, which he had receiued at Gods
hands. All which they signified vnto *Esau*, who reioiced very much thereat, and went forth
to meete his brother, accompanied with foure hundred armed men. But *Jacob* hearing that he
marched forward to meete him, attended by so many men at armes, was very much afraid: yet
fixing his confidence in God, he provided for the time, least any detriment should happen vnto
him, studying euery way to defend both him, and his, from inuasion. Whereupon diuiding his
troupes, he caused some to march before, and the rest to follow speedily after: so that if any did
assault the first, they might retire themselves to the troupe that followed.

After this maner hauing ordered all things about him, he sent certaine with presents to his
brother, namely with beasts of charge, and a great number of diuers kinds of foure-footed beasts,
(which for their rareness might worke more content and admiration in those to whom they
were presented.) All these marched one after another, to the intent, that being encountered thus
in rankes, they might seeme to be of greater number then they were: to the end, that if as yet
there remained any discontent in the heart of *Esau*, these presents might serue to mitigate the
same. He commanded them also that marched formost, that they should vse courteous salutation
towards *Esau*. Hauing thus all the day disposed his troupes, as soone as the night was come,
he caused all his companies to march, who passed the riuer of Iaboch: but *Jacob*, who was left
hindmost, was encountered with a vision, in which he wrestled with an apparition, and hee be-
came victor.

Now this vision spake vnto him, exhorting him to reioice at that which had hapned vnto him,
assuring him that he had not achieved an easie matter, but that he had surmounted an Angell
of God, which was a signe of great good which should befall him, and that his posteritie
should be inuincible, and that neuer man whatsoever hee were, should overcome him: com-
manding him to call his name *Israel*, that is to say according to the Hebrewes, a *resister of an*
Angell. These things were foretold vnto *Jacob* vpon his request, who perceiuing also that hee
was an Angel of God, praised him to informe him of that which should happen vnto him: which
the vision did, and afterwards vanished. *Jacob* tooke great pleasure thereat, and called the place
Phanuel, that is to say, the face of God: and for that in wrestling he had hurt his broad nerue, hee
afterwards abstained from eating of the same, and by reason thereof our nation doe neuer feede
thereon.

Now when he had intelligence that his brother neerly approched him, he commanded his
wiues that they should march forward euery one with their handmaidens, to the end that they
might from afarre behold the sight of the men, if so be that his brother should assaile them. But
himselfe hee huddled in reuerencing his brother, who drew neere vnto him, without intent of cir-
cumcution; and *Esau* saluted him, and enquired of him as touching the companies of women
and children; and after he vnderstood how all went, he was desirous to lead them to his father.
But *Jacob* excused himselfe, by reason of the wearines of his cattell, and *Esau* retired to Sair where
he made his abode, and had imposed that name on that country, by reason of his thicke haire.
Jacob also retired himselfe to a place, which at this day also is called the Tents, and from thence
into Sichem, a city of the Chanaanites.

Now at such time as the Sichemites celebrated their feast, *Dina* which was *Jacobs* only daugh-
ter, went into the City to see the brauery of the women of that country. But *Sichem* the sonne
of King *Emmor* rauished her, and deflowred her: and being surprised with her loue, he be-
sought his father that he might take her to wife, who listning thereunto, went vnto *Jacob*, praying
him to ioine *Dina* his daughter, in lawfull marriage, with his sonne *Sichem*. *Jacob* not daring to
contradict him by reason of his authority and quality; and on the other side, not thinking it to be

Jacob saluted
his brother
Esau.

Gen. 34.
Jacob com-
meth to Se-
nath.
The history of
Dina, Jacobs
daughter.

The year of the
world, 2206. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1738.

Simeon and
Leui kill the
Sichemites.
Gen. 35.

Jacob dig-
ging vp 12
bans gods,
goeth & sacri-
ficech at Be-
thel.
Rachel dieth
in childbed.
Hedio 8. Ru-
finus chap. 28

The year of the
world, 2230. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1724.
Isaac dieth 85
yeares olde.
Genes 35.

A be either a thing lawfull, or conuenient to match his daughter with a stranger, required at his
hands a time of deliberation to consult thereupon. Hereon the king departed, hoping that *Jacob*
would listen to the marriage. But *Jacob* hauing discovered vnto his sonnes the truifment of their
sister, and the request of *Emmor*, desired them to deliberate amongst themselves what thing was
to be done in the matter: whereupon some held their peace, not knowing what to say; but *Sime-
on* and *Leui* (the brothers of the same wombe, with their sister) conspired together this
practise. In as much as it was a festiual, and that the Sichemites intended nought but pleasure
and banquetting, they issued by night vpon their first guards, and killed them that were a bed; and
from thence entering into the Citie, they killed all the males (and with them the king and his son)
but to the women they offered no violence. Which being executed without the knowledge of
their father, they brought their sister backe agayne. *Jacob* was very much astonished at this ac-
cident so strangely executed, and was wroth with his children: but God appeared vnto him and
comforted him, and commanded him that he should purifie his tents, and accomplish those sa-
crifices which he had vowed to performe, at such time when first he went into Mesopotamia, and
the vision appeared vnto him. Whilest then hee cleansed those which followed him, he found
the Gods of *Laban*, which beside his knowledge *Rachel* had stolne, and hid them in Sichem
in the earth vnder an Oake.

Afterwards departing from thence, he sacrificed in Bethel, where he had seen the vision, at
such time as hee first of all tooke his journey into Mesopotamia: and as he traualled in the land
of Ephrata, *Rachel* died in child-bed, and was buried there: (and she only hath not enioyed the
honour, which is done in Hebron to those of her parentage.) After he had made great lamenta-
tion, he named the child which she bare at that time, *Beniamin*, (by reason of the dolours which
happened vnto his mother.) These are all the children of *Jacob*, twelue males and one daughter,
of whom eight were begotten on his lawfull wiues, fixe of *Lea*, and two of *Rachel*; and on their
chamber-maides, foure; two of each of them, whose names I haue heretofore recorded. From
thence went *Jacob* to Hebron a Citie of Chanaan, where *Isaac* made his abode, and they liued
but a small time together, because *Rachel* was dead and departed from him.

CHAP. XX.

ISAAC dieth and is buried in Hebron.

D *Isaac* died a little time after the arriual of his sonne, and was buried with his wife by his
sonne in Hebron, among their fathers. This *Isaac* was a man beloued of God; and gui-
ded by his especiall providence. After the deceale of *Abraham*, he liued a long time: &
after he had passed his life in all vertue for the space of 185. yeares hee decealed.

THE SECOND BOOKE

OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE

IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS

IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 2. Booke.

1. How Esau and Jacob, Isaacs sonnes, diuided their habitations, and how Idumae fell to Esau
lot, and Chanaan to Jacobs.
2. How Ioseph the youngest of Jacobs sonnes, by reason of his dreames which foretolde his future fe-
licity, incurred his brothers enuie.
3. How Ioseph was sold by his brethren into Egypt, and grew in great authority in that countrey,
and how at length he had his brothers under his power.
4. How Jacob with all his progenie came vnto his sonne.
5. Of the affliction of the Hebrewes in Egypt, for the space of 400. yeares.
6. How vnder the conduct of Moses, they forsooke Egypt.
7. How the redde sea diuided it selfe, and gaue the Hebrewes a passage at such time as they fledde out
of Egypt.

C ij

CHAP.

How ESAV & JACOB, ISAACS sunnes, divided their inheritance: and how Edumaea fell to ESAVS lot, and Chanaan to JACOBS.

The yeare of the
world, 2220. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1734
Isaac Tonnes
departed
their habita-
tions.

Isau the first
begotten, sel-
leth his birth-
right.
Eti. u. called E
dom.
Gen. 36.
Isaus tonnes
and posterity.

BUt when *Iſaac* was dead, the ſonnes diuided their habitations among them-
ſelves, and were neither of them content with that which thy inherited by
their father: but *Eſau* leauing the Citie of Hebron to his brother, went and
dwelt in Seir; and was Lord of the countrey of Idumæa, which he named by
his name (for it was ſurnamed Edom) for the occaſion which followeth. He
being very young, returned one day ſore wearied, trauailed, and hungry
from hunting; and finding his brother dreſſing for himſelfe a meſſe of lentill pottage, which
were very red in colour, & further increaſed & incenſed his appetite; he required the ſame of his hands,
that he might eat them. But he taking the opportunitie and occaſion of his brother *Eſau*'s hun-
ger, conſtrained him to forſake his birth-right, and to ſell him the ſame, on condition, hee ſhould
giue him what to eat. *Eſau* then tranſported with famine ſurrendred vnto him his birth-right,
and confirmed it with a ſolemne oath. And thereupon, his equeles in age, in way of mockery,
called him Edom, by reaſon of this redde meat: for Edom in Hebrew ſignifieth Red. His coun-
trey likewiſe was called Edom: but the Greeks, to the end they might make the name more cur-
rant, called it Idumæa. He became the father of ſiue children, of whom he had three by his wife
Alibamma, whoſe names were *Taus*, *Iolamus*, and *Chorau*: as touching the other two, *Aliphaces*
was the ſon of *Aza*, and *Riguel* of *Moſametha*: theſe children had *Eſau*. *Aliphaces* had ſiue legiti-
mate children, *Theman*, *Omar*, *Ophus*, *Iotham*, *Ocanaxes* (for *Amelech* was illegitimate, borne by
one of his concubines, whoſe name was *Tremana*). Theſe dwelled in that part of Idumæa, which
is called *Gobolitus*; and in that part, which by reaſon of *Amelech*, is called *Amalechitis*. For, I-
dumæa being in times paſt a land of great extent, continued the name of Idumæa thorough the
whole countrey: and the particular prouinces of the ſame, kept the names of thoſe that firſt in-
habited the ſame.

CHÁP. II.

JOSEPH the youngest of JACOBS children, is envied by his brothers.

The year of the
world, 2206. be
for the Natu-
ral of Christ,
1598.

Genes. 37.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 2

**Jacobs sonnes
hated t^e eir
brother Jo-
seph.**

Josephs
dreams.

BVt *Jacob* attained to that felicity, that scarcely any other had beene so happy; for hee surpassed all the inhabitants of that country in riches: and by reason of the vertues of his children, hee was both enuied and regarded. For, they were accomplished in all perfections, animared and endowed with stout hearts; prepared to execute any work of the hand, and to indure all sorts of trauel: finally, all of them were furnished with knowledge and prouidence. But God had such care of him, and so diligently procured and furthered his good fortunes, that that which seemed vnto him to bee griefefull and contrary, hee broughtro an issue prosperous for him, and increasefull for his riches: and brought to passe, that both he and his children were the first motiue to our auncestours to forsake the land of Egypt, for that cause which here inueth. *Jacob* hauing begotten *Ioseph* of *Rachel*, loued him entirely, both in respect of the beauty of his body, as also of the ornaments and vertues of his spirit: and besides both these, his prudence, wherein he outstripped all his other brothers. This cordiall affection of his father, moued enuy and hatred amongst his brothers towards him. And besides these, the dreams which he had seene, and told both to his father and brethren; which foreprophecied vnto him a singular felicity. For, it is the common custome of men to be iealous of their prosperitie, with whom they are familiar.

Now the visions which *Ioseph* sawe in his dreame, were these. Being sent by his father in the company of his brothers, to reape corne in the time of haruest, he sawe a vision (farre different from those which accustomably happen in sleepe) which (as soone as he awoke) he told vnto his brethren, to the end they should interpret it. Hee tolde them therefore, that hee thought in his dreame the night past, that his sheafe of corne was setled in a place where hee had fixed it, and that theirs ranne towards his, and worshipped the same. Which vision of his seemed, to foretell him of his ample fortune; and how hee should obtaine the Lordship ouer all of them. But they concealed all these things from *Ioseph*, making shew that they could in no sort interpret the dream: but being by themselves apart, they breathed forth contrarie imprecations, wishing that

A that nothing of that which they interpreted as touching his dreame, might take effect, but per-
seuering more and more in enuie and hatred towards him. But God (opposing his pow-
er against their enuie) sent *Ioseph* a second and more strange vision. For he dreamed that the sun,
the moon, and eleuen of the starrs descended downe to the earth, and humbled themselves be-
fore him. Which vision he revealed to his father in the presence of his brethren (without suspi-
cion of any hatred in them towards him) and besought him to interpret vnto him the meaning
thereof. Now as touching *Iacob*, he greatly reioiced at this dreame, by reason hee conceived in
thereof. And (in comparing and alluding his coniectures not rashly,
but with prudence) hee reioiced at those great matters which were signified by that dreame;
which foretold, that his sonne *Ioseph* should be highly fortunate, and happy; and that the time
should come in which his father, mother and brethren should honour him, and worship before
him. For, he compared the moone (which ripeneth and encrease all things that grow) to his
mother: and the sunne which giuech forme and force) to his father. And as touching his bro-
thers, who were eleuen in number, he compared them to the eleuen starrs, (which receiued their
force both from the sun and the moon.) Neither did *Iacob* without iudgement & consideration so
interpret this vision. But, *Iosephs* brothers were highly aggrieved at this prelag, conceiuing as
hainously and hatefully therof, as if this felicity had bin portended to a stranger, and not to their
brother, with whom they might equally partake his good fortunes whatsoever, being as well al-
lied in felicity vnto him as in consanguinity. Whereupon they resolu'd on his death and destruc-
tion, and hauing consploted these counsailes amongst themselves, and gathered in their harvest,
they retired themselves with their flockes towards *Sichem* (which was a part of that countrey)
very fit to nourish and feed their cattell, where they kept their flockes without giuing any notice
of their departure to their father. But he perceiuing that no man came from the herd, that might
tell him any tydings, being sorrowfull and carefull of his sonnes, he sent *Ioseph* to the flockes, to
vnderstand how they did, and how their affaires prospered.

CHAP. III.

How IOSEPH was sold into Egypt by his brethren, and grew in great credit in that country: and how his brethren at length were under his subiection.

D Vt so soone as they saw their brother comming towards them, they reioiced, not as if **Ioseph** com-
B the arruall of one of their household friends sent vnto them by their father, but as if their
 brethren my had encountred them; who by the will of God was deliuered into their hands. **Ioseph** com-
 They therefore mutually agreed to put him to death, and not to let slip the present opportunitie. **Ioseph** com-
 But **Ruben** the eldest amongst them seeing their disposition and conspiracie to kill him, ende-
 uoured to dissuade them, setting before their eyes how hainous and wicked the enterprise was, **Ioseph** com-
 and what hatred they might incurre thereby. For (sayd hee) if before God and before men it **Ioseph** com-
 bee a wicked and detestable thing to lay hands on, and to murder a stranger: how much more **Ioseph** com-
 haynous a crime will it bee helde for vs, to bee convicted to be the murderers of our brother? **Ioseph** com-
E whose death will heape sorrow on our fathers head: and draw our mother into great griefe and **Ioseph** com-
 desolation through the losse of her sonne, robbed and bereft from her beyond the ordinary **Ioseph** com-
 course of men. For which cause he prayed them to be aduised in these things, & that they would **Ioseph** com-
 consider in their mindes, what thing might happen, if this child, who was faire, vertuous and **Ioseph** com-
 young, should bee done to death: praying them to giue ouer this vnnaturall resolution, and to **Ioseph** com-
 feare God, who was both the Iudge and Witnesse of their deliberation intended against their **Ioseph** com-
 brother: and that if they would desist from this hainous act, God would take pleasure in their **Ioseph** com-
 repentance and reconciliation; but if they proceeded in their enterprise, he assured them that he **Ioseph** com-
 would punish them like fratricides; since nothing is hidden from his prouidence, whether it bee **Ioseph** com-
 committed in the desert, or attempted in the City. For, where soeuer men are, there is it alwaies **Ioseph** com-
F to be thought, that God likewise is. Further, that when they should haue perpetrated this fact, **Ioseph** com-
 they should alwaies haue their consciences as an armed aduersarie against them, which **Ioseph** com-
 neuer would forsake them, whether they were good, or whether such as theirs would bee; if they **Ioseph** com-
 should fortune to murder their brother. Furthermore he alleaded, that it was an impious fact **Ioseph** com-
 to kill a mans owne brother, although he had done him iniurie; and much more meritorious **Ioseph** com-
 to forgive a mans friend, that had offended against him. Moreover he sayd, that **Ioseph** had done **Ioseph** com-
 them no wrong, whose tender yeeres rather required cure and compassion at their handes, **Ioseph** com-

at Ioseph com-
meth vnto his
brothers, who
S. resolute to
murder him.

C- Ruben dissuades his brother from their death.

The year of the
world 2217 be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1747.

then hate and tyranny. Besides that, the cause of his slaughter would aggravate their offence, **G** if it should be known that for enuy of his future felicity they should take away his life, all which good hap they likewise might participate by reason of consanguinity, and that it was their dutie to think, that whatsoeuer blessing God imparted to *Ioseph* was theirs; and that for that cause they were to imagine, that God would be more displeased against them, if they should endeavour to deprive him of his life, whom hee had esteemed and adiudged worthy of prosperity to come. *Ruben* alleging these and many other things, besought them and laboured to diuert them from shedding their brothers blood: but seeing that all these his motives could in no sort mollify them, but that they hastened the rather to commit & perpetrate the murder; hee counselled them that at least while they should allow him some milder kind of death. Telling them that hee endeouored all what in him lay at the first to dissuade them: but since it was throughly resolved among them that hee should not liue, that lesse mischief should follow of it, if they would bee ruled by his counsell; for by that meanes their will should haue effect, yet, a more milde and lesse hurtfull in comparison of murder: that it were better for them to temper their hands, and keep them immaculate by casting him into the next pit, & there leauing him in the hands of death: to this counsell all of them agreed. So *Ruben* took *Ioseph* and bound him with cords, and let him down easily into a pit which was drie, which done hee departed to seeke out a more conuenient place for pasture.

Ruben persuadeth them to cast *Ioseph* into a pit. *Ecdio* & *Rufinus*. chap. 3.

Gen. 37. 39.

Ioseph by the counsell of *Iuda* is sold to the Arabian merchants.

Ruben by night committeth to the pit.

But when *Ruben* was gone, *Iuda* one of *Iacobs* sonnes (espying certaine merchants of Arabia, of the countrey of the *Imadites*, who from the countrey of *Galaden* caried Spicery & Syrian merchandise into Egypt) counsell'd his brothers to drawe vp *Ioseph* out of the well, and to sell him to those Arabians, assuring them by that means it would conuey to pass that *Ioseph* should die, the farther off from them amongst strangers; and as touching themselves, they should bee exempt from that pollution: which counsell of his being commended by them all, they drew *Ioseph* out of the pit, and sold him to the Arabians for the summe of twenty siluerlings; at such time as he was seauenty yeres of age. Now had *Ruben* resolved in himselfe to saue *Ioseph* without his brothers priuilege: for which cause comming by night vnto the pit, he called him with a loud voice and seeing that he gaue him no answere, hee began to coniecture with himselfe that his brethren had done him to death, hee reprobred them therefore very bitterly; but after they had tolde him what was become of him, he gaue ouer his mourning. After these things were thus brought to passe, the brethren confaked amongst themselves in what sort they might cleere themselves from their fathers suspicion, and concluded among themselves to teare the coat wherewith *Ioseph* was attired, at such time as he came vnto them, and which they had taken from him; when they cast him into the well, to the end that hauing defiled it in the blood of a Goat, they might afterwards bare it vnto their father & shew it him, to the end he might suppose that *Ioseph* was slain by wilde beasts; which done, they came vnto the old man (not altogether ignorant of his sons misfortunes) and tolde him that they had not seen their brother *Ioseph*, neither could they assure him what mishap had befallen him; but that notwithstanding they had found his ierkin altogether bebloudied and troy, which made them suspect that he was slain by some wilde beasts, if so be he were sent vnto them attired in that coat.

Ioseph by others perswade his father that he is deuoured by wilde beasts.

Iacob bewaileth *Ioseph* for dead. *Ioseph* is sold in Egypt to *Putifar*.

Putifars wife solicite *Ioseph* to lie with her.

But *Iacob* (that hitherto expected and hoped for more succesfull tidings, in that he supposed & hoped that *Ioseph* had only been captiue) gaue ouer this opinion, and took the coat for a most assured testimony of his sonnes death; for he knew that he was apparelled therewith at such time as he sent him to his brothers: for which cause he lamented *Ioseph*, from that time forward as being dead, & as if he had not any more sons. And such was the griefe of his heart, that he conceiued no consolation in the rest, but suffered himselfe to be perswaded by the brothers; that *Ioseph* had bin slaine by sauage beasts; he therefore sat him down being clothed in sackcloth, and charged with sorrow; and neither could his sons by their counsells mitigate his moanes, nor he himselfe remit the rigor of his lamentation.

Now *Ioseph* was sold by the merchants & bought by *Putifar* (an Egyptian Lord, and a steward of king *Pharaohs* household) who held him in high estimation, and trained him vp in all liberal sciences, suffering him to liue not after a seruile, but liberall manner, and committing vnto his charge the care of all his household, all which fauours hee made vse of. Yet was he no waies diuerted by these his priuiledges and promotions from his innated vertue, testifying hereby, that prudence doth not submit to aduersitie fortune, if a man vse the same orderly, and not at that time only when fortune faueth and flattereth.

It fortuned not long after, that his masters wife was enamoured with him, both in respect of

of his beautie, as also of the dexteritie and diligence; supposing that if shee opened her minde vnto him, she might the more easily enioy him, and that hee might esteeme it a part of his felicity, to be beloued by his mistress. All which she supposed and imagined, hauing onely regard of that seruile condition, wherein at that present he was, and not of his manners which continued alwaies entire; notwithstanding any change that could happen vnto him: for which cause shee discovered vnto him her desire, and desired him to grant her an amorous encounter; but he refused her demand, alledging that it were a most wicked requitall of him towards his master, if it should come to passe that he who had bought him, and so greatly honored him, should receiue so great an iniurie and outrage: for which cause he exhorted her, to conquer her appetite, depriving her of all hope of euer compassing her concupiscence, alledging vnto her; that desire is then lesse active when hope is extinguished; auowing that hee had rather suffer all the mischiefs that might be imagined, then to consent or condiscend vnto her in that wickedness. And although (said he) it bee vndecent for a seruant to contradict the will of his mistress, yet that the filchinesse of the fact did dissuade him from attempting the same. But this his repulse did more and more inflame her, for that she supposed that *Ioseph* should not denie her: and her disordinate affections increasing daily, she deuised and complotted a new meanes in hope to bring her loue to her desired issue.

Putifars wife complotteth a second subtilty to allure *Ioseph*.

Whereas therefore a solemne and publike feast was at hand, wherein according to custome, the Ladies were wont to dignifie the solemnitie by their assistance: she fained a sicknes, perswading her husband thereunto, hoping by that meanes she might haue the better opportunitie (in being solitarie and alone) to sollicite *Ioseph*: which falling out accordingly (as she had her selfe desired) she began to court and compasse him by these flattering and fawning allurements and perswasions. Telling him that hee had done well if vpon her first request he had obied her without any contradiction, in respect of her dignity who required the same, & her incredible passion which had so farre commaunded her, that notwithstanding she were his mistress, she should indigne and forget her selfe so much as to sollicite him: that now he should behaue himselfe more wisely and better; if in amends of his forepassed obstinacie he now at last would consent. For if hee respected this her second summons, it was farre more affectionate and importunate then the former, for (saith she) I haue fained sicknesse to this ende, to sollicite and preferre thy company before a publike triumph. Or if at first thou didst mistrust me, thou maist hereby conceiue that I doe not maliciously tempt thee, in that I yet continue in the same affection. For which cause euer make choise of this present pleasure, and be obsequious to her that loueth thee, vnder hope of further preferments, or bee assured of my hate and reuenge if thou preferrest thy opinion of chastitie before my fauour. For bee assured that thy chastitie shall profit thee nothing; if I shall accuse thee to my husband, and auow that thou hast sought to violate me: for although thy allegations bee more true, yet shall my words be of more force, and my accusations more acceptable in *Putifars* eares then thine. But neither by these words, nor her teares the witnesses of her vovues, could *Ioseph* bee peruerted, neither could remorse ouerworke him, nor terrour compell him to forsake his purposed chastitie, but that hee constantly resisted against those iniust afflictions, wherewith she threatned him: choosing rather to suffer any misery whatsoeuer, then to bee prisoned with the possession of her offered adulteries, being well assured that he was worthy of extreme punishment, if on a womans intreatie hee should condiscend to any such treacherie. He likewise admonished her of her duetie, alledging the lawes, rights, and customes of matrimonie, willing her rather to respect them, then her momentanie lust: for that the one was speedily followed with repentance, proceeding sodainly of griefe, not amendment of sinne, with a continuall and great feare likewise; least the fact should bee discovered: whereas the company she might haue with her husband, was void of daunger, and attended by a conscience, as well before God as men. Moreouer, that it was more conuenient for her to gouerne and commaund him as his Lady & Mistress, rather then to be shamed in making him the secretary of their common sinne: for that it is more conuenient to be assured in the confidence of a good life, then in secret to commit sinne. In these and such words sought hee to abate the brunt of her furious affection; and to reuoke her from her depraued fancies; to submit to the law of reason; but she, the more instantly he dissuaded, the more earnestly invaded him; and where by no meanes she could peruert him by words, she laid violent hands vpon him, to constrain him perforce: but *Ioseph* (vnable to indure any longer the intemperancie of the woman, leauing his garment behind him whereby she held him) brake sodainly out of the chamber. She partly impelled by the griefe of repulse, partly affrighted with feare, least her lasciuiousnes should be made known

Ioseph once more repulseth the assaults of her suit.

Ioseph leauing his raiment behind him fled from the adulteresse.

32 To her husband, decreed first of all falsely to accuse *Ioseph*, and by this meanes to take reuenge G
vpon him; holding it to be a craft worthy a womans wit, to anticipate and first of all accuse her
accuser. She therefore sat her downe sad and perplexed, colouring the griefe of her defrauded
lust vnder the cloake of indignation for her attempted honour, and violated chastitie. Now when
her husband came home, and (being troubled in mind to behold these her agonies) demanded
the cause thereof: Live thou no longer (said she) my husband, except thou rigorously punish
that wretched slave, who attempted to violate thy bed, forgetting both what hee was when he
came into thy house, and with how great beneuolence thou hast entertained him, yea who was
to be esteemed more ingrate then ingratitude, except euery way he approved himselfe faithfull
vnto thee: yet hath he not forborne to offer iniurie, no not to thine owne wife: and that which
is more, on a holy day, and in thine absence, whereby it manifestly appeareth that the moderati- H
on which hitherto he pretended, rather proceeded of seruile feare, then natie modesty. And that
which hath the more emboldened him, is in that (besides all hope, and beyond his merit) thou
hast fauored him: for seeing all thy goods were committed to his trust and dispensation, and per-
ceiving that hee was preferred before all thine auncient seruants, he thought it lawfull likewise for
him to attempt and outrage thy wife: and to procure more credit to her words, she produced his
garment, which (as she said) he left behind him at such time as he sought to violate her. But *Pu-
tifar* intangled by the words and teares of a woman, and attributing too much to his wiues dis-
sembling loue, omitting the further and faithfull inquisition of the truth, after he had first of all
praised his wiues faith and loyalty, he cast *Ioseph* thus condemned of hainous wickednes into the
prison of malefactors, esteeming his wiues chastitie, and commending it the more, in that hee I
was now made a witness of her approued honestie.

*Ioseph is cast
into prison.*

*Hedio Sc Ruf.
finis. chap. 4.
Gen. 39.*

*Iosephs pati-
ence in bonds.
The keeper of
the prison
dealeth
friendly with
Ioseph.*

*The butlers
drame ex-
pounded.*

*The year of the
world, 2238. be-
fore Christs
birth, 1736.*

*The year of the
world, 2238. be-
fore Christs
birth, 1736.*

But *Ioseph* committing his innocencie vnto God, neither tooke care how to excuse himselfe,
neither to expresse how the matter fell out: but silently suffering the necessitie of his bonds, he
was onely comforted with this one hope, namely that God was more powerfull, then they that
had imprisoned him: whose prouidence he presently experimented. For the keeper of the pri-
son considering both his faith and diligence in all that wherein hee imploied him, as also the dig-
nity of his forme, looked him out of bonds, and by that meanes in some sort lessened his misery,
giuing him also an allowance more liberall then the rest of the prisoners had. Now when they that
were in the prison (as often as they had intermission from their labor) conferred together (as men
in miserie are wont to doe) and questioned among themselves of the cause of their damnation: K
a certaine butler neere about the King (condemned by him in displeasure to be cast into Irons)
grew familiar with *Ioseph*; and for that he accounted him to be a prudent and prouident man, he
told him his dreame, praying him that if any presage might be gathered thereby, that hee would
expound it vnto him, lamenting his misfortune, who not onely was persecuted by the kings dis-
pleasure, but also when he should take his rest, troubled from heauen by dreames. For hee said
that in his sleepe he beheld three great clusters of grapes, hanging on three severall branches of
a vine, which were all ripe and ready to be gathered, and that him thought hee pressed them in-
to a cup which the king held, and that afterwards hauing strained the must, hee offered it to the
King, and that hee willingly drank thereof: now when he had shewed him his dreame, he desi-
red him that if he had any knowledge giuen him from God, he would vouchsafe to interpret his L
vision vnto him. *Ioseph* answered him that he should be of good courage, willing him to expect,
that within three daies hee should be deliuered from his bonds, and be admitted againe to the
kings seruice, and restored to his former credit. For he interpreted that the vine bringeth forth
a fruit verie good and profitable for mans vse, for that by the mediation thereof faith and friend-
ship is fixed and confirmed amongst them, and discords dissolued: furthermore that troubles
and sorrowes were asswaged by the vse thereof, in stead of which pleasures succeeded. This said
he, as thou tellest mee that the king receiued being pressed out by thy hands. Know therefore
that thou hast a good dreame offered thee, and that it signifieth thy deliuerance from misery
within three daies, according to the number of those clusters which thou gatheredst in thy
dreame. Remember me therefore I pray thee, as soone as the euent hath approued this my pre- M
diction to be faithfull and vnfained; and when thou art at liberty, forget vs not that are left here
to lie in miserie, who departest to enioy thy foretold felicitie; for I am not here thrust into bonds
for my wickednes, but I am punished like a malefactor for my vertue and modestie, in that I ra-
ther respected the honour of the house in which I liued, and his credit who committed mee to
prison, then mine owne pleasure. And thus the butler as it became him, reioyced at the inter-
pretation of his dreame, and expected the euent. Now a ceruine other seruant, who had the
command

command of the kings bakers, and liuing in the same prison with the butler, conceiuing some
hope through *Ioseph* to happy interpretation (for that he likewise had seene a vision) desired him
to expound vnto him what interpretation was to be had of a dreame, which hee had the night
past, which hee expressed in these words. Me thought (said he) that I carried three baskets on
my head: of which two were replenished with bread, and the other with flesh (and diuers other
kinds of eates, such as are prepared for kings.) But the birdes of the ayre hovering round about
me, deuoured all the victuals, being nothing appauled by mee, although I choue them from
thence. Which said, he expected a presage no lesse fortunate then the former.

But *Ioseph* (after he had considered vpon the circumstances of the dreame, and foretold him
that he would rather haue informed him of more successfull fortunes, then his dreame did in-
tend:) told him that he had onely two daies left him, wherein he was to liue: For these were de-
signed by the two baskets: but by the third, that hee should be hanged and deuoured by the
foules, which he could not driue from him. Neither did it otherwhile fall out with both of them;
then *Ioseph* had foretold: For vpon the prefixed day, the king (celebrating the feast of his nati-
uitie) commanded that the bakers should be hanged: but as touching the butler, hee deliuered
him from his bonds, & restored him to his former office. But God deliuered *Ioseph* (after he had
for the space of two yeares spent his time in the misery of the prison; and was in the meane space
no waies assisted by the vngratefull butler) by preordinating this meanes and manner of his liber-
tie. Whereas king *Pharao* had that night in his sleepe seene two visions; and had also receiued
the interpretation thereof, forgetting the one, hee onely remembered him of the dreames, which
in his opinion had no fortunate signification. Whereupon early in the morning (calling before
him the learnedst amongst the Egyptians) he required the interpretation thereof: Now when
hee could in no sort be satisfied by them, the king was the more and more moued: which when
the butler apperceiued, hee remembered him of *Ioseph*, and of his wisdom and prudence in
these sorts of coniectures; and repairing vnto the king told him of *Ioseph* and of his vision, and
the euent thereof, which hee had while hee was in prison, together with *Ioseph*s interpretation;
and how the same day, the master of the bakers condemned to the gallows, gaue greater cre-
dit to his predictions: how he was kept prisoner as a slave by *Putifar* the master of his household;
and that he said how amongst the Hebrewes he was descended of good and honourable parents.
Command him therefore (said he) to be sent for, neither despise the man for his present miserie,
for thou maiest manifestly vnderstand by him, the signification of thy dreames. Whereupon
the king sent for him presently, and friendly taking him by the hand, hee spake vnto him after
this manner: Good yong man, in that I vnderstand by the report of my seruant, that thou art
prudent; shew me the interpretation of my dreames in such manner as thou discoveredst his vnto
him, and thou shalt doe me a high pleasure: but beware thou neither conceale any thing for
feare, or speake ought for flatterie; or to feede mee with falsehoods, but tell me all things truly;
although they shall in a sort breed my discontent to heare them. Me seemed that I walked by a
riuer side, and that I saw seven wel fed and very fat kine, which rettyred themselves from the flood
into the pasture: and againe, me thought that seven others came from the pasture to encounter
them, who were very leane and vgly to behold, who when they had deuoured the seven others
that were fat and great, yet neuer the more increased, but were all of them miserably vexed with
hunger. But after this vision being awaked out of my sleepe; and troubled in my minde; think-
ing with my selfe, what that vision might signifie, being seized by little and little by a pleasant
slumber, I fell asleepe once againe. And againe, I saw a vision more prodigious then the former,
which doth likewise trouble and terrifie mee the more. For I saw seven eares sprong out of one
roote, that hung downe and bowed their heads, because they were laden with graine ready to
be reape: after which, there appeared seven other, weak, and languishing for want of dew, who
deuouring those other great and full eares, left mee highly astonished. Hereunto *Ioseph* answe-
red: This dreame (O king) although it hath been seene in two figures, yet so it is that it importeth
one and the same accident, which is to ensue. For both those oxen (which are creatures borne
and bred vp for the plough and labour) which you saw deuoured by the leane, and those eares
of come consumed by the weaker, fore signifie a famine & scarcitie in Egypt for so many yeares,
as there were Oxen and eares of come in good plight: so that the fertilitie of these good yeares
shall be consumed by the sterilitie of so many other yeares, according to their number; and there
shall be such scarcitie of necessarie prouision, that it shall be hard to preuent and supply their de-
fects: all which is signified by those seven leane kine; who, hauing deuoured the good, could not
be satisfied by the same. All these things God foretelleth vnto men, not to the end they should
be

*The year of the
world, 2238. be-
fore Christs
birth, 1736.*

*The exposition
of the Ba-
kers dreame.*

Gen. 41.

*Pharao the
King of Egypt
his dreame.*

*Ioseph is deli-
uered from
bonds.*

*Pharao
dreame of the
seven kine.*

*The year of the
world, 2238. be-
fore Christs
birth, 1733.*

*The year of the
world, 2238. be-
fore Christs
birth, 1736.*

*The interpre-
tation of Pha-
raos dreame.*

The year of the world, 2238 before Christ
birth, 1796.

By Iosephs counsell the succeeding scarcitie is made more terrible.

Ioseph is entitled by Pharaoh to great honours.

Hecio & Rufinus, chap. 5.

Ioseph married a wife in Egypt on whom he begat Manasses & Ephraim.

The famine in Egypt.

Iacob sendeth his sonnes into Egypt to buy wheat.

Gen. 42.

Ioseph foundeth his brothers to the end he might understand his fathers & Benjamin's estate. Rubens answer vnto Ioseph both for himselfe and his brothers.

be terrified and affrighted; but that being forewarned, they might provide for themselves, to the end they might more easily preuent the imminent danger. If therefore thou shalt lay vp and store the abundance of the plentifully yeeres, Egypt shall not feele the penurie that shall follow. And when as the king (admiring at Iosephs prudence and wisdom) demanded after what manner he might provide in the time of plentie, how to preuent and redresse the future sterilitie: he warned and counsailed him, that the Egyptians should vse parcimony, and that that which remained of those yeeres superfluitie, might be reserved for future necessities. He counsailed him also to bind the husbandmen, that they should hoard vp their corne in their barnes, and only to distribute to the people as much as was sufficient, and no more. Hereupon the king (not onely praising Iosephs counsell, but also his interpretation of his dreames) made him Lord and commissarie of all the store; and commanded him to provide whatsoeuer he thought necessarie in that behalfe, either of his one or of the peoples: assuring him that he thought no man more necessarie to execute this counsell, then himselfe who was the author thereof. Having therefore this authoritie giuen him by the king to vse his owne signet, and to be clothed in purple, he was conducted thorow all the country vpon a chariot: and he assembled the labourers of corne, and distributed to euery one by measure, that which they wanted for feede corne, and for their nourishment, without letting any man vnderstand for what cause he did it.

About this time had he already attained to thirty yeeres old, being held in great honour by the king, and was for his incredible prudence, surnamed by him *Phontomphanechus*, which significth the discoverer of hidden things: he was also honoured with a wife of great dignitie, for by the procurement of the king, he tooke to wife a virgin, daughter to *Putifar the Heliopolitan* priest, whose name was *Afaneith*, by whom he begat children also, before the famine began in Egypt. The elder of whom was called *Manasses*, which significth Oblivion (because attaining better fortune, he grew in oblivion of his former miserie:) but the younger was called *Ephraim* (which significth Returne, for that he was restored to the libertie of his auncestors.) Now when as according to Iosephs interpretation, the seven yeeres of plentie and affluence were ouerpast in Egypt; the eighth yeere of famine began to infect the land: and for that the evil was vnexpected, the headlong multitude grievously trauailed with hunger and misery, began to flocke about the kings gates and garners. Hereon the king called for Ioseph, who presently distributing graine to those that wanted it, became without controuersie, the father & conseruer of the communitie. Neither did he onely make merchandize with those that inhabited that countrey: but with strangers also, deeming that the whole race of mankind was allied the one with the other; and that it was conuenient, that such as wanted should be succoured by their meanes, who had better fortune. And because the same calamitie both oppressed Chanaan and other kingdomes of the world, Iacob also sent all his sonnes into Egypt to fetch corne; (as soone as he vnderstood that strangers also had libertie to traffique in that place) onely with himselfe hee retained *Benjamin*, whom he begat on *Rachel*, and who was brother german vnto Ioseph: who as soone as they arrived in Egypt, repaired vnto Ioseph, beseeching him that they might be permitted to buy corne, (for nothing was done without his expresse command) for euen then found each man fit occasion to honour the king, when they bethought themselves how to honour Ioseph. He taking knowledge of his brothers, who thought on nothing lesse then of him (by reason that in his youth he was sold away by them; and age had altered the lineaments of his face; and besides, no one of them might suspect that hee had attained to so great dignitie): determined to trie and tempt them, to the end he might the better gather how they were affected. For hee both denied them his licence to buy corne, & commanded them also to be apprehended for spies, telling them that they were gathered of diuers nations, and they fained kinned: for how can it be (saith hee) that a priuat man should bring vp so many worthy sonnes, which felicitie scarcely and very seldom is granted vnto kings? This did he, to the end he might gather some intelligence of his father, and in what estate hee liued, during the time of his absence; and what was become of *Benjamin* his brother: for he was sore afraid, least they had offered the same hard measure to the lad, which they had inflicted on him. But they were strooken with a mightie feare, bethinking M them on their imminent perill, supposing that they had trauailed this long journey all in vaine: and for that they saw their accusation must be answered; *Ruben* the eldest of them, began after this manner to plead their common cause. Neither are we come hither (saith he) as spies, neither vnder pretence to indamage the king; but dire famine (whose furie wee seeke to preuent) hath compelled vs to come into this country, grounding our selues on your humanitie; who (as we haue heard) haue not onely made offer of sale of corne, and meanes of sustenance to your citizens: but also vnto

A vnto all strangers. And that we are brothers and borne of the same father, our very countenance testifie no lesse, in that they vary not very much the one from the other. Our father by name, is *Iacob*; by nation, an Hebrew: who begat vs his twelue sonnes on foure women, who while they all were in safety, our affaires were fortunate and prosperous: but one of them being dead, whole continuall lamentations, whose teares do no lesse afflict vs, then in times past the vntimely death of our dearest brother did affect vs. Now are we come to buy corne, having left in our fathers custody the yongest of our brothers called *Benjamin*: That thus it is, if so thou please to send any one vnto our house, thou maist be assured. Thus spake *Ruben* both on his owne and his brothers behalfe; whereby he might exempt from Iosephs sinister opinion of them: who knowing that both his father and brother were in health, commaunded them to bee shut in prison, vnder pretence to call them to further examination vpon his better leisure. Some three daies after (calling them before him) he beganne thus: Since (saith hee) you protest that you came not hither into this kingdom on purpose, either to preiudice the King, or worke treasons towards the State; and that you pretend your selues to be the sonnes of one father: you shall induce mee to beleue that your allegations be true, if leauing some one with me as pledge of your loyalties (who shall bee well entertained) you beare hence your desired corne vnto your father, and returne agayne vnto me, bringing with you your brother, whom (as you say) you left behind you: for this shall be an Argument that you faune not. Amazed at these words, and supposing that their extreame civility was at hand, they lamented their fortunes, oftentimes expostulating amongst themselves, that the dire reuenge of their brother oppressed with vndecent tyranny, was fallen vpon them. C Moreouer, *Ruben* reprehended their too late and vnprofitable penitencie, saying, that those afflictions which God (the iust reuenger of innocency) had inflicted on his impious brothers, were constantly to be borne. After this manner spake they one vnto another, supposing that no man was present who vnderstood the Hebrew tongue: and they all lamented being inwardly touched with the words of *Ruben*, and condemned their perpetrated wickednes, as if they had not bin the authors of the fact, for which at that time they thought that God did most iustly punish them. Ioseph beholding them in this perplexity, vnable to dissemble any longer his brotherly loue, in that the teares already began to burst out of his eyes, which at that time he desired to conceale, he departed from among them.

D Not long after returning agayne vnto them, he retained *Simeon* with him, who in the meane time should remaine as pledge with him vntill their back returne, and giuing them licence to buy their corne, he commaunded them to depart: giuing withall a speciall commaundement to one of his seruants, that the money which they had brought to buy corne, should secretly be shut vp in their sacks, and they permitted to depart; all which his seruant performed. But Iacob's sonnes returning into Chanaan tolde their father all that which had happened vnto them in Egypt, and how they were attached for spies, and traytors to that countrey; and that when they protested that they were brethren, and that the eleuenth was left at home with their father, they would not beleuee them: moreouer that *Simeon* was left pledge with the Gouverneur, vntill *Benjamin* came thither to giue testimony of their truth: whereupon they desired their father, without contradiction or sinister conceit, to send their younger brother with them. But Iacob was displeased with that which his sonnes had done; and whereas hee was not a little grieved that *Simeon* was left behind, he thought it worse then death also to be deprived of *Benjamin*; and neither could *Ruben* with his prayers (offering his sonnes for pledges, that if any sinister fortune should fall vpon *Benjamin* by the way, the Grandfather might reuenge him on his children) perswade Iacob to yeeld consent: but they vncertain what to do, were more and more terrified, in that they found their money inclosed in their sacks of corne. Now when corne beganne already to faile them, Iacob being compelled by force of famine, determined to send *Benjamin* with his other brothers: for it was vnlawfull for them to returne into Egypt, except they kept their couenant. And whereas necessitie pressed them daily more and more, and his sonnes ceased not instantly to call vpon him; yet as yet was hee doubtfull and vnresolved: at last *Juda* a man vehement by nature, began more liberally to reprove his father, in that he was too carefull of his brother, to whom nothing might happen without the will of God, whether it were abroad or at home: and that without reason he had care of his sonne *Benjamin*, in such sort as it was not possible for them to get ought out of *Pharaohs* countrey which was necessarie for their nourishment; that he ought also to haue care of the life of *Simeon*, least whilest he dallied and delayed to sende *Benjamin* on the journey, *Simeon* in the meane time should be slaine by the Egyptians. Moreouer hee exhorted him

The year of the world, 2238 before Christ
birth, 1796.

Ioseph commaundeth his brothers to prison.

Iosephs brothers repent them of that euill they had done vnto him.

Ioseph sendeth away his brothers, and only retaineth *Simeon*.

Iacob is sore grieved for *Simeon's* absence, and because *Benjamin* should depart from him. Genes. 39.

Iacob's sons, but in especiall all *Juda*, urge their father to send *Benjamin* with them.

The year of the
world, 2233. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1736.
Jacob sendeth
his sonnes
with presents
into Egypt.

Jacobs sonnes
arrive in E-
gypt, and Si-
meon is set at
liberty.

Ioseph vn-
known to his
brethren fa-
lueth both
them and Ben-
iamin.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 6.
Genes. 44.
Ioseph tempt-
eth Benia-
mins brothers
whether they
would assaile
him.
Iosephs bre-
thren are staide
in their iour-
ney.
Jacobs sonnes
are accused
of theft.

him to commit the care of his sonne vnto God, promising to bring him backe againe in safetie, or else to die together with him: Moreouer hee layd, that certaine giftes gathered from the profits of Chanaan, as the iuice of Mirabolans, Staete, Terebinth, and Hony, should be sent as presents vnto *Ioseph*, together with the double price of their corne. Thus shedding teares on both sides, they depart from their father, leaving him miserably tormented for the health of his sonnes, and contrariwise suspecting with themselves, least thorow his absence their father should be slain with sorrow. In this perplexity spent they a whole day. At last the old man remained in his house wholly afflicted, and they trauiailing into Egypt, did mitigate their present griefe with the hope of better fortune; where no sooner were they arrived, but they repaired vnto *Ioseph*, being sore afraid least it should be laid to their charge, that vnder colour of fraud and deceit they had caried away with them the price of their former corne; which presently before *Iosephs* steward they carefully excused, saying, that they found the mony among their wheat at such time as they emptied their sacks, which now in discharge of their truth they had brought backe againe: but he denying that he ener misst their money, & they being deliuered from this feare, began to be more secure; so that *Siméon* was sodainly set at liberty to conuerse among his brethren. Now when *Ioseph* was returned from the seruice of the king they offer him presents: and enquiring of them how their father did, they answered that he was in health: then perceiuing that *Beniamin* was yet aliue, whom he sawe among them, he asked whether that were their younger brother, and hearing that it was hee, hee onely vttered these words, that God had the prouidence of all things, and departed from them being vnwilling that any of them should see him shed teares, which hee could not any longer containe. Inuited them afterwarde vnto a banquet, he commaunded them to sit downe in order according as they were wont to do when they were with their father, and whereas he kindly entertained all of them, he honoured *Beniamin* with a double share. After the banquet, at such time as they were all laid downe to rest, he commaunded the Steward to measure out the wheat, which euery one should beare away with him, and to hide the price thereof againe in their sacks; but in *Beniamins* sacke he commaunded him to put his cup where in he most delighted: which hee therefore did, with intent to make triall of their loues towards *Beniamin*, and whether they would sticke vnto him being accused of theft, or leaving him behinde as a malefactor, returne vnto their father, as if the matter no waies touched them. Which being done according as he had commaunded it, early in the morning all *Jacobs* sonnes arose, and taking with them *Siméon*, departed on wards of their iourney, reioycing as well at his restitution, as *Beniamins* returne, whom they both promised and protested to bring backe againe to their father; when behold sodainly a troupe of horsemen roundly beset them, amongst whom was that seruant who had hid the cup in the sacke. Now they being troubled by this sodaine incursion, and asking them why they set vpon them whom they so lately had both inuited & entertained to honourably? the Egyptians answered and exclaimed against them, calling them wicked men, who forgetting their late benefits received, and *Iosephs* gentlenesse & humanity, were so wicked as to returne him iniuries for his courtesies, threatening them that they should be punished for their theft: and telling them that although for a time they had deceiued the minister of the table, yet could they not deceiue God; and againe, asking them whether they were well in their wits, in supposing that for this offence they should not be incontinently punished. In these or such like speeches the seruant insulted ouer them. But they, who nothing at all suspected this subtilty, accused him, saying, that they wondred at the mans intemperancy, who durst so rashly accuse them of theft, who did not keepe backe, no nor the price of their corne which they found in their sacks, whereas none but themselves knew ought of that money, so farre were they from purposely offering any wrong: yet in that they thought this inquisition would better satisfie them, then deniall, they bid them search their sacks, offering themselves each of them to suffer punishment if any one of them were found guiltie of the theft. This search which they offered, the Egyptians accepted, yet referred they the punishment to be inflicted onely on him who had done the iniury. Afterwards beginning to search, and orderly looking into each mans sacke, at last they came vnto *Beniamins*, not for that they were ignorant that the cup lay hid in his sacke, but that they might seeme to discharge their dutie more cunningly: now all the rest being secured in themselves, they onely as yet were carefull of their brother *Beniamin*; they hoped also that hee would not be found guilty of falsehood: for which cause they more freely vpbraided their persecutors, obiecting vnto them how thorow their importunitie they had bene hindered the better part of their iourney. Now as they searched *Beniamins* sacke, they found the cup: whereupon all the brothers began to mourne and lament, both bewailing their brothers fortune,

The year of the
world, 2238. be-
fore Christ's
birth, 1720.

fortune, who was like presently to suffer death for the theft; and their owne mishap, who hauing plighted their faiths vnto their father for *Beniamins* safe returne, were compelled to falsifie the same thorow this present accident. And that which further increased their griefe, was, that when as they most of all hoped to be free from dangers, they were by fortunes enuy thrust into so great calamitie: confessing themselves to be the authors both of their fathers, and this their brothers misfortune; who neuer ceased to importune and compell their father (although he were vnwilling and resisted) to send the childe with them.

Now the horsemen hauing laid hands on *Beniamin*, led him vnto *Ioseph*; whom his brothers presently followed. Who beholding his brother thrust into prison, and the rest bemoaning their round about him in mourning habits: Haue you, sayd he (O most wicked men) either so contemned my humanity, or Gods prouidence, as that you durst attempt and offer such an hainous iniury against him, who entertained you with hospitality, and dismissed you with benefits? To whom they answered, that they were ready to suffer punishment for *Beniamin*, calling againe to their remembrance *Iosephs* iniuries, saying: that he was happy, who deliuered by death from life was exempt from all calamities; and that (if he liued) God inflicted that plague on them for his sake. They said also, that they were the plague and great misfortune of their father, because that (to his former sorrow, which he had conceived euen vntil that time of *Iosephs* death) they had also annexed this new miserie: neither did *Ruben* desist to reprehend them in bitter manner of that wickednesse which they had committed. But *Ioseph* told them that he dismissed them all (saying that their innocency was approued vnto him) and that hee onely would be contented with the lads punishment: For (said hee) neither is it reasonable that he should be deliuered for the loue of those who had not offended: neither that they should be punished for him, who had done the theft. He commaunded them therefore to depart, and promised them safe conduct on their way.

Whilest all of them were grievously wounded with these words (so that scarcely one of them could speak for sorrow) *Iuda* (who had perswaded his father to send *Beniamin* with them, & who amongst the rest was a man of confidence) purposed to expose himselfe to all danger, vnder resolution to deliuer his brother from perill: whereupon he addressed himselfe to *Ioseph* and spake thus. Dred Lord (quoth hee) wee confesse that we are all ready to suffer punishment (although we haue not all of vs committed the offence, but onely the youngest amongst vs) and although we suppose his life to be almost desperate, yet our only hope as yet resteth in your goodnesse and clemencie. For which cause we beseech you, that you will not only haue compassion of vs, but of your owne nature, and that in this case you would be pleased to take counsaile, not of your iust indignation, but your natie goodnesse: governing your wrath with a great mind, to which vulgar men both in great and small occurrences, are wont to submit. Consider, I pray you, whether it stand with your dignity to kill those, who present themselves to be punished, & desire in no sort to liue, except it be by the benefit of your mercie. Suffer not your selfe to be deprived of this honour: that after you haue deliuered vs from famine and liberally furnished vs with corne, so of your mercie likewise you haue permitted vs to return vnto our family, being travelled by the same perill, and to bring them home sustentance. For one and the same bounty is it to continue them in life, who are travelled with famine; and to forgiue them death, who haue merited it by their offences: to whom their wickednes hath enuied that bounty which you haue heroically extended towards them. It is one and the same grace imparted by you in diuers manners. For thou shalt saue those whom thou hast fed; and that life which thou wouldest not suffer to faile by force of famine, thou shalt redeliuer and giue againe: whereby thy clemencie may be more commendable, whilest both thou giuest life, and those things likewise whereby life is maintained. Moreover, I thinke that God himselfe hath giuen thee this means to expresse thy verue, that it may appeare that thou settest lighter by the iniuries offered vnto thee, then by thy will to doe good; and that thou art not liberal to them only, who are poore and innocent. For although it be a great praise to yeeld succour in aduersities; yet is a prince no lesse honoured by his clemencie, especially in a cause that concerneth his particular interest. For if they that remit smal offences, are followed by deserved praise; what is it to restraine a mans ire in a capitall crime; doth it not most neerely approximate the diuine clemencie? And hadde I not good experience by *Iosephs* death, how greivously my father digesteth the want of his children, I would not so earnestly intreat for his safety, but so farre forth & no otherwise, but as it might redound to the praise of thy clemencie; and were there not some to whom our death would bring both griefe and discontent, we were willing all of vs to suffer punishment. But now whereas we haue not so much commiseration of our selues (although as yet we be but young, and haue not much tasted the pleasures,

The state of the
world, 2238, be-
fore Christs
birth, 1726.

Power giuen
to Isaac.

Gen. 42.

Ioseph maketh
himselfe
known to his
brethren.

and fruit of this life) as of our wretched parent being drowned in yeares and cares, we offer vp & vnto thee these our prayers in his name also, and beseech thee to graunt vs life, though at this day wee are vnder thy iustice for our offences. Assuredly hee is a good man, and begat vs, that wee should bee like vnto him: worthy is hee neuer to taste or be tried by any such calamitie, who now thorow our absence is disquieted with care and sorrow. Now if so be hee should receive any tidings either of our death, or the cause thereof; he will not indure any more to liue: the infamy of our deaths will shorten his daies; and make his death by this meanes more unhappy, who rather then he should heare the rumours of our shame, would hasten his death in suppo- sing them. All these wel considered, (although thou art iustly moued by this offence;) remit the reuenge vnto our father, and rather let thy pity towards him; then our inquiry towards thee, pre- uail with thee. Impart this honor to his old age: which if it be deprivied of our presence, neither wil, nor can desire to liue; yeeld this respect to thy fathers memory; yea ascribe it to the very name of a father, wherewith thou art honoured: so God the father of all men, will blesse thee in that name, and fortunate thee in thy increase: whom also thou shalt honour, if in respect of that com- mon name, thou take compassion of our father, in considering the sorrowe that hee shall in- dure, if perhaps he shall be deprivied of his children. It now lieth in your power to giue vs that, which you may deprivie vs of, by that power which God hath giuen you: and in doing vs this fa- uour you shall imitate the nature of God; and in this respect become like vnto him. For, since it lieth in your power to doe both the one and the other, it were better thou didst good then euill, and contenting thy selfe with thy power, not to remember or venge thy reuenge: but onely to thinke that thy power was giuen thee, to keepe and conserue men; and that the more mercie thou extendst towards many, the more honour thou redoubtest on thy head: now it lieth in thy power by forgiuing our brothers error to giue vs all life. For neither can we be safe, except hee be saued, neither may we returne home vnto our father, except he returne: but heere must wee suffer whatsoeuer our brother suffereth. Neither do we craue any other mercy at thy hand (drad Prince) if we be repulsd in this, but that thou wilt inflict one and the same punishment on vs, in no other manner, then as if we had been partakers of the felony: for this were more better for vs, then that wee our selues thorow sorrow, should offer violence to our owne soules. I will not allege or venge his youth, or iudgement as yet vnripened, neither will I inferre that pardon is usually granted vnto such: but here will I make an end, that whether we be condemned in that I haue not sufficiently pleaded his cause, or whether we be absolued; we may wholly ascribe this K grace to your fauour and clemency: to the bounds of whose praise this likewise shall be added, that not only thou hast saued vs, but also in pardoning vs of the punishment which we haue iust- ly deserued, hast had more care of vs then wee our selues. If therefore it be thy pleasure to ad- iudge him to die, suffer mee to suffer for him, and send him backe vnto our father: or if it please thee to retaine him for thy slaue, I am more fit then he to doe all sorts of seruices, as you may perceiue; and am ready to suffer all that which may bee inflicted on me. When *Iuda* had spo- ken thus, he humbled himselfe at *Iosephs* feet, endeavouring as much as in him lay, to mollifie and appease his ire; in like sort also all the other brothers prostrated themselves, offering themselves to die for *Benjamin*.

But *Ioseph* conquered with pitie, and vnable any longer to personate a displeased man, sent a- way all those that were present, and being alone with them, discovered himselfe vnto his bro- thers: and in this sort to them only he disclosed himselfe and saide. I cannot but commend the- pietie and loue which you beare vnto your brother, which I find to be greater then I did expect, gathering my coniectures from those things which in times past haue hapned vnto me. For to this end haue I done all this; that I might make triall of your brotherly beneuolence: whereof since you haue giuen me a notable prooffe, I will not ascribe that which you haue donne vnto me, to your natures, but rather wholly to the wil of God, who hath at this present furnished you with all things which are profitable for you, and will hereafter giue you greater things, if he with- draw not his fauourable hand from vs. When as therefore I vnderstood of my fathers rather de- sired then hoped health, and found you to be such as I desired you should be towards your bro- ther, I freely forget those iniuries which in times past were done vnto me: rather making choice to giue you thanks as the ministers of Gods providence, that against this time provided for our common profit, then remember mee (as then it seemed vnto me) of your pretended malice. I therefore pray you, that forgetting those things which are past, you wil be of courage and waxe confident, suffering willingly the good euent of an ill intent, neither that blushing at your for- mer faults, you should be any wayes amared. Let not therefore the euill sentence which in times, past

The year of the
world, 2238, be-
fore Christs
birth, 1726.

past you pronounced against mee, any waies trouble you, since you perceiue it hath wanted ef- fect: but reioice ye at these works of God, and go and tell your father that which you haue scene, for feare least he being consumed with immoderate care of you, I my self be deprivied of the chie- fest fruit of my felicity, before he come to my presence and be made partaker of those benefites. Wherefore depart you, & bringing with you him, your wiues, and children, and al your kindred, come backe vnto me: for it were inconuenient (my deare brethren) that you should not be parta- kers of my felicity, especially since this famine is as yet to continue for the terme of siue yeares. This said, *Ioseph* embraced his brethren: but they were wholly confounded in tears and sorrow, and the greater was their repentance, in that they had sinned against so kinde a brother. After all this, there followed a banquet. And the king vnderstanding that *Iosephs* brethren were arrived, The king re- ioiceth to know that *Iosephs* bro- thers were ar- rived. He also & *Ru- finus*, ch. 7. al. 4. *Iacob* reioy- ceth to heare the promoti- ons and hon- ours of *Ioseph*.

(as if some good fortune had befallen him) right heartily reioyced, and he gaue them chariots laden with corne, and golde, and siluer, with other presents to present their father with, who en- riched with diuers gifts (some by their brother vnto his father, other some to them: selues, but in especiall to *Benjamin*) they returned home into their countrey. But after that *Iacob* vnderstood by his sonnes in what estate his sonne *Ioseph* was, that he had not only escaped from death (which he had so long time bewailed) but also that he liued in high prosperity, and ministred to the king of *Egypt*, and had welny the whole gouernment of he kingdom vnder his hands: he easily be- lieued all things that were told him, & acknowledged the great works of God, and his goodnesse shewed vnto him, although for a time it seemed to be intermitted. And a little time after, he ad- dressed himselfe to go and visit his sonne *Ioseph*.

CHAP. III.

How *IACOB* with all his progeny departed vnto his sonne.

BVt when he arrived neere the fountaine of Couenant, hee offered in that place a sacri- fice vnto God; and fearing least his children should inhabit *Egypt*, by reason of the fertility of the place, and that his posteritie by not returninge backe into the land of Chanaan, should leese the possession of that which God had promised them; and furthermore, doubting least that his journey into *Egypt*, being by him enterprised against the will of God, should be ominous vnto his children; and suspecting likewise least he should die be- fore he came to *Iosephs* presence: he was wonderfully perplexed in mind. Whilest thus he rumina- ted and examined these things in his thought, he was surprised with a heavy sleepe, during which time God appeared vnto him and called him twice by his name: who asking who it was that cal- led him, God answered: Doeest thou not acknowledge (*O Iacob*) that God, who hath both pro- tected thee and thy auncesters, and succoured you all in your necessities? who contrarie to thy fathers purpose made thee Lord of his family, and when as by thy selfe thou diddest trauell into *Mesopotamia*, I brought to passe, that being matched in wedlocke very happily, thou returnedst into thy countrey backe againe, being blessed with many children, and stored with much riches. I also kept thy progenie in safety, and when it seemed thou hadst lost *Ioseph*, I raised him to that high steeppe of dignitie wherein now he liueth; and made him the next in person to the king of *Egypt*. And now also I am come vnto thee vnto this end, that I may guide thee in this thy jour- ney, and that I may foretell thee that thou shalt leaue thy life betwixt the hands of *Ioseph*, and that thy posteritie shall bee mightie and famous for many ages, and shall possesse that land, the empire whereof I haue promised them. Assured and made confident by this dreame, he more willingly hastened, both he, his sons, with all their progeny into *Egypt*, whose number amount- ed to the summe of 70. Their names in that they are somewhat hard, I had not written down, except it were to satisfie som, who contend that we are *Egyptians* and not *Mesopotamians*. The sonnes of *Iacob* therefore were twelue in number, of whom *Ioseph* came thither long before them. Now are the rest to be reckoned vp with euery one of their progenies. *Ruben* had foure sonnes, *Aioches*, *Phalles*, *Essaron*, and *Charmisus*. *Simeon* had sixe, *Iumilus*, *Iaminus*, *Puthodus*, *Iache- nus*, *Goar*, *Saar*. *Leui* also had three, *Gelsimis*, *Caathus*, and *Mararis*. *Iuda* had likewise three, *Sala*, *Phares*, *Zara*; with two sonnes of *Phares*, *Efrom* and *Amyras*. *Issachar* had foure, *Thulus*, *Phyras*, *Iobus*, and *Samaron*. *Zabulon* had three, *Saradus*, *Elon*, and *Ianel*. And these were the children he had by *Lea*, who also led with her *Dina* her daughter: the number of whom amount- eth to 33. But *Rachel* had two sonnes, of which the elder who was called *Ioseph*, had likewise two, *Manasses* and *Ephraim*. But *Benimin* had ten, *Bolossus*, *Baccharis*, *Asabel*, *Gela*, *Nemanes*, *Iles*, *Aros*, *Nomphtis*, *Optatis*, and *Sarodus*. These foureteen added to those abouenamed, make vp the

The year of the
world, 2239, be-
fore Christs
birth, 1725.

Gen. 46.
God appea-
reth to *Iacob*
about the foun-
taine of coue-
nant.

Iacob with his
sonnes and
nephewes
depart into
Egypt.
*Iacob*s proge-
ny.

⁴⁰ The year of the world, 2293, before Christs birth, 1725.

the number of fortie seuen. And this was the legitime issue of *Iacob*. But on *Bala Rachels* hand-maid *Dan* and *Nephtalim*, who was attended by foure sonnes, *Eleinus*, *Gunes*, *Sares* & *Hellimus*. But *Dan* had onely one sonne called *Ysis*. Now if those be added to the aboue named, they make vp the number of 54. But *Gad* and *Affer* were borne by *Zelpha* Leas handmaid, of these *Gad* was attended by seuen sonnes: *Zophonias*, *Ygis*, *Sunis*, *Zabros*, *Erines*, *Eredes* and *Ariel*. *Affer* had one daughter and sixe male children, whose names were *Iomnes*, *Effus*, *Iebus*, *Baris*, *Abarnus*, *Melmiel*. These fifteen being added to the foresaid fiftie foure, make vp the number abouenamed, together with *Iacob*. But *Ioseph* vnderstanding that his father was at hand (for *Iuda* posted before to giue him notice thereof) hee went out to meete him, and incountered him neere to a towne called *Heros*, who was seased with such extreame and vnexpected ioy, that he had almost expired; but *Ioseph* recoforted him, being himself almost endangered thorow extreame ioy, yet not in such extasie & extremitie as his father: afterwards desiring him to march softly onward, he taking with him his siue brethren halted vnto the King, signifying vnto him that his father with all his family were arriued. VVho no sooner vnderstood therof, but that he ioyfully asked *Ioseph* in what studies he tooke delight: who answered him that his exercise was keeping of cattell, and that he had no other trade. And this answer made he to the intent they might not be diuided one from another, but that liuing altogether, they might take care of their father: another reason was, least emulation should happen betwixt them and the *Egyptians*, if so be they should be conuerted in the same studies; for it was not lawfull for that nation to exercise the shepheards trade. Now when *Iacob* was brought into the Kings presence, and after he had done him reuerence, and prayed God for the prosperity both of him and his Realme; *Pharao* asked him how long he had liued: and when he vnderstood that he was a hundred and thirtie yeares old, he admired at the age of the man: and after he had certified him that his ancestors had liued farre longer time, he commaunded him and his sonnes to dwell in *Heliopolis*, where also the kings shepheards had their pastures. But the famine increased in *Egypt*, and the euill augmented more and more, by reason that *Nilus* did not ouerflow the earth, neither extended his armes ouer the same: on the other side God rained not vpon the earth: moreouer in that the euill was vn suspected, it was more grievous especially to the communitie, who had laid vp nothing, neither did *Ioseph* giue them corne without readie money; which when they began to want, they exchanged their cattell and slaues for corne; but they that had lands, sold a certaine portion thereof vnto the king for their prouision. And when as by this means all these possessions came into the kings hands; they went to inhabite the one heere, the other there, so the end that the King might be more assured of the possession of their land: the sacrificers onely were excepted, to whom the lands which they had, remained intire. Finally, this necessitie reduced both the bodies & minds of the whole nation into seruitude after such a manner, that they esteemed no labour or meanes vnseemely, that might serue them towards the maintenance of their sustenance. But when the famine ceased, & the earth watered by the ouerflow of the flood, began to regather her former fertility; *Ioseph* visiting euery city of the kingdom, & assembling the multitude in euery one of them, restored them the profits of those lands which they had sold vnto the king, & exhorted them to manure the same in no worse manner then they would do their owne, commaunding them to pay the fift part vnto the King, which was due vnto him by his prerogative & kingly right. VVho reioicing at this vnexpected restitution, earnestly intended and prosecuted their tillage: and by this means not only *Iosephs* authoritie, but also the peoples hearts were not a little tied vnto the King: and the inheritance of the fift part of the profits remained with the Kings that succeeded and all their posteritie.

But *Iacob* after hee had liued seuentene yeares in *Egypt*, ended his life betwixt the hands of his sonnes, hauing first besought God to giue them prosperitie and abundance, and prophesied that euery one of their posteritie should attaine to the possession of a part of the land of *Chanaan*, all which not long after came to passe. Besides, praising his sonne *Ioseph* for that forgetting the iniuries done vnto him, he had bestowed diuers benefits on his brethren, yea and such as well befemed his benefactors; he commaunded his sonnes, that they should admit *Iosephs* sons *Ephraim* and *Manasses* into their number, at such time as they should diuide the land of *Chanaan*, M as hereafter it shall be declared. Last of all, he praised them to burie him in *Hebron*. And he died at such time as he had liued one hundred and fiftie yeares wanting three, being second to none of his ancestors in pietie, and obtained the reward which he ought iustly to possesse, in that hee was a man adorned with so many vertues. But *Ioseph* by the Kings permission went and transported his fathers bodie into *Hebron*, and there buried it very magnificently. But his brothers fearing to returne with him, and refusing to follow him, in that they suspected their father being dead

⁴⁰ Iacob almost deceased for ioy.

⁴⁰ Ioseph with his siue brethren reformed to *Pharao*.

⁴⁰ *Genesis* 47. Iacob talketh with *Pharao* & is appointed to inhabite *Heliopolis*.

⁴⁰ The famine in *Egypt*.

⁴⁰ The year of the world, 2245, before Christs birth, 1719.

⁴⁰ A great profit redounded to the king by this famine.

⁴⁰ Ioseph commaunded them to pay the fift part of their profits to the king.

⁴⁰ *Hedio* & *Rufinus*, chap. 8.

⁴⁰ Iacob died when he was 147 yeares old.

⁴⁰ Iacob is buried in *Hebron*.

dead, that he would be reuenged on them in that they had not any friend left aliue, vnder whose fauour they might hope for pardon, he commaunded them, that laying their suspicions aside they should suspect no euill: and hauing brought them backe againe with him, he gaue them great possessions; neither did he euer intermit to entertaine the with brotherly kindnes. But he likewise died, when he had liued one hundred and ten yeares; a man endowed with admirable vertue, and prudent in all affaires, and moderate in his gouernment: by which meanes it came to passe that neither his forraigne birth, neither his calamities whereof we haue spoken, did any wayes hinder him, but that he was exalted and continued in high dignitie. The rest of his brothers also, hauing spent their liues in happines, died in *AEgypt*, whose bodies their sonnes and nephewes transported and buried in *Hebron*: but *Iosephs* bones were afterwards translated by the Hebrewes into *Chanaan*, at such time as they departed out of *Egypt* into *Chanaan*: for hereunto had he bound them by oath. But in that I am to declare this, and other actions of this Nation, I will first of all shew the cause why they departed out of *Egypt*.

CHAP. V.

Of the affliction which the Hebrewes endured in *Egypt*, for the space of foure hundred yeares.



He *AEgyptians* are a Nation addicted vnto delicacie, and impatient of labour, subiect onely to their pleasures, and affecting gaine: whence it came to passe, that bearing hatred toward the Hebrewes, and enuying their happines, they were very euilly disposed towards them. For seeing the race of the *Israelites* flourish and to abound in riches, which they got by their labour and industrie, they conceiued an opinion that their aduancement & increase, would be the ouerthrow & decreafe of the *AEgyptians*; so that at length they forgot the benefits which *Ioseph* had done vnto them: and after the royaltie was transported into another familie, they committed diuers outrages against the *Israelites*, and comploted against them in what manner they might more grieuouly afflict them. For they were inioyned by them to cut *Nilus* into diuers trenches, and to enuiron their Cities with walles, and to build fortifications and banks, whereby the inundations of the flood might be diuerted. They also vexed our nation in building their hie and vaine Pyramides, compelling them to learne diuers artes, and to accustome themselves to endure labour; and in such afflictions led they their liues for the space of 400. yeares, the *AEgyptians* studying nought else but to tire the *Israelites* with continuall labour, and our country men endeavouring themselves alwaies to performe far more, then was expected from them. Liuing thus in this estate, there grew afterwards an other occasion, which infligated them the more to seeke the ruine and desolation of our Nation. For one of the sacred secretaries (to whose predictions those kind of people do very much attribute) foretold the King, that about that time there should be one bred & borne amongst the *Israelites*, that in time to come should grieuouly afflict the estate of the *AEgyptians*, and wonderously enhance the good hap of the *Israelites*; who should surpassse all other in vertue, and purchase to himselfe immortall glory, if so be he should attaine to mans estate. VVherewith the King being greatly terrified, he published an edict by the aduise of this secretary, that whatsoever male child should be borne amongst the *Israelites*, he should be cast into the flood to be drowned: hee commaunded likewise the *AEgyptian* midwiues diligently to obserue the time when the Hebrew women travelled with child, carefully to keepe & marke their children at such time as they were deliuered. For he was inioyned the that they should be brought to bed by such midwiues, who by reason of consanguinitie with that Nation, should not transgresse the kings commaundement. He enacted also a law with a penaltie, that if any should be so bold to conceale their children, both they and all their family should be done to death. Great was this their calamity, not onely in that respect, because they were deprived of their children, & for that the parents themselves were made the ministers to murder their owne children; but foreseeing also the future time they were intolerably dismayed, expecting nought else but the certaine and fatall extirpation of their whole nation, by reason that when the children were slaine, the parents themselves not long after were assured to die: thus conceited they in themselves into what extreame misfortune they were fallen. But no man whosoeuer, although he complot neuer so many stratagems, can resist the wil of God. For both the child, of whom the sacred secretary had foreprophecied, was secretly brought vp vnder the name of *Amarames* an Hebrew borne & a noble man amongst his Nation, fearing both the publike perill, lest the whole nation should be brought to nothing thorow the want of issue, and his

The year of the world, 2311, before the Nativity of Christ, 1643. Ioseph dieth when he was 110 yeares old.

Iosephs bones translated into *Chanaan*.

The history of the booke of *Exodus*. *Hedio* & *Rufinus*, chap. 9. *Exod.* 1. The enuie of the *Egyptians* towards the Hebrewes. The year of the world, 2353, before Christs nativity, 1601. The Hebrews inuincible in seruitude.

The prophecy as touching *Moses*.

Pharao commaunded that all the male childre of the *Israelites* should be done to death.

Exod. 1.

42

The year of the
world, 1373, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1591.
Amaram
Moses father
praeth go, to
be mercifull
to the He-
brewes.

owne private misfortune, whose wife at home was big with child and readie to lye downe; was troubled in his minde, and vncertaine what to doe. For which cause he made his recourſe vnto God, beſeeching him that at the length he would haue mercy on thoſe men of whom onely hee had bene perpetually honoured; and that it would pleaſe him to bring to end the preſent affliction which threatened the whole nation with vtter ruine and deſtruction. But God being moued vnto mercy by his moſt humble prayer appeared to him in a dreame, and recomforted him, commanding him to be confident: telling him that he had in memory the pietie of his aunces- tors, and that he would for euer remunerate them, euen as in times paſt he had bene gracious to their forefathers. For it was he that had increaſed their poſteritie, and multiplied them to ſo mighty a nation, that by his fauor, *Abraham* departing alone out of *Meſopotamia* into *Chanaan*, beſides other felicities, had iſſue by his wife that was before time barren, & left ample poſſeſſions to his ſucceſſors: to *Iſmael*, *Arabia*; to *Chaturas* children *Trogloctida*, & to *Iſaac Chanaan*. Neither can you euer forget without note of impietie and ingratitude, the attempts alſo which were hap- pily atchieued in warre by my meanes: but *Jacobs* name alſo is renowned amongſt forraine na- tions, both in reſpect of the felicitie wherein he liued, & alſo for that proſperitie which by heredi- tary right happened vnto his poſteritie, who taking their originall from 70. men that accom- panied their father into *Egypt*, are now increaſed to the number of ſixe hundreth thouſand: know therefore now alſo, that I inwardly and heartily affect your publike ſecuritie, and priuately thy glory. For this child, for feare of whoſe natiuitie the *Egyptian*: haue condemned all your chil- dren vnto death, ſhall be borne vnto thee: he neither ſhall be diſcouered by the conſtituted ſpies, and after he hath eſcaped beyond all expectation, ſhall he be brought vp, and in his time ſhall I he deliuer the *Hebrewes* from the thraldome of the *Egyptians*, and ſhall obtaine an eternall me- morie, for this famous action, not onely amongſt his owne nation, but alſo amongſt ſtraun- gers: for this fauour will I extend vnto thee, and on thy poſteritie that followeth after thee; he ſhall alſo haue ſuch a brother who ſhall deſerue both in himſelfe, and in his poſteritie to inhe- rite the prieſthood for euer. After theſe things were declared in a viſion vnto *Amram*, he awaked and told it to his wife *Jochebel*, and by reaſon of the prediction of this dreame, their ſuſpicion and feare the rather increaſed more and more: for they were not onely penſiue in reſpect of their child, but alſo by reaſon of the future great good fortune that was promiſed them. But anone after the woman being brought a bed, gaue credit to the Oracle; who had ſo eaſie and gentle a labour, that ſhe beguiled the ouerſeers & ſpies, in that ſhe felt none of thoſe throes which do common- ly afflikt ſuch as are in labor: ſo that the nourished the infant three moneths ſecretly in her houſe, without being in any ſort diſcouered. But afterwards *Amram* fearing to be ſurpriſed, & ſore doub- ting leaſt he ſhould incur the kings diſpleaſure, if the matter were diſcouered, whereby both he and the child ſhould be made away, and Gods promiſes ſhould be fruſtrate; he had rather whol- ly commit the ſafety of his ſonne to his providence: ſuppoſing that if the boy were hidden, which notwithstanding would be hard to effect, yet that it would be troubleſom vnto him to liue in co- tinuall perill both of his owne and his ſonnes ſafetie: moreover, he thought that God would pur- uey ſome meanes of aſſurance, to the intent that nothing of that which he had foretold might be proued falſe. Grounding himſelfe on this reſolution, they prepared and made a cradle of ſedge, after the manner of a couch, ſo great as it was ſufficient to lay the child in at eaſe, and hauing pic- tured it on euery ſide leaſt the water ſhould pierce the ſame, they put the child into it, and ſuffered him to float along the ſtreame in committing him to the mercy of God. Whileſt in this manner it was borne downe by the ſtreame, *Mariam*, the ſiſter of the young infant, by her mothers com- mand went along the banke on the other ſide of the riuer, obſeruing whither at length the baſ- ket would be caried, and where it did arriue. At that time God manifeſtly declared, that nothing is atchieued by mans wiſedome, but that all things are brought to paſſe by his omnipotent boun- tie, and that they who for their profit and particular ſecuritie ſeek the ruine and deſtruction of others with neuer ſo much ſubtiltie, care, and diligence, yet are they often times deceiued in their expectations: againe, that they that ſubmit their wils vnto Gods will, are warranted from all wrongs by ſuch meanes as were neuer thought on; which may moſt manifeſtly be perceiued by M this child.

Moses caſt in
to the ſound.

Thermuthis
Pharaos
daughter cau-
seth Moſes to
be take out of
the riuer.

Thermuthis the kings daughter walking along the riuer ſide, eſpied this basket caried away by the courſe of the ſtreame, & preſently commaunded certaine ſwimmers to draw the cradle on drie land, and bring it before her: who executing her command, ſhe opened the baſket and beheld the child, who in that he was faire and well featured did greatly delight her. For God ſo loued and fauoured *Moſes*, that he cauſed him both to be nourished and brought vp by them, who for

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44

The year of the
world 2376. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1588.

The Egyptians
require Moses
to be their
Captaine.

Moses mar-
cheth against
the Ethiopians.

The victorie
which Moses
and the Egyp-
tians had a-
gainst the
Ethiopians.

Saba their
chiefe citie
besieged.

Tharbis the
K. of Ethiops
daughter re-
quireth loue
& marriage at
Moses hands.

instantly pursued them; and supposing it a cowardly part in them, not to take the benefite of their present good fortune, and conceiuing an assured hope of conquering Egypt, they generally wasted the same: and hauing tasted of the sweetnesse of pillage, without any temper or moderation in their victorie, they were incensed to attempt greater matters. And whereas they perceived, that hauing wasted all their neighbour regions, no man durst fully out to encounter them in armes, they marched forward toward Memphis, euen vnto the sea, arriuing neere no Citie that either had the heart, or durst make head against them. By which calamities the Egyptians being ouerfore oppressed, they send one to take counsell of the Oracle, in what manner they might preuent their miseries; and when as an answer was giuen them, that they should chooseth an Hebrew to assit them in the warres: the king commanded his daughter to giue them *Moses*, who together with the Empire, might gouerne the whole armie. She taking an oath of the king, that no iniurie or violence should be offered him, deliuered him into his hands; esteeming it to bee a great good fortune for *Moses*, that he was called to the succours of her countrey: and contrariwise the blamde the *sacrificers*, who were not ashamed to demanda his aid and assistance, whom they had foreiudged, and adiudged to be slaine as their common enemy. But *Moses* exhorted by *Thermuthis* and the king, willingly tooke the charge vpon him. Whereat the Priests of both nations were verie ioyfull; for the Egyptians hoped, that when by his vertue and valour he had overcome their enemies, they afterwards might more easily dispatch and murder him, by some treason and sinister meanes: and the Hebrewes conceiued a hope, that they might depart out of Egypt, by reason that *Moses* was the Generall of the armie. *Moses* therefore making haste, before such time as the enemies had any notice that he was dislodged, he leued his army, and conducted them, not along the banks of the riuer, but through the maine land, wherein he made manifest his most admirable prudence. For the iourney by land being very dangerous, by reason of the multitude of serpents (for the countrey thereabouts breedeth vpall sorts of them, and some of that kind, as the like thereof are not seene in any place else, all different in proprietic, malignitie, and horrible forme: and amongst these likewise there are some winged, and apt to fly, who not only offend those that they encounter on the earth very priuily, but also tower verie high in the aire, who houer about to hurt those that are not aware of them) he for the securitie of his armie, and to the end he might march without any inconuenience, inuented this marueilous and admirable stratageme. For he caused two paniers of sedge to be made, in forme of cofers, and filled them with certaine birds which were called *Ibes*, who are mortall enemies to serpents, and before whom the serpents flee: and sometimes in flying from them like Harts, they are laid hold of, and swallowed by them. Otherwise these birds are managed and made tame, and are not harmefull to any but to serpents, of whom I will now cease to write any further, because the Greekes doe already know what kind of bird it is.

When as therefore he arriued in the countrey of serpents, hee let flie his *Ibes* against the venomous beasts, and made vse of them to encounter the other: and when hee had marched in this sort, he attained and surprised the Ethiopians, before they suspected him; and sodainly charging them, he ouercame them in battell, spoiling them of the hope they had to conquer Egypt; and entring the townes of Ethiopia, hee rased them, and made a great slaughter of the inhabitants. The Egyptian armie hauing tasted the happie successe that happened vnto them vnder the conduct of *Moses*, intermitted not their occasion, especially for that they saw that the Ethiopians were welnigh conquered, or rather wholly destroyed: and in the end hauing driuen them euen vnto Saba, the chiefe citie of Ethiopia (which *Cambyfes* called Meroe, for the loue which he bore vnto his sister, who was so called) they besieged them. The Citie was strong, and verie hard to be assailed, by reason of the riuer Nilus, which enuironed it round about: on the other side, the riuers of Astapus and Astaborra did flow in so freshly, as they could neither breake the course of the water, nor wade ouer the streame: for the citie is builded in an Island, inuironed with a strong wall round about, hauing great rampiers betwix the riuers and the walles built, to resist the inundations of the waters; which are the cause that the Citie may be very hardly taken, although the opposite armie had found meanes to passe the water. Now when *Moses* was verie foregriued that his armie profited nothing, by reason that the enemies durst not encounter them in open field; beheld what a chance happened: *Tharbis* the daughter of the king of Ethiopia beholding *Moses*, at such time as he approached with his armie neere vnto the walles of the Citie, and seeing how valiantly he fought and behaued himselfe, and wondering at the exploits and enterprises which he made (which was the cause that the Egyptians, almost despairing of their estates and libertie, were growne so forward; and how the Ethiopians, not long before esteem-

med the conquerers, and happie in their warlike exploits and fortunate executions, were in the greatest extremitie of daunger) shee was surprised with his loue: and for that this passion augmented more and more in her, she sent vnto him seauen of her most faithfull and householde seruants to offer him her loue, and intreat with him of marriage. The which hee accepted, vnder that condition that she should deliuer the Citie into his hands, promising her vnder a solemne oath, that at such time as he were master thereof, he would take her to wife without falsifying or breach of his promise. The matter was no sooner motioned, but the effect followed; so that hauing surprised & conquered the Ethiopians, and after he had giuen thanks vnto God, *Moses* accomplished the marriage, and sent the Egyptians backe againe into their countrey. Who conceiued an occasion of hatred against *Moses*, because he had bin the cause of their safetie; and began seriously to consule and deuise amongst themselves, how they might betray him, suspecting least he by reason of the happy successe he had had, should begin to quicken and reuiue some alterations in Aegypt: they accused him therefore of murder before the king, who already of himselfe had him in suspicion, as well in respect of the hatred he bare him for his noble carriage and courage, during such time as he was Generall, as also for the feare he had conceiued of the destruction of Aegypt foretold by his priests, who incessantly incited him against *Moses*, so that the king was vpon the point to lay hands on him and murder him.

But he hauing intelligence of those his practises, escaped and fled secretly, flying from his presence thorow the desert, by which the enemies least suspected that he should haue fled: and although at no place in his iourney hee found victuals to sustaine him, yet ouercame hee his penury by his patience. And arriuing neere a Citie of the Madians, situate vpon the shoare of the red sea (that was named by one of *Abraham* and *Cheturas* sonnes) he sat him downe neere vnto a fountaine refreshing himselfe, and taking his ease after his laborious iourney: for it was about noonefest, and the Citie already appeared in his sight. In this place there befell an occasion vnto him, deriued from the manners and custome of liuing, among the inhabitants of the countrey; by which he both expressed his vertue, and found an opportunitie to better his estate. For whereas that Region is foretrauailed with want of water, the shepherds had a custome to strue which of them should first possesse the pits, for feare lest the water should bee quite consumed by others, before that they and their cattell had quenched their thirst. To this fountaine therefore there came seauen virgins, which were sisters and daughters of *Raguel* the Priest, whom the inhabitants of that place held in great estimation, who had the charge to attende their fathers flockes, for that it is the exercise wherein the Troglodites are wont to exercise their women. These hasted themselves to draw sufficient water for their troupes into the troughes, expressly made to receive the water; and when in the mean time the shepherds came and surprised them, and droue away the virgins, to the end they might be masters of the water: *Moses* supposing it a matter vnworthy his honour, to suffer this outrage, and to indure that by violence men should depriue virgins of their right and interest; he droue away the shepherds, who would haue enioyed that which appertained not vnto them, and gaue necessary succours to the dismayed maydens. Who as soone as they were returned into their fathers presence, tolde him the outrage that was done them by the shepherds, and the succours that they found by the handes of a stranger, beseeching him that the courtelie which hee had shewen vnto them, should not bee forgotten, but that in some sort hee might receiue recompence. The father commending his daughters thankfulness towards their benefactor, commaunded them to bring *Moses* into his presence, to the end he might remunerate him according as he deserued. As soone as hee came into his presence, *Raguel* told him how his daughters had giuen him to vnderstand, how kindly he had assisted them: and hauing his vertue in admiration, he said that he had not aduentured himselfe, nor done kindnesse to those that were without sense of the curtesies that were shewed vnto them, but vnto those who were capable to giue him thanks, yea so ready to requite him, that the greatnesse of their requittall should farre surpass the measure of his humanitie. Hee therefore adopted him for his sonne, and gaue him one of his daughters to wife, and made him superintendent and master of his flockes (in which in times past the wealth and riches of foraine nations consisted.) *Moses* hauing obtained this good fortune at *Tethiglaus* hands (for such was *Raguel*s surname) he abode there with him and attended his flockes. But not long after he led his cattell to graze neere to the mountaine Sinai, which is the highest of all those that are in that quarter, and good for pasturage, by reason of the hollesome herbes that grow thereabouts: which notwithstanding was not fed vpon before that time, because the shepherds durst not frequent thereabouts, by reason of their opinion that dwelt in that countrey, who said that God inhabited

The year of the
world 2376. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1588.

The year of the
world, 2400. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1564.

The Egyp-
tians seeke to
betray Moses.

Exod. 2.
The year of the
world, 2413. be-
fore Christs
birth, 1551.

Hedio & Rus-
sinus, chap. 11.
al. 8.

Moses flyeth
to the Citie
of Madian.

Moses assit-
teth Raguels
daughters a-
gainst the
shepherds.

Raguel mari-
eth his
daughter to
Moses.
Hedio & Rus-
sinus, chap. 12.

The start of
the world, 2454
before Christ
Nativity,
Exod. 3.
God appea-
reth to Moses
in the bush.
God commu-
neth Moses &
the Israelites
by miracles,
to the end
they might
put trust in his
promises.

bited that in mountaine: there happened there vnto him a maruailous prodigie, which was, that G
a flame of fire seemed round about him in a bush, without offending either the greene herbes,
or the flowers, or the boughes charged with fruit, although the flame were both great and vehe-
ment. He not a little amazed at this vncexpected spectacle, at last grew more and more amazed
when as he heard a voice issuing out of the fire, which called him by his name; taxing and ac-
cusing him of boldnes, in that he was not afraid to tread vpon that ground, which hitherto was
vnaccessable, and religiously reuerenced, and vnhaunted by men; counselling him that he should
depart as far off from the flame, and content himselfe with that vision: for although that hee
were a vertuous man, and descended from great personages, yet that he ought not to bee curious
to make further search into the same. The same voyce also told him, that the honour and glorie
which he obtained amongst men, was by the assistance of God, charging him to be of good cou-
rage, and to repaire into Egypt, for that in that place hee should bee capitaine and guide of the
Hebrew nation, and should deliuer that people which were therein, from the outrage & seruitude
which they suffered. For (saide the voyce) they shall inhabit this happie countrey, wherein your
father Abraham hath dwelt; and they shall enioy all sorts of blessings vnder the conduct of thee
and thy prudence. Moreover it commaunded him, that hauing brought the Hebrewes out of
Egypt, he should offer sacrifice of thanksgiuing, at such time, as hee should arrive againe in that
place. And such was the Oracle which hee received from out of the flame. *Moses* altogether ra-
uished at that which he had both heard and seene, spake thus: O Lord, it were madnes in me, and
no prudence, if I should distrust thy power the which I reuerence, and which as I know hath been
manifested vnto my predecessors: notwithstanding I stand in doubt how I, who am a man of no
eloquence, and of lesse force, should perswade my brethren by my words, to forsake the coun-
trei wherein they inhabit, to follow me into that countrey whither I will conduct them: And
although they should be perswaded to doe the same; how can I force *Pharao* to permit them to
depart from thence, by whose labours and trauels, the Egyptians are dayly increased in goods
and riches? Wherevpon God gaue him to vnderstand, that he should take vpon him a good cou-
rage, and promised him, that he himselfe would assist him, and that if hee had need of eloquence,
he would bestow vpon him the facultie of perswasion; or if he were driuen to act any thing, that
he would redouble his forces; commanding that in confirmation of those promises he had made
him, he should let fall his staffe vpon the ground: which hauing done, a Dragon began to creepe
vpon the ground, and in turning and rouling himselfe, lifted vp his crest on high; making sem-
blance to defend himselfe against those that should assaile him: and againe, a little while after be-
came a staffe againe. Afterwards he commaunded him to put his hand into his bosome: and no
sooner had he obeyed, but that he drew it out altogether white, & in colour resembling chalk: &
a little while after it recovered his ordinary forme. Moreover, hee further willed him to draw
water out of the next well, and to poure it on the ground, and hee saue it turned into a bloudie
colour. Amazed at these accidents, hee was commaunded to bee of good courage, and assured
that he should haue great assistance. Moreover, that he should vse these signes before all men, to
the end (saith God) that all may belieue that being sent by me, thou doost all this according to
my commandements. Furthermore I enioyne thee, that without any further delay, thou haste
thee into Egypt; and that thou trauell day and night, without leessing time, without delaying
any more to succour the poor Hebrewes grievously afflicted in Egypt. *Moses* hauing no cause to
distrust that which God had promised him, and being confirmed by these things whereof he was
both an eye-witnesse, and auditor; he required God, that if there were any occasion to expresse
the like power in Egypt, he would vouchsafe to further the effect; beseeching him further that
he would not conceale his name from him, to whome hee had participated the hearing of his
voice, and the sight of his presence; that it might please him therefore to declare vnto him his
name, to the end that when he should offer sacrifice vnto him, he might call vpon the same. God
declared vnto him his name, which before time had bene concealed amongst men, and of
which also it is not lawfull for me to speak. *Moses* wrought these signes not only at that time, but
also when or whersoever he thought it requisite: by all which hee gaue further credit to the fire M
which had appeared vnto him, and assured himselfe that God would be his fauourable defender,
that he would deliuer his brethren, and inangle and enwrap the Egyptians in great calamities.
And after that he had vnderstood that *Pharao* King of Egypt was dead (during whose life hee
suffered from thence) hee requested *Raguel* that hee would giue him leaue to depart into Egypt,
for the profit of those of his nation; and taking with him *Sephora* (who was *Raguel's* daughter
and his married wife) and *Gerson* and *Elezar* his children, which he had by her, hee departed to

Moses rod is
turned into a
serpent.

Moses hand is
made white.

Moses pow-
reth water on
the earth, and
it turneth to
bloud.

Moses is sent
into Egypt,
to deliuer the
Israelites.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus. chap. 13.
al. 10.

A go into Egypt. Now this name of *Gerson* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth, Forrain: and *Elezar* signifieth, fauoured by God, in memory that *Moses* had escaped from amongst the Egyptian-
ans, by the assistance of the God of his fathers; And as he approached neere the mountaines, *A-
ron* his brother by the commandement of God came forth to meete him, to whome he decla-
red all that which had happened vnto him in the mountaine, and that which God had giuen him
in charge. And as they passed onward of their way, the men of greatest estimation amongst the
Hebrewes (hauing intelligence of his coming) came out to meete him, to whom *Moses* pre-
sented the abouenamed tokens, by reason that he could not perswade them by words: and they
being astonished at that which they had seene him doe, beyond their expectation; waxed confi-
dente, and conceived a good hope of all things; seeing that God had a care of their safetie. When
B he perceived that the Hebrewes were readie to obey him, and that they protested to follow him
in all that which he should command them, through the earnest desire they had to be at liberty: he
presented himselfe before the king, who had newly vnderaken the government, and shewed
him the great benefites he had done vnto the Egyptians, at such time as they were despised by the
Ethiopians, who had spoiled all their countrey; and how he had spared no triuall, but sustained
all the charge of the warre; as if it had bene waged for his owne proper nation. On the other
side, he opened vnto him the dangers which he had iniustly suffered for his recompence: he af-
terwards discoursed vnto him that which had befallen him neere vnto the fountaine of Sinai
and the talke which God had in that place with him, and the signes in particular which had been
shewed vnto him, in confirmation of those things whereunto hee was enioined; exhorting the
C King not to mistrust or impeach the ordinance of God. The King hearing this, began to mocke
him: but *Moses* made him see in effect the signes, which were shewed vnto him neere to the moun-
taine of Sinai. But the King waxed wroth, and grievously reuiled him, accusing him for that in
times past he fled away for feare to bee slaine in Egypt, and at this present returned thither vn-
der a subtill pretext, cloaking his craft with magike, and enchantment, the more to affright him.
And at the same instant hee called into his presence the Priests of Egypt; to let them see those
signes, and to make it manifest that the Egyptians were exercised in those Sciences: and that hee
onely was not maister in those things, the which he boasted to perform by Gods power, but that
they were but deceits & shadowes of meruailes to deceiue the multitude: whereupon the Priests
cast downe their rods, and they became serpents. *Moses* being nothing moued herewith, sayd:
D O King, I despise not the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I protest that that which I haue done,
doth so farre surpass the their magike and art, as there is difference betwene diuine and humane
things: I will therefore shewe you, that that which I do, is not by enchantment, nor vnder colour
of apparent verity, but by the prouidence and power of God. This saide, hee cast his rod vpon
the ground, commaunding it to change it selfe into a serpent: whereunto it obeyed, and wander-
ing here and there, it deuoured all the rods of the Egyptians which seemed to be serpents, vn-
till they were all of them consumed; and that done, *Moses* tooke his staffe into his hand againe,
and it reassumed his pristine forme. But the king being neuer the more astonished, (but the
rather incensed at that which was done) said, that this wisdom and subtilty of *Moses* should pro-
fit him nothing, which hee vsed in disgrace of the Egyptians. He commaunded therefore the
E ouerseer of the works, who had the government ouer the Hebrewes, that hee should remit no-
thing of their labour, but that he should oppresse them with more tedious and greuous tasks,
then they were wont to be put vnto: whereupon (where he was wont to allowe them strawe to
make their tile with) he forbore after that time to giue them that allowance: and taxing them in
the day time to follow their worke, he appointed them by night to find and bring in their strawe,
doubling thereby the waight of their former labour. Notwithstanding all this, *Moses* would nei-
ther desist from his purpose, in regard of the kings threatning, nor the continual cry of his coun-
trimen, neither was in any sort appauled thereat; but with a confident and vnappauled mind (in
regard of both) he wholly intended this, to restore his countrymen to their desired libertie. He
therefore once againe accosted the King, perswading him to dismiss the Hebrewes; to the end
F they might repaire vnto the mountaine Sinai, and sacrifice vnto God in that place: for no lesse
(saith he) hath he commanded, neither can any resist his will. For which cause he aduiled the
King to indeuour himselfe (least hee should seeme to contemne his fauours) to grant the people
free passage; for feare least if he should secretly forbid them the same, he might accuse and con-
demne himselfe to suffer that which they in reason ought to endure, who resist the wil and works
of God: for to those that stir vp the wrath of God against themselves, all kind of mishaps do flock
and flow on euery side: The earth befriendeth them not: neither smileth the ayre vpon them,
their

The year of
the world, 2454
before Christ
Nativity,
Exod. 3.
Moses depart-
eth from Ma-
dian to go in-
to Egypt.
Moses two
sons Gerson
& Eleazar.
Moses inter-
taineth the
Hebrewes shew-
eth them his
miracles.

Exod. 5. 7
Moses perswa-
deth the king
of Egypt to
dismiss the
Israelites.

Moses shew-
eth Pharao
his miracles.

Moses rod de-
uoureth the
rods of the
Egyptians.

Pharao enioi-
neth the He-
brews to more
griuous tasks

Exod. 6.
Moses once
more perswa-
deth the king
to dismiss the
Hebrewes.

The year of the world, 2454.
before Christ's
Nativity,
2510.

The first
plague of the
Egyptians,
water turned
into blood.
Exod. 7.

Exod. 9.
An other
plague of
frogs.

The third
plague, lice.

The fourth
plague, ver-
minous beasts.

The fifth
plague, the
Plague.

The first
plague, bot-
chet.
The seventh
plague, hail.
The eight
plague, Gra-
ttoppers.

their children are not begotten according to nature; but all things oppose themselves as ene-
mies and contraries against them. Moreouer he added, that the Egyptians should feele the
plague, after that the people of the Hebrews should (in despite of their resistance) depart out
of their country: but in that the King despised these words of *Moses*, and would not be conuer-
ted, most grievous plagues fell vpon the land of Aegypt. (The which I will particularly set down,
by reason that at that time the Egyptians suffered those things, which neuer before that time
happened to any other people; and for that cause likewise that I may testifie and declare, that
Moses hath not falsified or erred in any thing that he hath done: and besides, for that it is expe-
dient for men to learne & do those things which are agreeable to gods wil, for feare least he being
prouoked and incensed against them, should punish them for their vniustice.) For first of all by
the commandement of God, the riuers overflowed with blood, neither was it possible for
them to drinke (notwithstanding they had no other fountaines of water) neither was the water
only coloured like blood, but when as likewise any one drank thereof, it ingendered & procured in
him diuers docters, and grievous gripings. Such was the water to the Egyptians, but to the
Hebrewes it seemed good and sweet in taste, without any waies changing the nature thereof.
Hereupon the King (not knowing what to doe, and seeing this strange accident, and being a-
fraid by reason of the Egyptians) permitted the Hebrewes to depart: but no sooner was
this plague ceased, but he presently chaunged his mind, and would not permit them liberty to
depart: for which cause God (seeing his ingratitude, and that he would not be warned, notwith-
standing hee had deliuered him from the former calamity) hee inflicted an other plague vpon
the Egyptians. He therefore sent an infinite number of frogs vpon them, that covered and in-
fected the whole country, and the riuers were so packed and stored with them in such manner,
that they that drew water to drinke, found it altogether infected with the putrefaction of them,
dying & rotting in the waters: so that the whole country was full of filthy mud, by reason of the
frogs that defaced & died on the same. They corrupted also their meats, mingling themselves
in their houses amidst their meat and drink, & creeping amidst their chambers; from whence an
odious stench exhaled by reason of the multitude of frogs that lay dead. Now when the Aegypt-
ians saw themselves so sore pressed with these euils, the King commanded *Moses* that he should
take the Hebrewes, & that he should depart: and as soone as he had spoken this, the multitude of
frogs vanished and appeared no more, neither on the earth nor in the water, but that they re-
mained their accustomed nature. No sooner was the earth deliuered from this curse, but *Pharao* for-
got the cause thereof, & retained the Hebrewes anew: & (as if he had a desire to experimēt the ma-
ner of diuers miseries) he denied that issue which before time he had granted them, rather infor-
ced them unto by his feare, then forward good liking. For this cause God once againe rewarded his
fraud, by sending him another plague: for a multitude of lice swarmed from the bodies of the Aeg-
yptians, whence the wretched men perished wretchedly; neither could they exterminate that
race, either by bathings or inunctions. The king troubled with this calamity, & fearing the ruine
of his people, and bethinking him of the shamefull end thereof, he was constrained to remit
the better part of his malignitie. For as touching the Hebrewes he permitted them to depart,
but (after the plague was appeased) he required at their hands that they would leaue their wiues
and children behind them for pledges till their returne: and by this meanes he prouoked Gods
wrath more heauily against him, in that he supposed to delude his prouidence: as if it had not
been God, who (in the Hebrewes behalfe) had punished them, but *Moses* that had plagued the
Aegyptians. For God filled their country with many and diuers sorts of beasts, (the like whereof
before that time had not bene seene in that country) which killed them vp, so that the earth
became desolate and vnumanured, and if any one amongst them escaped from death, they were
afterwards destroyed by sickness. But notwithstanding all these, the King still continued obsti-
nate in his wickednes, and disobedient vnto God, permitting onely that the women and men
should depart, & that their children should be left behind them: but God desisted not to punish
such as were dispersed ouer all the people.

For their bodies were grievously tormented with vlcers, and corrupted inwardly; and after
this sort the greater part of the Egyptians perished: but when as the King was neither moderated,
nor mollified by this plague, God rained downe haile vpon them (which neuer before that time
was engendred in the ayre of Egypt; & further so great, or rather greater then that, which falleth
to the Northward, neere to the Poie Artique in the midst of the spring) and spoiled all their
fruit. After which an army of grasshoppers deuoured all those buds and fruits which were vn-
offenced.

The year of the
world, 2454.
before Christ's
Nativity,
2510.

The ninth
plague dark-
nesse.

Pharao dri-
ueth away
Moses.
Exod. 10. 11. 12.

Zanthicus a-
mongst the
Macedonians
April, as Su-
das testifieth.

The Hebrews
passeeuē signi-
fifieth a pas-
sage.

The tenth
plague the first
begotten a-
mongst the E-
gyptians both
man & beasts
die.
The Israelites
depart out of
Egypt.

The feast of
the Azymes.

The number
of the childre
of Israel.

A offenced by the hayle; so that all the hope which the Egyptians had of their harvest or fruites,
was utterly ouerthrowne. These aforesaid afflictions had bene sufficient to perswade a man of
the meanest wit (except he had bene a reprobate) to grow wise, and make vie of that which was
most profitable for him. But *Pharao* knowing the causes of the same, enforced himselfe to resist
God, not onely thorow imprudence, but for malice; so that voluntarily hee betrayed his com-
monweale. He therefore commaunded *Moses*, that hee should lead away the Hebrewes with
their wiues; but that they should leaue their substance behind them for a prey, in that they com-
plained, that after all these calamities they had nothing left them. To whom *Moses* answered,
that hee demaunded an vnlawfull matter, by reason that they were to offer sacrifice vnto God of
their prey or bootie. Now while the time was spent in these consultations, darknesse altoge-
ther deuoyd of light ouerspread the land of Aegypt, wherethrough they died miserably in clo-
sing their eyes, by reason of the thicknesse thereof, so that they were afraid least the fogge should
choake them: which being dispersed, after three dayes, and so many nights, *Moses* seeing that
Pharao would not repent, nor let the people of Israel depart, hee came vnto him, and spake
after this manner. As long as you shall resist the ordinance of God (who commaundeth you
to suffer the Hebrewes to depart) there is no meanes, whereby you may be exempted from these
mischiefes in doing that which you doe. The King enraged at these wordes, threatned him to
cut off his head, if once more hee durst appeare in his presence, to motion vnto him any such
matter. *Moses* answered him, that he would no more speake vnto him as touching this matter;
but that both himselfe, and the chiefeft among the Egyptians would exhorre the He-
brewes to depart: which said, he forsooke his presence. But God intending to expresse that he
meant yet once more to plague the Egyptians, and to constraime them to deliuer the He-
brewes: he commaunded *Moses* to declare vnto the people, that they should haue their sacri-
fice in a readinesse, and hauing prepared it the thirteenth day of the moneth Zanthichus, to cele-
brate the same the 14. of the said moneth (by the Egyptians called Pharmuth, and by the He-
brewes Nisan, and Zanthicus by the Macedonians) and that hee should lead forth all the He-
brewes, bearing with them all their goods. Whereupon hee who had the Hebrewes already in a
readinesse to depart, and had distributed them by families, kept them in one place, and in
the same order: but when the fourteenth day was come, all of them (addressed to depart) made
sacrifice, and with the blood of the lambe purged their houses, besprinkling them with branches
of Ilope. And after they had supped, they burned the flesh that remained, as being on the point
to address themselves to depart. Whereupon even at this day wee retaine the said custome to
sacrifice in like sort; and do call this solemnitie *Pascha*, which is as much to say, as the passage, by
reason that on that day God leauing and ouerpasing the Hebrewes without harme, strooke the
Egyptians with sickness: for that plague in the night time cut off all the first begotten in Aegypt,
so that by multitudes they that dwelt round about the palace, assembled them in the presence of
the King, and besought him to let the Hebrewes goe: for which cause *Pharao* calling for *Moses*,
gaue order that they should depart the country, supposing that as soone as they were gone, Aeg-
ypt should no more be afflicted with such like plagues. Moreouer, they honoured the Hebrews
with presents, partly to the end they should depart with the more expedition, partly for the
neighbourhood and acquaintance sake which they had one with another. And as they departed
the Egyptians wept, and repented them of the euill vsage they had shewed vnto them: but they
tooke their way towards Latopolis at that time desert, & in which place afterwards Babylon was
builded, at such time as *Cambyses* destroyed Aegypt. The third day they came vnto Beelzephon
neere vnto the red sea, and for that they wanted victuals by reason of the desert, they tempered
their meale with water, and hardened it with a little heate, and made cakes, with which they sus-
tained themselves for the space of thirtie dayes: for they had not brought any more victuall out
of Aegypt, but as much as would serue them for that time, & that which they had they dispensed
verie sparingly, rather feeding for necessitie, then eating with frietie. For which cause in me-
morie of that want, wee celebrate a feast for the space of eight daies, which we call the feast of
Azymes, that is to say, of vneleavened bread. But it is not easie, to number the multitude of them
that dislodged, if wee consider the women and children; but of those that were of full age, and
fit to beare armes, they were in number fixe hundred thousand.

the year of the
no 42454 be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 510.

Exod. 15.
The Israelites
sing songs for
their deliue-
rance.
The sea of
Pamphilia di-
vided it selfe
for Alexanders
souldiers to
passe there
thorow.
The wind and
tide driue the
Egyptian
armies into
the Hebrewes
camps.

this their vnexpected deliuerance, and the totall ruine of their enemies : so that they assuredlie G
perswaded themselves that they were deliuered; by reason that they who had made them slaues
vnto them perforce, were exterminated; and for that they had God so visibly assistant vnto
them. When they had escaped this danger, and perceiving likewise that their enemies were in
this sort punished, yea and after such a manner as the like punishment hath neuer bene heard of
amongst men; they all of them during the whole night, sung hymns and songs of reioyce. *Moses*
likewise composed an Ode in Hexameter verse, containing the prayes of God, and a thanksgiv-
ing for the fauour he had done vnto them. All these things haue I particularly declared, accord-
ing as I haue found them written in holy scriptures. Neither ought any man to maruaile at this
so wonderfull a discourse, that thorow the sea there should a passage be found, to saue so manie
persons in times past, and they rude and simple, whether it were done by the will of God, or that H
it chaunced of it selfe; since not long time agoe, God so thinking it good, the sea of Pamphilia
divided it selfe to giue way to *Alexander* king of Macedons soldiours, hauing no other passage to
destroy the Empire of the Persians. The next day the Egyptians armes transported by the
force of the freame, were cast a shore into the army of the Hebrewes: which when *Moses* per-
ceiued that it was done by the prouidence of God, to the intent they might not bee disarmed;
hee gathered them together, and furnished the Hebrewes therewith, who afterwarde ledde
them to the mountaine of Sinai to sacrifice vnto God, and hee offered him thanksgiuing for
their deliuerance in the behalf of the people; according as he himselfe had before time comman-
ded him.

THE THIRD BOOKE

OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE

IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS

IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 3. Booke.

1. How *Moses* conducted the people out of *Aegypt* to the mountaine of *Sinai*.
2. Of the slaughter of the *Amalechites* and their confederates, and of the prey which the *Israelites* attained thereby.
3. *Raguels* counsaile vnto his sonne in law *Moses*.
4. *Moses* ascending the mountaine of *Sinai*, bringeth down the Tables of the ten commandements, which he had receiued at Gods hands, to the people.
5. Of the Tabernacle made by *Moses* in the desert, resembling a portable Temple.
6. Of the Arke wherein *Moses* inclosed the Tables of the Law.
7. Of the golden Table and Candlesticke, and of the Altars of the Tabernacle.
8. Of the apparell both of the high Priests and the inferiours.
9. Of *Aarons* Priesthood, and of that which was ordained as touching the feastes and Sacrifices.
10. The Lawes of Sacrifices and Purifications.
11. The Lawes and customes of warre.
12. Sedition against *Moses*, by reason of the want of victualls, and the punishment of the sediti-
ons.
13. Of the spies who hauing scene and searched the countrey of *Chanaan*, and returning backe a-
gaine to the *Israelites*, amased them with feare.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How *Moses* conducted the people out of *Aegypt* to the Mountaine of *Sinai*.



His new and vnexpected deliuerance of the Hebrewes from their daunger, The Israelites
was not a little obscured by the wearinesse and tediousnesse of their iourney, with a star
which they indured in their trauell towards the mountaine of *Sinai*: by reason are distressed
son that the countrey was desert and inhabitable, destitute of victualls, and for want of
and wholly depriued of waters; and not onely barren of that which serued for water
the sustenance of men, but also euerie wayes destitute of pasturage and pro-
uision for cattell: for it was not onely drie and utterly destitute of water, but also de-
priued of all meanes to nourish and increase fruite. Now they were inforced to prosecute
their way thorow this countrey, by reason they could not otherwise chuse; so that they were
constrained to beare with them the water which they had drawn before such time as they en-
tered the desert, according as their Captaine and Conductor had commanded them: which be-
ing spent, they digged pits, out of which they drew water with great difficultie, by reason of the
sterility of the countrey: and further, the water which they found in those places was bitter, &
no waies fit to drinke, and that which was worse, very little in quantitie. Trauailing onwards of
their iourney after this manner, they arrived about the euening in a certaine place, which by rea-
son the waters thereabout were brackish, they called *Mara*, that is to say, bitterness: there wait-
ing with their trauell and their provision failing them, they began to be trauailed with necessity, *Mara* signifi-
so that they resolved to stay in that place; and the rather in that they found a certaine pit there, eth bitternes.
which although it were insufficient to satisfie so great an army, yet for that they found it in that
countrey, it yielded them no little consolation. For they were giuen to vnderstand, that if they
trauelled onwards they should find no water; and as touching the water of that pit, it was so
bitter and vnfit for their drinking, that it neither was agreeable with mens taste, nor supportable
by their very cattell likewise. Whereupon *Moses* seeing them so discomfited, neither know-
ing in what sort to satisfie them, in that he had not to deale with an opposit army or enemy to
the end to enforce, and to repell them with valor; and for that he manifestly perceiued that not
D onely a troupe of valiant men, but also a multitude of women and children were like to perish:
he was very sore perplexed not knowing what to doe, and on himselfe he heaped the calamities
of them all; as if himselfe onely were to beare the heavy burthen of their misery. For all of
them had their recourse vnto him, and to no man else; the women besought for their children,
the husbands intreated for their wiues, beseeching him to take compassion of their desolations,
and to furnish them with some meanes to escape their miserie. He addressed himselfe therefore
in most humble manner to beseech almighty God, that it might please him to conuert the euill
qualitie of the water, and to make it potable: which grace and fauour he no sooner obtained,
but he tooke the end of his staffe, and cast it at his feete, and afterwards brake it in the midst, and
cleft it long waies, and cast it into the pit; giuing the Hebrewes to vnderstand, that God had
E heard their prayers, and that he had promised them to giue them that water they desired, if so
be they would obey him, and with alacritie and diligence performe that which should be com-
manded them. And when they were inquisitiue of that which they ought to do; to the intent the
water might be changed, he enioyned euery one of them, that was of best strength and abilitie
amongst them, to draw water; giuing them to vnderstand, that so soone as they had drawne out
great store of water from the pit, the rest that should remaine, would be verie good and con-
uenient to be drunk: wherein they trauailed in such sort, that the water agitated and purified
by often drawing, became potable, and refected the weary multitude. Hereupon dislodging
from that place they came to *Helim*, a countrey that as farre off seemed very pleasant, by reason
that it was planted with Palme trees; but the neerer they approached it, the more tedious they
F found it (for there were no more than leauentie Palme trees in that place, and they not very tall
or well growne, by reason of the driness and barrenesse of that countrey: for they were not wa-
tered by the fountaines, whereof there were twelue in that place, neither did any one of them
yeeld any moysture, to giue them sustenance) so that endeavouring themselves to dig vp the sand
they could light on no veines of water, and if perhaps any little deale appeared, it was so troubled
by their digging as it became vnfit to be tasted: neither did the trees beare any store of fruit, by
reason of the want of water. For which cause the whole multitude began to murmure against
their

The year of the
world, 2454 be-
fore the Natiui-
tie of Christ.
1510.

Mara signifi-
eth bitternes.
Exod. 15.

Moses be-
seecheth God
to change the
bitter waters
into sweet.

The Israelites
came to *Elim*
where they be-
gan to mur-
mure against
Moses for
want of suste-
nance.

*They are of the
world, 2454, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1510.
Exod. 16.*

*Moses exhorteth the
people to remem-
ber those be-
nefits they
had receiued
at Gods hands.*

*Moses reckoneth vp vnto
the people all
the benefits
which God
had done vnto
them.*

*Moses implor-
eth Gods
helpe.*

their guide, ascribing all the cause of their calamities and miseries vnto him. For hauing marched for the space of thirtie dayes, they had consumed all that which they brought with them, and conceiuing in their imagination that there was no remedy, they were wholly surprised with despair. Berhinking them therefore onely of that euill which was before their eyes, and forgetting the marueils which God by the ministerie and prudence of *Moses* had made them both see and partake, they conceiued hatred against him, and were ready to stone him to death, as if hee had bene the authour of that calamitie which oppressed them. But he perceiuing the multitude so enraged and incensed against him, strengthened himselfe in God: and warranted by the testimonie of a good conscience, and the vsprightnesse of his actions, hee came out into the midst of them; who reuiled him, and had gathered stones to cast at him. And for that he was adorned with a singular grace and alluring countenance, and endued with pleasing eloquence, & fit to pacifie the popularitie, he began to appease their wrath; exhorting them not onely to forget their present difficulties, but also to remember their forepassed blessings, not permitting that the trauell which they endured at that time, should drive out of their remembrance the graces and great good turnes, which they had receiued at Gods hands. He willed them likewise diligently to expect their deliuerance from that extremitie, by the prouidence of God, who (as it was very likely) made triall of their vertue, to see what perseuerance they had, or whether they kept in their remembrance those things which had hapned vnto them; or whether forgetting their forepassed pleasures, they would suffer themselves to be swallowed with their present miserie: hee willed them therefore to take heed, least through their impatience and ingratitude, they should be found vnworthie of Gods fauour; who both neglected his will, by whole direction they were brought out of Egypt, and sore threatened and hated him, which was Gods minister, especially since hitherto they might no wayes complaine of him in any thing, which hee had undertaken to execute by the commaundement of God. Then reckoned he vp particularly vnto them, how the Egyptians were ouerthrowne and afflicted, whilst contrarie to Gods will they endeouored to detainee them; how the same riuer which to them was bloudie and vnprofitable to drinke of, to themselves became both sweete and potable: likewise how the sea retired it selfe, and furthered both their flight and passage, wherein they saw themselves secure and free from danger: and contrariwise, their enemies destroyed, ouerthrowne and drowned; and how euen vntill that day being disarmed, they were by Gods prouidence both furnished and fortified abundantly. Againe, howe often God had deliuered them from apparant death and daunger, besides all mens opinion, who being all and alwayes omnipotent, gaue them at that time, no not the least suspicion of his assistance. For which cause they were to suffer all things patiently, and to imagine with themselves that the succour, although it were deferred, was neuer too late, which was receiued before such time as the daunger had preuailed: and so to thinke that God condemned not their perils, but that he made triall of their fortitude and free loue, to see whether they were able and willing to abide the want of meate and drinke; or rather whether after the manner of brute beasts, they had leiser be trained in seruile trauell, to the end they might be glutted like them, and made the better able to endure their labor. To conclude, that hee nothing feared his life (because that being vnusfully slaine, no euill could happen vnto him) but that hee was fearefull of their safetie, least lifting vp their handes to stone him, they should bee thought to oppose themselves against Gods ordinance. Thus pacified hee them, and mollified the furie they had conceived to endanger his life; and so much preuailed hee, that they repented them of that enterprise, whereby they sought to indanger him. And for that he knew that they had some reason to be thus moued, he addressed himselfe to prayer and supplication: and ascending a certaine rocke, he required Gods helpe to relieue their infirmities, wants, and afflictions, in whose hands onely the situation of the people consisted, beseeching him in mercy to forgiue the people being exasperated with extreme miseries, and by reason thereof distracted & withdrawne from their dutie; whereupon God promised him to haue care of the people, assuring him to send them a speedie & present deliuerance. Which when *Moses* vnderstood, he came downe vnto the multitude; who perceiuing him altogether refreshed with ioy, by reason of those promises which he had receiued at Gods hands, exchanged their dolefull lamentations, into a habit of delight. He therefore standing vp in the midst of them, told them that he brought vnto them a most speedie remedie for their present necessitie: and not long after, a number of Quails (which about the gulfes of Arabia multiply and increase more then any other sorts of birds) flew and crossed the sea; and being wearied in their flight, and accustomedly accosting and flying neere

to

*In the yeare of
the world, 2454.
before Christs
Nativity, 1510
God sendeth
quails into
the Hebrewes
armie.*

*God feedeth
the Israelites
with Manna.*

*A commaund-
ement how
much Manna
should be ga-
thered.*

*Manna what
it significeth
Exod 17.*

*The Israelites
fed 40. yeares
space on Man-
na.*

*The Israelites
arriue at Ra-
phidim, and
are trauailed
with thirst.*

*Moses striketh
the rocke
with his rod,
and there
issueth water.*

G to the ground, came and fell amidst the campe of the Hebrews: who caught them as a provision prepared for them by God, and ordained to extinguish their famine. Whereupon *Moses* once more addressed himselfe to call vpon God, yeelding him thanks for the present and the future good hee had promised him. Who being after this manner fed and refreshed, were presently supplied with a newe kind of food: for at such time as *Moses* stretched out his handes and prayed vnto God, a dewe descended from heauen that thickened betwix his handes, which for that he supposed it, to be another kind of sustenance sent them by God, hee tasted the same; and taking pleasure therein, for that the people knew not what it was, but thought it to be snowe which fell in that place, according to the season of the yeare, hee taught them that it was no dew falling from heauen as they supposed, but that God had sent them that grace for the conseruation and nouriture of their bodies; and hauing eaten thereof, he gaue them of it, to the end he might strengthen their beliefe: who tasting the same in like manner as their chiefe- taine had done, were greatly refreshed with the sustenance. For in sweetnes and pleasure it equalled the honie, in odour Bdellium, and in forme and greatnes the graine of a Coriander seede: of which euery one gathered, and by commaundement it was enioyned that euery one of them should particularly gather euery day the measure of an Assaron, which is the tenth part of an Ephra, to the end that no one should be scant of this food: which was done to that end, least the weaker should want, whilst the stronger thorow auarice should gather more then sufficed them. And if any one contrarie to the prescript commaunde, had gathered more then was permitted him, although he toyled and trauelled more then any of them, yet was his portion no waies increased by that meanes. For whatsoever (beside the appointed measure of the Assaron) remained till the next morning was of no value, thorow bitternes, and was putrefied thorow wormes: so diuine and admirable was this kind of foode, and of that nature, that who so had sufficient thereof, needed no other sort of sustenance. Moreouer euen in these our daies, al that countrey is bestrewed and bedewed with that kind of saliment, which God in fauour of *Moses* sent for the peoples sustenance. The Hebrewes call it Manna, for in our tongue Man is an interrogation, signifying what is that? Thus liued they then ioyfully, being sustained by this kind of meat sent them from heauen, and vsed the same for the space of fortie yeares; during that time which they liued in the desert. But afterwards when they were dislodged from that place, and encamped neere to Raphidim, they were extremely trauailed with thirst: where, vpon their first arriuall they found some few springs, but afterwards they found the land wholly destitute of water. They therefore once more were incensed against *Moses*: but he withdrawing himselfe apart from the furie of the people, conuerted himselfe vnto God in prayer, beseeching him that as he had giuen them foode in their necessitie, he would now also giue them drinke at that present, wherein they were welnie choaked with thirst, praying him to provide them of drinke also, or otherwise that their meat was vnprofitable to them; whereon God presently granted his prayer, promising *Moses* that he would giue him a fountaine and abundance of water from that place from whence hee least expected it. Hereon he commanded him, that striking vpon the rock with his rod, which was thereby hard at hand, he should from thence seeke that which they demanded and wanted, assuring him that euery one without trauell or labour should haue sufficient therefro: which counsaile when *Moses* had receiued from Gods hands, he returned vnto the people who expected him, and had their eyes fixed vpon him: for at that time they beheld him descending from the rocke where he had made his prayer. No sooner was he arriued, but he told them that God would in like sort deliuer them from that necessitie, and would graciously grant them an vnexpected reliefe; telling them that a fountaine should sodainly breake from the rocke: but they being amazed at that which they heard, and doubting least tired with thirst and trauelled by iourneies, they should be enforced to heue and cleaue the rocke: *Moses* strook the same in such sort with his rod, that he diuided it in sunder, and deliuered out most cleere and pure water in great abundance. The people were very sore astonished at this so strange accident: so that beholding the water, their thirst was quenched. They afterward drunke of the water, and found it verie sweet and pleasant, resembling in the goodnes of it, the diuine bountie & power of the giuer thereof. For this cause they highly esteemed *Moses*, seeing that God had honoured him in this sort, and they acknowledged Gods prouidence and their thankgiuing by their sacrifices, humbly thanking him for the care he had ouer them. The sacred scriptures likewise, which are kept and consecrated in the Temple, testifie that God had foretold *Moses* also that water should in this sort issue from the rocke.

How the Amalechites and their associates were overcome, and how great a prey the Israelites obtained thereby.

56
The year of the world, 2454, before Christ's Nativity, 1510.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2.

Exod. 17.
The Amalechites warre against the Israelites.

Moses encouraged the people to expect nothing else but victory.

Joshua made captain over the Israelites.

When the renoume of the Hebrewes waxed great, and was spread in the eares of all men (so as the brute thereof was heard in euerie part) it came to passe that the inhabitants of that countrey were in very great feare: whereupon (sending embassages the one vnto the other) they mutually incited themselues to expell and utterly ruinate the whole nation. Amongst the rest those of the countrey of Gobi, and the Citie Petra (who are called Amalechites, a nation verie warlike, and more active then the rest) were the chiefe agents in this expedition: whose Kings both encourage one another, and whetted their neighbour nations to the Israelites destruction; telling them that a forraigne army, flying from the thraldome of the Egyptians, had invaded their countrey, whose increas was not a little to be suspected: counselling them (before they had gathered head, and recovered more meanes, and a countrey to dwell in, and withall waxed more confident by reason of their forbearance) to charge them first; rather then to expect their increas, and so to oppresse them: esteeming it a better point of wisdom to repress their insolencie and forwardnes in the desert, then to expect whilst they were possessed of strong Cities, & rich meanes. For this (said they) is the part of wise men, to resist the vprisings and power of their aduersaries; and not to expect, whilst by daily exploits they more & more increas; & rather to provide to prevent, then deliuer themselves from perill. After these embassages, it was decreed by generall counsell, that they should endeavour to confront and assault the Hebrewes. These determinations and designs of theirs amazed and troubled Moses verie much, for that he expected no hostility. When therefore hee perceived that the people were affrighted, and amazed to see themselves (being wholly vnprovided) to be charged by so strong and well furnished an armie; hee recomfirmed them, and willed them to bethinke themselves of Gods promises, who by his power had set them at libertie; assuring them that they should overcome all those that made party and head against them to destroy them: wiling them to thinke, that though they were inferiour vnto their enemies in weapons, wealth, money, and munition, and such like; yet since they had God to friend, and readie to fight for them against their enemies, that they ought to conceiue such courage, as if they were furnished with far more then humane supplies. Alledging further, that they were not ignorant how great an assistent God was, hauing had so often triall of his goodnes in their greatest daungers, whom both hee knew to be anemie to their enemies, and fauourable to their proceedings: which fauour of his he most manifestly exprest, by his miraculous deliuerance of them from hunger and thirst, by yeelding them free escape when they were shut in by sea and mountaines; and that which should most animate them to the fight and victorie at that time was, that after this plunge they should want nothing that appertained to a more commodious and peaceable life. Moses thus hauing encouraged the people by his words, he called vnto him the chiefe of the tribes, and euerie one of them that had the charge of them, both in private and publike assembly; commaunding the younger to obey the elder, and the elders to be obedient to their Generall. But they contemning their daunger, and desirous of fight, hoped that this conflict would proue the final end of their calamity: for which cause they instantly besought Moses to lead them forth against the enemy, praying him not to dull the alacritie of the soldiers, by any vntimely delay. Whereupon (chusing out amongst the whole multitude, such as were most fitte for warre) he chose Iosue the sonne of Naueus the Ephraimite to leade them, a man valiant in armes, and prouident in counsaile, and exceeding in pietie, and not degenerating in that respect from Moses his master. He also in such sort disposed certaine bands that he might not in any sort be cut off from water; he left also so many as might guard the multitude, & keepe the campe and weaker company. Thus stood they all the night long in a readines to take armes; such as they had fitted for them; expecting their captaines, who should lead them out to fight as soone as Moses should commaund them. On the other side Moses slept not, but instructed Iosue how he should conduct the army. And as soone as the day appeared, he encouraged Iosue to shew himselfe such a one in that battell, as both the place where with he was honoured, and the cause for which they fought, required; wiling him by his prowesse and good deserts to giue life and courage to his soldiers that followed him. Hee likewise exhorted the chiefe of the Hebrewes in particular, and in generall heartned and emboldened all other that entred the battell.

And

A And as touching himselfe (after he had thus disposed the armie, by words and effect) he retired himselfe vnto a mountaine, committing the army to Gods protection, and Iosue's conduct. Then encountered the armies on both sides; and euery one fought most valiantly, neither wanted there encouragements on either sides. And as long as Moses lifted up his hands, the Hebrewes had the better against the Amalechites. But for that he was vnable continually to support the same, (and because hee thoroughly perceived and obserued, that as often as hee helde downe his hands, so long the enemies droue the Israelites to retreat) hee willed his brother Aaron and Fron (his sister Maries husband) to stand on each side of him, and sustaine his hands and succour him, for feare his forces should faile him. Which when they had performed, the Hebrewes by maine force overcame the Amalechites, so that all of them had bene slaine. **B** if so bee the chace had continued, and had not been cut off by the approche of the night. At this time our predecessours obtained a most happie and necessarie victorie. For they had the vpper hand ouer them that were embattelled against them; and astonished and amazed the nations round about, and got great strength and riches by their trauell: for being seased of the enemies campe, they generally gate great riches, and particularly were all of them relieved; whereas before that time they had not necessarie meanes to maintaine themselves. And this victorie of theirs was the cause of their very great good fortune, not onely for the present, but also for the time to come. For not onely had they their enemies bodies vnder their subiection, but also their spirits; so as they were feared by all the nations round about. And they multiplied both in strength and riches: for there was a great quantitie of gold and siluer taken in the campe. Diuers vessels likewise and tables of brasse were found therein: likewise great quantity of tisse worke and excellent furniture for armes. Moreouer, they had all their baggage, tents, harness, and horses, and generally the whole prouision of an arranged battell became their prey. Then after also they became more vertuous, and industrious then before; supposing that the end of all actions was obtained by industrie. Thus ended this battell. The next day Moses caused the enemies that were slaine to be rifled, and gathered the scattered armes of those that fled. He honoured them also that had brauely demeaned themselves in the battell, & praised the Capitaine Iosue in publike, whose honour was confirmed by the applause of the whole armie. There was not one Hebrew that perished that day: and so manie of the enemies were there put to the sword, as their number cannot be expressed. Hee offered likewise a sacrifice of thanksgiving vnto God, and erected an altar vnto him, and dedicated it to God the Victor. Hee prophesied moreover, that all the Amalechites should be utterly extinguished, so that none of them should be left aliue, in that they had assaulted the Hebrewes, and that in the desert, and at such time as they were in affliction. He feasted the Generall in like sort. This issue had this battell, which was the first that was lenied against them, or durst assault them; since their departure out of Egypt. But as soone as Moses had celebrated a feast in memorie of the victorie, to the end hee might giue the Hebrewes some repose after the battell abouenamed, he caused them to march in array; for now at that time they had many armed souldiers. Thus passing onwards by little and little, they arriued the third month after their departure out of Egypt, neere to the mountain of Sinai, where (as before time it hath been declared) Moses sawe the vision in the bush, and other such like wonders.

The Israelites recover a great prae in the campe of the Amalechites. The distribution of the spoiles and pray.

The prediction of the utter ruine of the Amalechites.

The Israelites come to the mountain of Sinai.

CHAP. III.

What counsell Raguel gave to his sonne in lawe.

When Raguel Moses father in lawe vnderstood of this his good successe, he came with great ioy vnto Moses, vnder purpose to salute him, his daughter Zephora, and her children, who (greatly reioicing at his arriual) prepared a sacrifice, and feasted the people neere vnto the bush that could not be consumed by fire; and in the banquet time the people was distinguished, according to the order and place of euery family. But Aaron with the assistants tooke Raguel, and they sung praises vnto God, ascribing to him both the meanes and manner of their libertie. They also spake much in honour of their Generall, by whose vertue all things had had so fortunate an issue. Raguel on his side highly praised the people, and dignified Moses their Gouvernour, by whose prudence so many good and valiant men were guided. But on the next day, Raguel seeing Moses oppressed with the multitude of businesse (by reason that he decided all their debates that appealed vnto him, who were thus perswaded of him, that

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3.

Exod. 10.
Raguel commeth to Moses to the desert of Sinai.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4.
Raguel, otherwise called

1eth.o. Moyses
tancer in law,
counselleth
him to choole
Iudges amongst
the Israelites.
The year of the
world, 2454. be-
fore Christ
birth, 1510.

that time they were onely rightly censured, when *Moses* gaue the sentence; and they that were G condemned by him, endured the verdict patiently, knowing that their cause was by him decided rather by the rule of iustice, then the instinct of amercee hee for that time kept silence (in that he was loath to hinder them, who any wayes pretended to receiue anie fruit of the vertue of his sonne in lawe.) But when he found him at conuenient leisure, hee withdrew him apart, and told him betwixt them twaine, that which hee ought to doe; counselling him that hee should discharge himselfe of that paine, concerning affaires of so little consequence, and reserve onely to himselfe those affaires which were of the greatest importance, and concerned the publike estate of them all. For that there were diuerse persons amongst the Hebrewes to be found, who would be capable and sufficient to heare and determine the pleas; but touching the care of so manie thousand soules, no man could vnder take it, except he were another *Moses*. H Knowing therefore (saide he) thy vertue, and how worthily thou hast behaved thy selfe towards the people, being the Minister of God, as concerning their lastitie: suffer them to comprimit amongst themselves those actions and quarrels that fall amongst them; and reserve this interest to thy selfe, that thou maist wholly intend the seruice of God, whereby thou maist more easily exempt the people from their present necessities. If therefore thou giuest credit to my counsailes in humane affaires, thou shalt make diligent search and musters of thy whole armie, and thou shalt establish Chieftaines that shall gouerne ouer ten thousand, and thousand, and five hundred, and ouer fifties, and shalt ordaine Gouvernours ouer them, who diuiding them by thirties, twenties, and tennes, may conduct and gouerne them: and let some some be appointed amongst them, who may receiue their titles, according to the number and names of those hee commaundeth. Who being approued by the whole companie, to be of good fame and vpriht conscience, may censure and compound all their differences; and if any controuersie shall fall out amongst any of them in authoritie, they shall reserve the deciding of that difficultie to thine owne person. By this meanes neither shall any one of the Hebrewes be defrauded of his right, and thou thy selfe seruing God without molestation, maist procure God to be more fauourable vnto thine armie.

Medio & Rufinus, chap. 5.
Moses alloweth his father in laws aduice

This counsell of *Raguel* highly contented *Moses*, so that he fulfilled all that whereunto hee had suggested him, not concealing the inuention of this policie, neither attributing it to himselfe, but declaring publicly vnto all man, that his father in law was the inuenter thereof. He hath likewise written in his Bookes, that *Raguel* was the author of this gouernement; accounting it no lesse honour to attribute praise to those that deserue it, then shame to vsurpe vpon another mans desert; so that hereby you may coniecture his vertue: of which hereafter in many places we haue more to say. *Moses* afterwards assembling all the people, tolde them that hee would ascend the mountaine of Sinai to talke with God, to the ende that he might afterwarde returne vnto them, and impart vnto them whatsoever profitable thing hee had receiued from him in their behalfe. He likewise commaunded them to pitch their tents about the mountaine, and to haue it in reuerence, by reason of the Proximitie of God.

CHAP. IIII.

Moses ascendeth the mountaine, and receiue the Tables of the ten Commandments at Gods hands, and gaue them to the people.

Medio & Rufinus, chap. 6.
Moses ascendeth the mountaine of Sinai.

His said, hee ascended the mountaine Sinai (which is the highest beyond comparifon of all that country, and which, by reason of his strange height, and for his steepe and inaccessible ragged rockes, is not onely vnfrequented by men, but also may not be beheld, by reason it traueleth the eye.) Further, for that it is reported, that God conuerleth and dwelleth on the same, it is held sacred by the inhabitants, and dreadfull and vnaccessible to all that behold it. But the Hebrewes, according to the commaundement of the Prophet, removing their tents, pitched them at the foote of the hill, suspending their iudgements, and expecting the execution of the promises of those goods which *Moses* had foreprophefied vnto them, at such time as he returned fro God. And in the meane space, while they expected their guide, they kept holy day, and fasted, and purified themselves for the space of three dayes in all sorts of purification and abstinence from the companie of their wiues, following that which *Moses* had commaunded them. They besought God also that he would be fauourable and asist *Moses*, and by his meanes to blesse them with some fauor, that might make their life good & happie. They banquetted also in great pompe, and their wiues and childre were richly attired: Now after they had feasted

The year of the world, 2454. before Christ birth, 1510.
Horrible lightnings about the mountaine of Sinai.

A feasted fortie dayes space, on the third day before Sunne rising, a cloud couered all the Hebrewes campe (a thing before time vnseene by them) and inuironed al the place where they pitched their pauillions. And although all the rest of the country had a cleare and vntroubled skie; yet thereabout violent winds were raised, and hideously rored, and a tempestuous raine succeeded them; and thunderclaps dreadfull to heare, and lightnings horrible to beholde, signified that God was there present, and that *Moses* (with good successe, as it shall please them: but as touching my selfe, it is not Let those that read this, iudge thereof, as it shall please them: but as touching my selfe, it is not any waies lawfull for me to depart in any sort from that which is written in holy scriptures. That which the Hebrewes both heard and saw, in that it was straunge and vnaccustomed vnto them, troubled them greatly. Furthermore, the report that was published as touching that mountaine, that God repaired and dwelt on the same, maruailously amated their spirits: they therefore said B that God repaired and dwelt on the same, maruailously amated their spirits: they therefore said that God repaired and dwelt on the same, maruailously amated their spirits: they therefore said row the wrath of God, and expecting no lesse miserie themselves. But whilest they were thus troubled in thought, *Moses* presented himselfe vnto them (with a countenance full fraught with a pleasing maiestic, and looks so contented, as they testified the inward consolation of his mind) whom they no sooner beheld, but suddenly all their feare vanished, and in place thereof a hope of some great good happe succeeded, and withall the ayre vpon his arriuall recovered his former cleerenesse and serenitie. Hereupon he summoned the people to a solempne and general assembly; to the end he might report, and they heare, what commaundements God had giuen them by him: no sooner were they assembled, but he (from an vpper place, to the end that all the people might both see and heare him) stood vp and spake after this manner. Know (saith he) you Hebrewes, that Almighty God, as hee hath neuer neglected my prayers hitherto; so at this time also hath he entertained me (being your truchman & messenger) verie graciously; & behold himselfe here in presence in your companie, and propitious to your supplications, readie to provide you of meat to sustaine your bodies, and order and dispose your policie to make it lasting & happy: now although that you see me, and that a humane tongue speaketh vnto you, yet despise not my words, no more then you doe his workes already executed and testified vpon our nation. For if you consider the worth and wonder thereof, you shall conceiue his greatnesse that hath brought them to passe, and hath neuer denied to talke with me, and heare mee when I spake C D for your profit. For it is not *Moses* the sonne of *Amram*, and of *Iocabel*, but hee it is that constrained Nilus to flow with blood, and that thorow diuerse plagues hath ramed the pride of the Egyptians: it is he that hath given you passage thorow the midst of the sea: it is hee that hath furnished you with meat prepared from heauen, at such time as you were in extremitie: it is he that made water spring out of the the rocke to coole your thirsts, at such time as you were in necessitie: it is he by whom *Adam* had the possession and fruition, both of the fruit of the earth, and the fishes of the sea: By him *Noe* escaped from the Deluge: by him our auncient father *Abraham* of a wandering pilgrimage, became an inhabitant of the land of Chanaan: by him *Isaac* was borne at such time as his father and mother were olde: by him *Jacob* hath bene ennobled by the vertue of his twelue sonnes: by him *Ioseph* became Lord ouer all the forces of the Egyptians: He it is that graciously imparteth these words vnto you by me his messenger; let therefore these holisome lawes of his bee holy and inuolable amongst you, and more deere vnto you then either your wiues or children: for in obseruing the same, you shall lead a happie life, enjoy a fruitfull countrey, a calme sea, and a progenie made happie according to the lawes of nature: finally, you shall become swaies dreadfull vnto your enemies. For I haue talked face to face with God, and haue heard his immortal voice; so dearely beloued are you vnto him, and so carefull is he of the prosperitie of your nation. This said, he conducted the people (both men, women and children) to the end they might heare God talke vnto them, and teach them what to do (for feare the law should haue been in lesser regard, if it had bene presented to their vnderstandings by a humane tongue) they all of them therefore heard his voice descending from the mountaine, so that euery one vnderstood the same. But these precepts which *Moses* left re- F gifted in two Tables, it is not lawfull for me to expresse in so many words, and therefore I will only expresse the sentences. For he teacheth vs:

First of all that there is one God, who is onely to be worshipped.
Secondly, that no image of any creature is to be adored.
Thirdly, that no man ought to sweare rashly.
Fourthly, that the seauenth day is not to be prophaned by any worke.
Fifthly, that father and mother should be honoured.

Moses oration to the Israelites.

The people of Israel heareth God speaking vnto the from the mountaine of Sinai.

The ten commandments.
Exod. 20.
Deuter. 5.

Sixthly, that we should abstaine from murther.
 Seuenthly, that adulterie is not to be committed.
 Eightly, that no man ought to steale.
 Ninthly, that false witnesse must not be borne.
 Tenthly, that no man ought to couet his neighbours goods.

When the multitude with great ioy had heard God himselfe speake vnto them (according as *Moses* had foretold them) he dismissed them, and each one departed to his tent. But some few daies after they presented themselves before his pavilion, beseeching him that hee should bring them thole lawes, which he had receiued at Gods hands: He to the intent to gratifie them, opened the lawes, and prescribed vnto each of them what they ought to doe at the same time (as in due place it shall be expressed.) But the greater part of the lawes I deferre till an other time, meaning in priuate to comment thereupon. About the verie same time, *Moses* once more ascended the mountaine of Sinai (hauing premonished the people thereof) and ascended the same in their sights: but when the time seemed tedious vnto them (for he was sequestred from them for the space of fortie daies) they were in great feare, least some inconuenience had hapned vnto him; neither were they so much agreed at that which had chanced vnto them, as for that they were perswaded of the death of *Moses*. For there fell a contention amongst them, the one affirming that he was dead and deuoured by wild beasts (which was their opinion, who conceiued a hatred against him) the other said that hee was rauished vp vnto God: but they of the wiser sort among them, who tooke no pleasure to heare any one of these their suspitions, contained themselves, being equally affected in respect of both the opinions; for that the one seemed not to bee estranged I from humane chance, and the other had some correspondence with the vertues of the man: so that they endured his fortune with an equall mind, and lamented their owne mishap, in that they were deprived of such a gouernour and patron as hee was, and whose like they thought it a matter impossible to find: neither did their care suffer them to hope: neither deprived of hope could they choose but complaine: neyther durst they remoue their tents, in that they were commanded to expect his returne. At length (when fortie dayes and fortie nights were past) hee returned vnto them; hauing (during that time) tasted no mortall sustenance: and by his arriual the whole host was replenished with great ioy; whom he certified that Gods providence was alwayes assisting them, and that during the terme of those dayes, he had learned the meanes how they should liue ciuilly, orderly, and blessedly: telling them that God commaunded them to make him a Tabernacle, whereinto hee would descend as often as it pleased him, which also in their trauell they might carry about with them; so that they should haue no more need to ascend vnto Sinai, but that he himselfe might come and lodge with them, and be assistant to their prayers. Hee told them likewise the measure and order of the said Tabernacle, and that they wanted nothing but that they presently addressed themselves to the building thereof. This said, hee shewed them the two Tables, containing the ten commandments written therein, in each of them siue: now were these written by the hand of God. They all of them (reioycing at that which they had heard and scene) ceased not to employ themselves to their vttermost: so that they brought in siluer, gold, brasse, and store of wood fit for building; and which would not be wormeaten, the haire of goates, and the skins of sheepe, the one dyed azure, and the other white; L woolls of the same colour, fine linnen, stones enchafed in gold, wherewith men were accustomed to decke themselves, with great quantitie of perfumes. Such was the matter of the Tabernacle, which was made like to a portable & mouing Temple: this stuffe being thus gathered together, & collected with so great affection (according to each mans vtmost abilitie, he appointed work-masters according to the commaundment of God, but such as the like might not haue beene chosen, although the matter had beene committed to the peoples suffrages: their names are now likewise extant in the volumes of the sacred scriptures. *Beseleel* of the tribe of *Iuda*, the sonne of *Vron* of the tribe of *Iuda*, & *Mary* *Moses* sister: and *Eliab* the sonne of *Isamach*, of the tribe of *Dan*: The people shewed themselves so forward in the finishing of this worke, that *Moses* was compelled to restrain them, causing it to be proclaimed, that they had sufficiently gathered for the worke already: for the workmasters certified him no lesse. They therefore addressed themselves, to finish how many vessels they ought to haue, according to the module which god had proposed to *Moses*. The women also strove with emulation to exceed each other in the making of the vestures of the priests, and other things which were couenient for that worke, to the end to honour the service of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Tabernacle made by *Moses* in the desert, resembling a portable Temple.

Now when all things were prepared for this worke, as gold, brasse, & wouen worke, *Moses* commanded them to feast, and sacrifice each one according to his abilitie, and set forward the building of the Tabernacle. First of all therefore he measured the outward court, which in bredth contained fiftie, and in length one hundred cubites, in such manner as followeth. He raised pales of siue cubites high, and twentie in length from the one side to the other, and ten in breadth, in the hindside to euery one of these pales or postes there were fastened rings, the chapters whereof were siluer, and the bases thereof of golde, and the lower parts of these resembled the points of a spere made of brasse, and fixed in the earth: Thorow the rings there passed certaine cords of siue cubites length, which on the one side fastned in the ground with brassen nayles of a cubits length, did fasten each of the pales, and defended the Tabernacle against the force of winds: Then was there a most fine silken Curtaine drawne about the same, which hanging from the chapters of the bases, and inclosing all that place, seemed to differ in nothing from a wall. And after this manner were the three sides of the inclosure arownded. But the fourth side, being of fiftie cubites, was the front of the whole frame; the doore whereof was twentie cubits wide, hauing on both sides double barres in stead of posts; and these also were of siluer, except the bases which were of brasse; and on both sides there stood three barres well fastned, which were also hung round about with a Curtaine of wouen silke: but at the gate there hung a vaile of twentie cubits long, and siue deepe, wouen of purple, violet and fine silke, embroidered with diuers flowers, without any figures of sensible creatures: within the gates there was a brassen Ewer, with a foote of the same mettall, wherein the Priests might wash their hands and feet. And after this manner was the inclosure of the Court; In the midst hereof he placed the Tabernacle, turning it toward the East, that the rising sunne might shine vpon it: the length thereof was thirty cubits, and the bredth twelue; the one of the walles thereof was towards the South, an other towards the North, but the hinder part was toward the West; and it was as high as long; and on each side there were twentie wooden planks foure square, and ioyned together, foure fingers thicke, and a cubit and a halfe broad, lined both within and without with plates of gold; and euerie boord had two hinges, which were put thorow the two bases that were of siluer, & in their sockets receiued the hinges of the boords: the planks of the west wall were siue in number, and gilded both within and without, all of them so closed together as it seemed to be but one wall. But on both sides there were certaine boords neerly ioyned together, which in bredth contained the measure of one cubit and a halfe; and in thickeesse, the third part of a hand bredth; and so made vp thirtie cubits: but siue boords made vp the nine cubits of the hinder wall, to which were ioyned other two boords cut halfe a cubit broad, which they placed in the corner in stead of whole ones: euerie boord had rings of gold fastned to the outward front thereof, riueted in order, and answering one another on euerie side. Thorow these rings were put certaine barres which were couered with gold, euerie one siue cubits long, which ioyned the boords together: and the ende of euery barre was put into the beginning of the other, after the manner of a boxe. And on the backside of the walles of the Tabernacle, there was one ranke of barres placed long-wise, passing thorow all the planks, in which by hookes or haspes, the sides of either were held together, and riueted and fastned one within the other; by which meanes the Tabernacle was secured from the force of winds, and kept steddie, and immouable. Within, the length thereof was diuided into three parts: next to one part thereof containing ten cubites, on the inside were placed foure pillars made of the same worke and matter, planted on like bases, and distant one from the other by equall spaces ouerthwart, beyond these was the secret place. The rest of the Tabernacle was for all the Priests; and this tripartite diuision of the Tabernacle resembled the nature of the world, for the third part (which was contained within the four pillars, to which the priests had no access) did in a manner represent heauen the seat of God: but the space of twentie cubits (which was onely permitted to the Priest, and was vnaccessible to others) resembled the sea and land. In the front where the entrance was, they placed siue pillars vpon brassen bases; after these the Curtaines were spread about the Tabernacle, wouen of silke, and embroidered with purple, violet, and scarlet colours; the first of these was spread tenn cubits euery way, & was drawn about the pillars, which separated the Adyt from the other space, and seuered it from the sight of men; and all this Temple was called holy. As for the Adyt that

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 The year of the
 world, 2455, be-
 fore Christs Na-
 tivity. 1509.

Exod. 36.
 Hedio & Ruf-
 finus chap. 7
 Moses erect-
 eth a Taber-
 nacle in the
 desert.

The first court
 of the Temple

The Taber-
 nacle.

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The year of the
world, 2455, be-
fore Christs birth,
1509.

was situate beyond the foure pillars, it was called the *Sanctum sanctorum*, or holie of holiest: and this curtaine or vaile was pictured with all sorts of flowers which the earth bringeth forth, and diuersified with all that which might giue it ornament; but that there were no figures of liuing creatures to be found therein. The second vaile equalled the first in greatnesse, workmanship, and colour; and encompassed the foue pillars of the entrie, which reaching from the top to the midst of them, and fastened to each of them by a certaine ring, gaue access to the Priests that entred the same: To this almost was there annexed on the outside another vaile of like bignesse and wouen of linnen, drawne vpon cordes from the one side to the other, by means of certaine rings; which was sometimes spread, and other times (especially on the holy daies) vnspread, least it should hinder the peoples sight: on the other daies (especially such as were cloudie) it was spread and serued for a couerture to defend the painted vaile from the weather. Sithence, that custome hath continued after the building of the Temple, that another such like vaile (as this) should bee spread in the entrance. Besides this, there were ten other vailes, foure cubits broad, and twentie eight cubits long, with certaine golden hookes, enchaisted the one within the other, to the ende to conioyne them, so that they seemed to bee one; which being spread did couer the Tabernacle in the vpper part, and the walles on the sides and behind; not extending to the earth within the compasse of a foote. Moreover, there were eleuen other hangings of equall breadth, but longer; namely, euery one of the of thirtie cubits, wouen with as great art of haire, as the other out of wooll: which couering all the rest extending to the earth, resembled the forme of a bed-chamber, one of them couered and extended from the front, which being the eleuenth, was annexed to this vse: these also were couered with certaine skinnes sewed together, which protected the same against the storme and iniurie of raine: for which cause, to them that beheld it from farre, it seemed a thing most worthe of admiration. For the colours of the Tabernacle did in no other sort shine, then as if a man should haue beheld the heauens. But the vailes of haire and skinnes hung after such a maner, as that did about the entrance of the Tabernacle, set to resist the force and outrage of stormes and tempests.

The Sanctuary

The significa-
tion of the di-
uision of the
Tabernacle.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Arke, wherein Moses placed the Tables of the Law.

Exod. 27.
Hedio & Ruf-
inus. chap. 8.

After that the Tabernacle was after this manner buiided, they erected also an Arke, which was dedicated vnto God, of a certaine wood that was naturally strong, and such as was permanent and resisted corruption. This in our native tongue is called *seoron*, framed after this manner. The length thereof was of foue handfuls, and the breadth and height of three handfuls; and both within and without it was couered with golden plates, and it had a couer fitted with golden hinges, egall on euerie side. And to euerie side in length there were fastened two rings of gold, driuen and riueted through the whole wood, and through them certaine barres of gold were thrust, that whensoever there were any neede, it might be carried any wayes: for neuer was it borne on beasts backs, but the Priests bare it on their shoulders. On the couer thereof there were two semblances planted, which the Hebrewes call Cherubins (which are winged creatures, of a strange forme, the like whereof were neuer seene by any man) which *Moses* saw figured on Gods seate. In this Arke he placed the Tables containing the ten commaundements: in euery one five, and in euerie page two and a halfe: and this Arke hid hee within the Sanctuary.

Cherubin.

The Tables of
the law placed
in the Arke.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Table and Candlestick of gold, and of the Altars of the Tabernacle.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus. chap. 9.
The Table.

IN the Tabernacle he placed a Table not vnlike to that at Delphos, two cubits in length, and one in breadth, and of the height of three handfuls: the feet thereof, from the midst downwards, were like those feet which the Dorians set vnto their beds; but that which ascended from the other halfe vpwads, was square: The bodie of this Table was surrounded with a border standing out foure fingers length, and in euerie of the feet there were rings fastened about the top of the foote, to which were annexed on both sides two things after the manner of handles, gilded, and framed of most firme wood, which were not thrust through the circle on both sides like barres, but with a button tooke hold of the vpper border of the Table, and both comprehended the ring of the foot, being a means to transfer it whithersoever need requir-

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A required: This was wont to bee placed in the Temple towards the North wall, not farre from the Sanctuarie: and on it were placed twelue vnleavened loaves, set sixe by sixe the one ouer against the other, and made of two *Assars* of the purest wheate, which measure of the Hebrewes contained seuen Corylas of the Athenians; and about these loaves two golden pots filled with frankincense; but after seuen dayes other loaves were set in their place on that festiual day, which we call the Sabbath. The cause of which ceremonie shall hereafter be declared by vs. Hard by this Table neere the South wall, was placed a Candlestick of molten gold (but not solide) of one hundred pound weight (this weight the Hebrewes call *Cinchar*, the Grecians name it a Talent in their tongue) and it was wrought with bowles, lillies, pomgranats, and little cuppes; then arising vpwads from one base, it was diuided into seuen branches, according to the number of the Sunne and the rest of the Planets: it stretched out likewise into seuen heads, hauing orderly correspondencie the one with the other, on which were planted seuen candles, according to the number of the seuen Planets, which branched out towards the East and South, in that the Candlestick was set sidelong. Betweene this and the Table (as I said) was a little Altar crected for incense, made of lasting wood likewise; and couered on euerie side with a solide plate, being a cubite broad from euerie corner, and twise as high, on which there stood a little hearth enuironed with a golden crowne on euerie side, in which were rings with their barres and stauies, whereby it might be borne by the Priests in the way. There was another Altar of wood also before the doore of the Tabernacle, couered with plates of brass, foue cubits square, and three high, decked with gold in like sort, and plated with brass, the hearth whereof was made after the manner of a grate: for the earth receiued whatsoeuer fire fell from above by reason there was no base therevnder, but neere vnto the Altar there were tunneles and pots, and censers, & cups, with other instruments made for the diuine seruice, all which were of pure gold.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 10
The golden
candlestick.

The Altar of
incense.

Exod. 38.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the vestment of the Priest, and of the high Priest.

Such was the Tabernacle with all that belonged thereunto. Now remaineth it for mee to discourse of the vestments of the other Priests, which they call *Chaneas*, as of the high Priest, whom they name *Sar-Hazabachin*, signifying thereby the high Priest. And first of all as touching the ordinarie Priests. When as the Sacrificer (purified according to the purification which is ordained by the Law) addresseth himselfe to sacrifice; he first of all inuesteth himself with *Manachasses* (which is as much to say, a trusse or restrainer, which is a kind of breech, or flop, couering the priuities, made of wouen silke) wherethrough hee thrusts his feete, as in a paire of vpper breeches, and fastens the same about his loynes: On this hee casts a linnen shirt or surplice, made of double linnen (which wee call *Chetomene*) and that word signifieth a linnen garment or surplice: for we call linnen *Cheton* (that kinde of garment is a coate coming downe to the ankles, bound to the bodie; hauing narrow sleeves about the armes) which is tied vpon the breast a little beneath the armeholes, with a girdle foure fingers broad, inwardly void, so wrought as it seemed to be like a serpents skinne.) It is likewise pictured with red, purple, Hyacinthine & silken flowers, but the ground is only silk; which being twise doubled about his breast, extendeth downe to his ankles at such time as hee desisteth from sacrifice, (and this seemed they to weare in way of ornament) but when as hee is to minister in sacrifice, then (least blowne vpon by the wind, it should hinder his worke) he casts it on his left shoulder. This girdle *Moses* calleth *Abaneth*, and we by a word borrowed from the Babylonians, name it *Emian* (for so call they it.) This coat was in no maner pleited, and in the necke hath a broad opening, fastened about the two shoulders with clasps, from the edge of the collar to the breast and the midst of the backe: This call they *Masbassanes*. But on his head hee weareth a har (not made with a high crowne, neither comprehending the whole head, but somewhat more then the halfe:) this is called *Masnaemphthes*; which is decked and dight after such a rate, that it seemeth a Chapplet made of thicke Riban, or of wouen linnen often times doubled and sowed, which in the vpper part is couered with another linnen, descending to the front, hiding those leames of the Riban which were vnwisely to be beheld; this is curiously fitted, least during the time of sacrifice it should slip off. Such in generall were the ornaments of the Priests. The high priest also vseth the verie same (omitting none of those things which wee haue reckoned vpon) but beside the rest he put on a Hyacinthine coloured coat, extending in length to his hammes (which our countrey call *Methir*) this girdeth he vnto him with a girdle of diuers colours,

Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 11.
The Priests
vestures.

Manachasses.

Chetomene.

Abaneth.

Masbassanes

Masnaemph-
thes.

The high
priests orna-
ments.
Methir.

F ij

colours,

colours (not vnlike the former) but that it is studded with gold: but the skirt of the vesture is bordered with fringes, sowed together, to which are tied certaine counterfait pomgranates with certaine golden bells, properly disposed; to that betweene two Pomgranates, there is placed a bell, and betweene two bells one Pomgranate. This coat is not made of two pieces (as hauing seames on the shoulders, and on the sides) but a long vaile wouen and left open in the collar, not a thwart but long-waies, from the breast to the midft of the backe. To it is a riban or hemme fastned, least the opening should be perceiued: it is likewise open in that place where the hands should be put out. Besides these vestures, he hath a third called an Ephod (resembling a Grecian frocke, that is made after this manner.) It is wouen of diuers colours, intermixed with gold; in the midft of the breast there is a space left open: the sleeves are made in such maner, and all the rest in such sort compoled, that it seemeth to be a coat: in this void space there is a piece enchaufed of the bignes of a span long, embrodered with the same colours, gold, and flowers, as the Ephod is. This piece is called Esfen, that is as much to say, as Rationall (which wholly filleth the space that was left void by them that haue wouen the Ephod.) And this piece is ioyned with the Ephod, and to euerie corner thereof with buckles of gold, which are tied with a lace of Hyacinth applied to tie them together with these buckles. And to the end the space between the buckles be not slacke, they filled the suture with a Hyacinthine thread: but on cyther shoulder two Sardonix stones enchaufed in gold (in stead of buttons) doetic the hood or Ephod; in these are ingrauen the names of *Iacobs* sonnes in Hebrew Characters, in cyther stone sixe: so that the elder of them were placed on the right shoulder. Moreouer twelue precious stones distinguish the Esfen or Rationall it selfe, of excellent greatnes and beautie, which for their inestimable price could not be bought by any priuate man. They were enchaufed three and three in foure ranks in certaine crownes of gold, to the end they might not fall out: in the first order was a Sardonix, a Topaze, and a Smaragd: in the second, a Carbuncle, a Iaspis, and a Saphir: in the third, a Lyncurys, an Amethyst, and an Agate: in the fourth, a Chrysolite, an Onyx, and a Berill stone. In these were the names of *Iacobs* sonnes engrauen, whom we esteeme for the first authors of our tribes (euery stone being honoured with a seuerall name, according to the order of their birth.) But whereas these rings (whereof before we haue spoken) are weake and cannot sustaine the weight of the precious stones, they made other two greater in the top of the Rationall inclining toward the necke-ward, being eminent aboue the texture, which might receiue the golden chaines that were made, which met at the top of the shoulders to be fastned with the little chaines, the end whereof was crooked, and conueied certaine pipes, put thorow the rings, and were more prominent then the brim behind the Ephod, to fasten the Rationall, to the end it should neyther sway this waies nor that waies. To the same Rationall also was there a girdle sewed, distinguished with the said colours & gold, which comprehending the whole, and againe knit vpon the seame was suffered to hang downewards. And as touching the fringes, they were shut in hollow loops of gold from the one end vnto the other. Now his hat was such as the other priests vsed, on which there stood an other sewed thereto, and flourished with Hyacinthine: this after a triple order was inuironed with a golden crowne, in which there were diuers vessels of gold made after such a sort as may be seene in that herbe which we call Daccharus, and amongst the Grecian herbalists, Henbane. And least any man that hath heretofore seene the same, should be ignorant of the nature thereof, or rather knowing the same, hath not seene the herbe it selfe; I haue thought good to set downe the description thereof in this place. This herbe is of the height of three spans, it hath a roote like a Turnep or Nauuev (and he shall not erre, that in regard thereof shall compare it therewith) it hath leaues that resemble Smalage or Rocquet: this out of the stem thereof yeeldeth forth a certaine bud cleauing to the branches of it, inuested with a coar, which it casteth off when the fruit waxeth ripe. This bud is as big as the ioynt of a little finger, hauing a circumference like vnto a cup, which I will describe more fully, once againe that the ignorant may the better discover it. In the lower part thereof about the bottome it resembleth in roundnes a halfe bowle; and according as it groweth euery part thereof is streightned, vntill being againe dilated in the extremitie or brim thereof, it end in a partition, not much vnlike to a Pomgranate cut in the middest, to which there is annexed and groweth a round cover as if turned and framed on purpose, hauing those eminent clefs (as I said) like to the midft of a Pomgranate, resembling the pointed and sharp thornes, and pricking blades. Now it containeth a certaine fruit vnder the couer, and in the whole cup is like to the seed of the herbe *Sideritis*, his flower is not much vnlike that which springeth from the poppey. Such was this crowne about the necke and the two temples, for these cups came not neere the front or brow. For on

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the yearre of the
world, 2455. be-
fore Christes De-
scension, 1509.

Ephod.

Esfen seu Lo-
gion.

The high
priests triple
golden crown.

Sideritis.

A the same there was as it were a bend of golde, on which the name of God was engrauen. Such were the ornaments of the high Priest.

The yearre of the
world, 2455. be-
fore the Natini-
tie of Christ,
1509.

I cannot therefore but greatly wonder at the strange & causelesse malice, which other nations haue conceiued against vs, as if we were iniurious against the diuine maiestie, which (they say) they so much honour. For, if a man marke the composition of the Tabernacle, and examine the habit of the high Priest, and consider all the necessities which wee vse in celebrating the diuine seruice; they shall finde that our lawmaker was a man of a diuine spirit, and that we without any desert are iniured by other nations. For if without partialitie a man will duely examine it, hee shall finde that all things haue bene done to represent and figure the world. For the Tabernacle is of thirty cubits, diuided into three parts, whereof two are left for the sacrificers as a place proportioned and common, signifying the land and sea wherein all sorts of creatures are conuerfant. But the third part is sequestred and reserved for God alone; in like sort as the heauen is vnaccessible by men. The table on which the twelue loaves were placed, signifieth the yearre diuided into 12. moneths. The candlestick made of seauenty peeces, signifieth the twelue signes, thorow which euery one of the seauen Planets passe: the seauen lampes that were therein, represented the seauen planets. The vailes made of foure seuerall kinds of stufes resembled the foure Elements. For the linnen seemed to represent the earth, from whence it was drawn and deriued. The purple resembled the sea, because the purple colour is made of the blood of a shell fish called Murex. The Hyacinth signifieth the ayre: and as touching the scarlet, it signifieth the fire. The tunicle likewise of the high Priest demonstrateth the earth, for it is made of linnen. The Hyacinth sheweth the Pole: the Pomgranates resembled the lightning; as the bells, the noyse of the thunder. The sircot sheweth that the whole world is compassed of foure Elements resembled in his foure colours, to which gold is annexed (as I interpret it) for that light is annexed to all things. Esfen also is planted in the middle thereof in such sort as the earth obtaineth the middle place of the world: Likewise the girdle wherewith he is girt resembleth the sea, which enfoldeth & begirreth all things. The two Sardonix stones (set as buttons or loops in the high Priests garment) signifie the Sun & Moon: the number of the gems are alluded to the number of the moneths, or the twelue houes, or the equal number of the parts of that circle, which the Græcians call the Zodiack (he shall not much erre that followeth cyther the one, or the other of these opinions.) The cap likewise hath an allusion to heauen, by reason of his azure or Hyacinthine colour, for otherwise the name of God might not be placed therein. For it was beautified with a crowne of gold, to signifie the light wherein God highly delighteth. Let this suffice for the present, for that which we shall discourse hereafter, will furnish vs with sufficient and ample matter to shew and set out the vertue of our lawmaker.

The significa-
tion of the fa-
brike of the
Tabernacle, &
the Priests or-
nament.

CHAP. IX.

Of AARONS Priesthood, & the lawes which appertain to the feasts and sacrifices.

After these things aboue said were finished and left as yet vnconsecrated, God appeared vnto Moses, commaunding him to establish Aaron his brother in the Priesthood (who in respect of his vertue, deserued that title of honour aboue all the rest.) For which cause Moses (assembling the congregation) discoursed vnto them his vertues; and discovered his good affection, and reckoned vnto them how many dangers he had suffered in their behalfe, (whereof each of them gaue ample testimonie, declaring the forward zeale and loue they alwaies bare vnto him) whereupon he spake vnto them after this manner. The worke is now brought to such an end as it hath pleased God; and hath been possible for vs: and for that you know we are to receiue him into this Tabernacle, we ought aboue all things to haue an especiall care in the election of such a one, who shall make sacrifice and supplication for vs. Touching my selfe, if the matter depended on my priuate choise, I should esteeme no man more worthy then myselfe to execute this function, both for that naturally men loue themselves, and for that I am well assured, how many trauels I haue supported for your safety sake! But God himselfe hath iudged Aaron worthy of this honour, and hath chosen him for his high Priest and Sacrificer, in that he excelleth all other of vs in equitie and iustice: commaunding that he should be inuested with the robe consecrated to God; and that hee should take charge of the altars and sacrifices. Hee shall make prayers for you vnto God, who will heare them willingly, by reason that he hath care of your rite; and will receiue them proceeding from a personage whom hee himselfe had elec-

Hedio & Ruf.
sinus, chap. 12.
ad 28. 29. 30
40.
God elected
Aaron Moses
brother for
high priest.

The year of the
world, 3455. be-
fore the Natiui-
tie of Christ,
1509.
Aarons sons

Exod. 36.

Sicle.
The number
of the Israelites
betwixt 20. &
50. yeares of
age.

The holy
oyntment.

The sacrifices.

Be-seleel.

Exod. 45.
The Taber-
nacle was de-
dicated on the
first day of Ap-
ril, the second
yeare after
their depar-
ture out of
Aegypt, the
yeare after the
creation of the
world, 3455.
before Christs
birth, 1509.

The d-dicati-
on of the Ta-
bernacle and
the priests.
Leuit. 8.

Exod. 9.
The sacrifice
was consumed
with fire.

tested. These words of his were gratefull vnto the people, and they all of them approued the G
election which God had made. For *Aaron* was more capable of that honour then any other,
both by reason of his race, as also in regarde of the prophcing spirit and vertue of his brother :
he had at that time foure sonnes, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar*. But whatsoever remay-
ned of those things which were gathered for the building of the Tabernacle, was employed to
make vailles to couer the Tabernacle, Candlestick, Altar, and the other instruments, to the end
that in their traualle they should not be soiled, either by raine or dust. And hauing once more
assembled the people together, hee commaunded them to offer euery one of them halfe a sicle;
(now the sicle is a kinde of Hebrew coyne, that is as much in value as foure Athenian drammes)
whereunto they obeyed willingly, so that the number of them that offered was sixe times one
hundreth thousand, fise hundreth and fiftie : and they that brought this money were such H
as were of a free condition, and betwixt the yeares of twentic and fiftie; and that which was
receiued, was employed in the necessities of the Temple. Then did hee purifie the Tabernacle,
and the Priests, in manner and forme following. He tooke the waight of fise hundreth sicles of
cholen Myrrhe, and the like quantity of Ireos, of Cinamon, and of Calamus (which is a most
odoriferous drugge) the halfe of the sayde waight; and hee caused all these to be beaten and in-
fused in a Hin of oyle of oliue, others write palme (this Hin is one of our measures contayning
two Choas of Athens) all which he mixed & boiled together, according to the art of perfumers,
and he made thereof a most odoriferous oyntment : which hee tooke and annoynted the Priest
withall, and all that which belonged to the Tabernacle, to the intent to purifie them; offering
many and sundry sorts of beastes of great price to sacrifice within the temple vpon the Altar of I
gold (whereof I forbear to speake any further, for feare I should grow offensive and tedious to
the readers.) Twice a day before the sunne rise, and sunne set, they were to burne incense, and
purifie the oyle and refresh the lampes, whereof three ought to burne euery day vpon the sa-
cred Candlestick in honour of God, and the rest werelighted in the euening. Amongst them
that wrought and finished these things, *Be-seleel* and *Eliab* were the most excellent and expertest
workmen: for whatsoever had bene enterprised by others, they in their art polished and per-
fected; and they of themselves found many new things of their owne inuention: yet was *Be-
seleel* iudged the most excellent of them two.

All the time employed in this worke, was seven months, and at that time was the yeare ac-
complished, which began at their departure out of Aegypt. In the beginning of the second yeare, K
in the month which the Macedonians call Xantichus, and the Hebrewes Nisan, vpon the newe
moone they dedicated the Tabernacle with all things belonging thereunto, according as I haue
made mention. And God presently testified that both their gifts were gracious in his eyes, and
the Hebrewes labors fruitfull and pleasant in his sight, testifying his presence in that Temple af-
ter this manner: Whereas the heauen was otherwaies cleere and faire, ouer the Tabernacle only
there was a cloud, not wholly thicke like a winter storme, nor obscure; and yet not so thicke as a
man could see thorow the same, from whence there descended a dewe that gaue testimonie of
Gods presence vnto them that had will, and beliefe. *Moses* honoured the workmasters that made
the worke, with such rewardes as appertained vnto them by desert; and sacrificed according as
God had commanded him in the doore or porch of the Tabernacle, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Kid L
for their sinnes (but with what ceremonie these things are done, I will declare when I intreat of
sacrifices, as also what offerings are to be burnt by fire, and according to the lawe are allowed to
be fed vpon) and with the blood of the slaughtered beastes he besprinkled the vestment of *Aaron*,
and purified both him and his children with fountaine water and the precious oyntment, to the
end they might be sanctified to God. And for seven daies space he consecrated both themselves,
and their vestments and the Tabernacle, with those things which appertained therunto; with
that oyle whereof I haue before time foretold you, with the blood of Bulls, and Rammes slaine
euery other day after their kind. But on the eighth day he proclaimed a holy day and festiual
to all the people, and decreed that euery one of them should particularly sacrifice according to his
abilitie, and they with emulation (striving to exceed one another) obeyed him, and offered vp M
their sacrifices according as it was commaunded them.

Whilest thus the sacrifices were vpon the Altar, sodainly there issued a fire from them, which
kindled of it selfe, the flame whereof resembled the light or brightness of lightning; and consu-
med all that which was vpon the Altar. At that time there hapned an inconuenience to *Aaron*,
which although it somewhat moued and amated his fatherly patience, yet digested hee it with a
constant and generous mind: for he was a man of much constancy, and such a one as knew that
nothing

A nothing could befall him without the presence and providence of God. For of those foure sons
(which I told you that he had) the two elder brethren *Nadab* and *Abihu*, bringing sacrifices
vnto the Altar (not such as were appointed by *Moses*, but of that sort they were accustomed to
offer beforetimes) were burned by the violent flame that issued from the Altar, seising both
their breasts and faces, in such a sort, as by no meanes possible that might be extinguished; so
that at length they died. *Moses* commaunded both their father and brothers to take their bodies,
and carry them out of the host, and burie them sumptuously: all the people wept and were a-
maised verie much at this their death, so strange and vn suspected. But *Moses* ordained that nei-
ther the father, nor his sonnes should lament; but that they should rather make estimate of Gods
honour, then of their owne misfortune: for *Aaron* was already inuested in the sacred robe.
B But as touching *Moses*, he refused all honours which were offered him by the people, neither ap-
plied he himselfe vnto any other thing but to the seruice of God: neyther did hee ascend any
more vp to the mountaine of Sinai, but entered into the Tabernacle to take counsaile at Gods
hands in those things, whereof he had neede to be informed. He demeaned himselfe like a pri-
uate man, not only in his apparrell, but in all other things, and liued verie popularly, perse-
ring in that familiar and ciuill course of life, and challenging no priuiledge about any man,
but only in those things which pertained to the administration of the common
weale.

Besides these, he reduced vnder writing both the lawes and ordinances as touching Policie,
in due performance whereof if they should liue, they should bee both agreeable to God, and
liue without cause of controuersie the one against the other. And all this established he, follow-
ing those directions which God had instructed him in. But now will I returne and bend my stile
to discourse vpon that which I haue omitted in the ornament of the high Priest: for this appar-
rell of theirs leaueth not any occasion to false prophets, to execute their wicked impostures;
and if there bee any such, as dare intermeddle with that which appertaineth to Gods ma-
iestie, this habite maketh them know, that it is in Gods power to be present with the sa-
crificers, at such time as it pleaseth him; and to bee absent when him listeth: which God would
haue made knowne not only to the Hebrewes, but to all those strangers, who by any occur-
rence might bee eyewitnesses of the same. For of those stones which the high Priest bare on his
shoulders (which were *Sardonixes*, whose nature is so notorious to all men, that it were vn-
necessary to reueale it) the one shined at such time as there was any offering, & that other which
was fastened on his right shoulder, shined verie cleerely at such time as God was present at the
sacrifice, and cast his rayes as farre off, that it might be perceived by those that beheld the same,
both contrarie to his nature and custome: which truly deserueth admiration amongst all men,
except those who thorow contempt of religion, doe hunt after an opinion of wisdom. But
that which I will now speake of is more to be admired at: which is, that by the twelue stones
which the high priest bare (sewed and inhaled in his Rationall in the midst of his breast) God
was wont to foreshew victorie to those that were addressed to battell. For such brightnesse
lightened out of them, even before such time as the army did dislodge or enter skirmish, that it
was notoriously knowne to the people, that God was present and readie to assise them: for which
cause the Greeks making account of our manner of liuing, in that they had no power or reason
to contradict it, haue called that Rationall which we rearme *Essen* (moued thereunto by this ex-
press miracle which may not be contradicted.) This Rationall and the stone *Sardonix* gaue
ouer to nine two hundreth yeares before I began to write these Antiquities, by reason of Gods
wrath which hee had conceived through the breach of his lawes (of which at another time
I will more fully intreat, and at this time continue and prosecute my intended discourse
and purpose.) After the Tabernacle had bene thus consecrated, and that which appertained
to the priests was set in order, the people was perswaded that God dwelt with them in his
Tabernacle, and beganne to sacrifice and sing hymnes of praises, as to him that had driuen
farre from them all suspicion of euill, and from whom they expected in time to come farre bet-
ter and more prosperous things; and both in generall and in particular they offered gifts
vnto God according to their tribes: for the gouernours of the tribes (assembling them-
selves together two by two) prepared a chariot and a yoke of oxen, so that there were
fixe chariots to beare the Tabernacle by the way. Furthermore euery one of them offered a viall
and a censur, and a cofer to keepe incense in, which was esteemed to be worth ten *Dariques*,
and this was filled with odoriferous perfumes, and the censur was of siluer, and both of them to-
gether weighed two hundreth sicles; yet on the viall there were but 70. employed: and both the
cofer

The year of the
world, 3455. be-
fore Christs Na-
tiuitie, 1509.

Nadab and *A-
biu* Aarons
sons burned.

A miracle of
the stones in
the high
priests vest-
ment.

The sacrifices
and gifts of
the Princes of
the tribes.
Num. 7.

The year of the
world, 3455 be-
fore Christ, Ne-
buc. 1509.

Moses asketh
counsel of
God in the
Tabernacle.

cofer and vial were filled with meale steeped and moulded in oyle, which they were wont to use at the Altar, at such times as they offered sacrifice. They offered likewise a Calfe, and a Ram, with a Lambe of one year old, for a burnt sacrifice; and a Goat for a sinne offering. All the other gouernours likewise brought euery one of them their sacrifice called *Salutarie*, for euery day two Oxen and five Rams, with a Lambe and a Goat of a yeare old, and sacrificed them during the terme of twelue daies euery day one. But *Moses* ascended no more the mountaine of Sainai, but entred into the Tabernacle, where he was instructed by God of that which hee had to doe, and what lawes he ought to make, which are so good and laudable as they ought not to be attributed to humane wisdom: They haue bene faithfully obserued likewise alwaies, because they are supposed to be receiued from God. So that not any one of his lawes haue bene transgressed by the Hebrewes, neither in peace (at such time as they liued to their content) neither in war, at such time as they were afflicted therewith. But I will now cease to speake of these lawes, being resolved to compose an other treatise as touching the same.

CHAP. X.

The ordinances of Sacrifices and Purifications.

Hedib & Ruf-
sinus. chap. 13.
al. 12.
Two kinds of
sacrifices.

Holocaustoma
Leuit. 1.

A sacrifice of
thanksgiuing.
Leuit. 4. 5.

The sacrifice
for sinne.

The sacrifice
of him that
hath sinned
wittingly.
Leuit. 4. 9.

The custome
observed in
sacrifices.

Now will I only reckon vp a few things as touching the purifications & sacrifices (in that we haue begun to talke of sacrifices.) The sacrifices are of two sortes: the one of them is made for a priuate person; the other for the people in generall: and these are made in two manners; for in the one, all is consumed which is vpon the Altar, which for that cause are called *Holocausts*, that is to say, Burned. The other are of thanksgiuing, and they are made with banquets of those that sacrifice. But first of all I will speake of the first kind. The particular person that offered a burnt offering, killed an Oxe, a Lambe, and a Goate of one year olde, (yet is it lawfull to kill oxen more elder.) But all those creatures which must be consumed by fire, ought to be males; and after their throats are cut, the priests besprinkle the Altar round about with the blood; then dresse they the beast, and cut it in pieces, and powder it with salt, and lay it on the Altar already charged with clef woud, and flaming fire: then after they haue well cleansed the feete and intrails, they lay them with the rest; and the priests take the skins. Such is the manner of a burnt offering or Holocaust. They that offer sacrifices of thanksgiuing, kill likewise such sorts of beasts without spot, and more then a yeare old; both male and female: and after they haue cut their throats, they sprinkle the blood on the Altar: then take they the reynes, the caul, and all the fat; with the lobe of the liuer, and the tayle of the mutton, and lay it on the Altar; but the breast, and the left leg is left to the priests: and as touching the rest of the flesh, the priests banquet therewith for the space of two daies; and if then there remaine any thing thereof it is burned. The same custome and ceremonie likewise is obserued in the sacrifice for sinne: but those that are not of ability to offer the greater offerings, offer vp two Pigeons, or two *Turtles*; the one of which the priests haue to feast withall, & the other is consumed with fire. We will intreat more expressely of the sacrifices of such beasts, at such time as we shall discourse vpon sacrifices. For he that hath sinned vpon ignorance offereth a Lambe, and a shee Goat at the same time. The priest besprinkleth the Altar with the blood thereof, not in such manner as it is said heretofore, but the hornes of the Altar only: and on the Altar they offer the kidneies, and the rest of the fat, with the lobe of the liuer: the priests cary away the skins, and eate the flesh within the Temple the very same day; because the law permitteth them not to referue any thing till the next morrow: he that hath sinned (and that knoweth it in himselfe without the knowledge or priuity of any other man) offereth a Lambe according as the law commandeth, the flesh whereof is in like sort deuoured by the priests the same day: but if the gouernours offer for their sinnes, they sacrifice in like manner as priuate men doe, and are different from them in that they bring a Bull, or a male Kid. The law also ordaineth, that in sacrifices both priuate and common, there should be fine flower brought, for a Lambe, the measure of an *Affar*; for a Ramm, the measure of two; with a Bull, three; which flower is first of all mingled and wrought with oyle, and set vpon the Altar to be sanctified. They that sacrifice likewise doe bring oyle, the halfe part of a Hin for a Bull; for a Ramm, the third of the same measure; and for a Lambe, the fourth part: this Hin is an Hebrew measure, which containeth two Attique Choas: they brought also the like measure of wine as of oyle, and poured out the wine neere to the Altar. And if any without sacrificing offer vp fine flower, he putteth the first fruits vpon the Altar, that is to lay one handfull, and the rest is taken by the priests for their maintenance, eyther fried (for

The year of the
world, 3455, be-
fore Christ.
Leuit. 23.
Leuit. 23.

Num. 28. 29

The sacrifice,
of the month
of October.

The feast of
Tabernacles.
Exod. 23.
Leuit. 23.
Deut. 21. 31

Exod. 12. 13. 23
Leuit. 23
Deut. 16.
The Easter
was the 14. of
April.

Leuit. 23.
The first fruits

The sacrifice
of Pentecost
wheat

A (for they are kneaded in oyle) or with loaves made thereof: but whatsoever the Priest offereth, all that must be burned. The lawe likewise forbiddeth to offer any beast whatsoever, that day that it is borne, or to kill it with his damme, or in any other sort before it hath fedde twelue dayes. There are also other sacrifices made for deliuerance from sicknesse, or for other causes; in which sacrifices they employ wine or licour with that which is offered, of which licours it is not lawfull to referue any thing against the next morrow, when the Priests haue taken that portion which belongeth to them, and sufficeth them. The law commandeth that on the common purse there be euery day killed a Lambe of a yeere olde, the one in the morning, the other at the shutting vp of the euening: and on the seauenth day, which is called the Sabaoth, that two should be offered in that manner as hath bene declared. And on the newe moone besides their daily offerings they sacrifice two Oxen, seauen yearling Lambes, and a Wether and a Kid, for the abolition of those sinnes which are committed thorow forgetfulnessse. On the seauenth moneth (which the Macedonians call *Hyperberete*) besides the aboue-named, they sacrifice a Bull, one Mutton, seuen Lambes, and a Kid for sinnes. The tenth day of the same month according to the Moone, they fast till the euening, and on the same day they sacrifice a Bull, two Muttons, seuen Lambes, and a Goat for a sinne offering: besides which they bring two Kids, one of which is sent aliue out of the limits of the campe into the desert (on whome all the euill may fall, if so be any bet threatened to the people) the other is borne without the camp into a cleane place, where it is burned with the skinn, being not any waies purged: with this they burne a Bull, which is not allowed out of the common charge, but by the proper costs of the priest. This Bull being opened and slain, & the blood therof (with that of the goat) being caried into the Tabernacle, he sprinketh the couer thereof with his finger seuen times, & the paucinent as many times, and the Tabernacle & the Altar of gold, and all the rest about the great Altar, which is abroad in the court. Besides that, they set on the Altar the reynes, and the fat with the lobe of the liuer, and the Priest offereth vnto God a Mutton for a burnt offering. The fifteenth day of the sayd month (at such time as it draweth towards winter) he commanded them to plant Tabernacles euery one in his family, against the instant cold weather which the increasing year was wont to bring, & that while they should enjoy their countrey, and should enter that Citie which they should holde for their Metropolitane (by reason of the Temple which should be there builded) they might celebrate a feast during eight dayes space, in offering burnt offerings and sacrifices vnto God: and that in witness of their thanksgiuing, they should beare in their hands a branch of Mirtle, and of Willow tied together with wooll, and a bough of Palme likewise, to which a Peach was fastned; and that the first day they should sacrifice thirteen Oxen, and fourteene Lambes, and two Sheepe, with a Goat for a sinne offering. Those daies that insued they sacrificed likewise a like number of Lambes, and Wethers with a Kid, and in rebating day by day the number of Oxen, they come backe to the seuenth. The eighth day they cease from worke, on this day (as we haue sayd) they sacrifice a Calfe, a Ram, and seuen Lambes, and a Kid for a sinne offering: and it is the custome of the Hebrewes to performe these sacrifices at such time as they pitch their Tabernacles. In the month Xantique (which we call *Nisan*) which is the first month of the yeare, the fourteenth day after the new Moone, the Sunne being in Aries (for at that time were we deliuered out of Egypt) he ordained that euery yeare we should doe sacrifice, which we call the passeouer, which (as I said) was celebrated the same time that we departed out of Aegypt. This solemnity of Easter we celebrate by companies, without referuing any thing of that which is offered till the next day. The fifteenth day the feast of vnleavened bread followeth the solenity of the Passeouer, & during those seuen daies, it is vnlawfull to eate any vnleavened bread, and euery day are slaine two Bulls, one Ram, and seauen Lambes, which are all consumed with fire, to which there is added a Kid for a sinne offering, for a seuerall daies banquet to feast the Priests with. The second day of this feast of vnleavened bread (which is the sixteenth of the month) they begin to enjoy the fruites that are mowed, and before that time vtouched: and for that it is verie conuenient that GOD should be honoured with the first fruites thereof, from whom they receiue such abundance, F they offer the first fruits of Barley after this manner. After they haue dried a handfull of the eares, they beate or thresh it, and cleanse the Barley from the chaffe, and offer an *Affar* of the same vpon the Altar vnto God, and after they haue cast a handfull of the same on the Altar, they leaue the rest for the Priests vse: and from that time forward it is lawfull for them to reape as wel in publike as in particular. With these first fruits they sacrifice vnto God a Lambe for a burnt offering. Seuen weeks after the feast of the Passeouer (that is fortie nine dayes) on the fiftieth (which the Hebrewes by reason of the number, call *Asartha*) they offer vnto God a leaueed bread made of wheat

Against them
that object a-
gainst Moses
and his follo-
wers, that
they fled out
of Aegypt for
leprosie.

Hee

Exod. 22.
Deut. 17.
Levit. 18. 20.
21. 29.

Levit. 21: ...
What wife the
high Priest
might marry
with.

the law of every seventh year.

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The year of the
world, 2455 be-
fore Christ's na-
uities, 1509.
The year of
Tubile.

lands, they were restored vnto them in this manner following. The Iubile being at hand (which word signifieth libertie) both he that sold, and he that bought the land, meet together, and cast vp the account of the profits and expences that haue beene reaped and bestowed on the land; and if it be found that the profits do amount, he that sold the land repossesseth it: but if the charges exceed the value of the profits, he restoreth the surplusage to the buier that is due vnto him, and retaineth the land to himselfe. And if the profits and expences are answerable the one vnto the other, the restitution is made to him that had the auncient inheritance. Hee ratified likewise the same lawe in houses that were bought in Villages or Cities. For if he that sold, counted down the money hee had receiued before the yeare were finished; hee compelled the purchaser to restore him his house: and if hee stayed till the yeare were fully finished, the possession and free purchase remained vnto him that bought it. *Moses* receiued this disposition of his lawes from God, at such time as his flocks fed at the foote of the mountaine of *Sinai*, and hee gaue them in writing to the Hebrewes.

CHAP. XI.

The lawes and customes of warre.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 15.
al. 12.
Num. 1.
Moses num-
breth the
people.

Num. 2. 3. 4.

The dispositio
of the army.

After that these lawes had bene after this manner digested, *Moses* addressed himselfe to the affaires & lawes of warre (forethinking him of those battels which should follow.) He therefore commaunded the gouernours of the tribes (the tribe of *Leui* onely excepted) to take a precise view and musters of those men that were capable and able to beare armes (for the *Leuites* were sacred and exempt from those functions) and the search being made, there were found sixe hundredth and three thousand, sixe hundredth and fiftie fighting men, betwixt the yeares of twentie, and fiftie. But in stead of *Leui* he chose *Manasses*, the sonne of *Joseph*; and *Ephraim* for his father *Joseph*: for so much had *Jacob* intreated at *Joseph*'s hands, that hee would giue him his sonnes, that hee might adopt them (as it hath bene aforetime declared.) When they pitched the Tabernacle, it was planted in the midst of the campe, guarded and defended with the tribes which were incamped thre by three on euery side. There were certaine wayes or paths likewise laid out betwene them, and a market place was quartered out, & shops traauailing in their shops; so that to looke vpon it, it resembled a Citie that marched and encamped.

A cloud on
the Taber-
nacle.
Num. 9.

Num. 10.
Two trumpets
made of siluer.

The order of
the army with
the Taber-
nacle.

The Priests first were planted next vnto the Tabernacle, and after them followed all the communitie of the *Leuites* (for there was a viewe also made of them, accounting all the males exceeding the age of thirtie dayes; and they were counted to be twentie and three thousand, eight hundredth and eightie.) And when it chanced that a cloud descended vpon the Tabernacle, then rested they, as if God thought good to rest in that place; and if it departed from the same, then removed they likewise. He inuented also a certaine kind of Cornet made of siluer, and framed after this manner. In length it was almost a cubit, and it was like the narrow whistle of a Fife, but a little more thicker, yet nathelesse, it was wide inough for the space of the mouth, to the end to receiue the breath, and the end thereof was made like a little Bell, in forme of a Trumpet. They call it in the Hebrew tongue *Afotra*. There were two of them, whereof the one of them serued to assemble and call the people to publike assemblies; and the other to conuocate the gouernours when they were to consult vpon affaires of estate: and if both of them were sounded, then all of them in general gathered together. When the Tabernacle was removed, this manner was obserued; As soone as the first charge was sounded, they that were encamped toward the East, first of all dislodged: at the second charge, they to the southward disincamped; then was the Tabernacle vnpitched, and caried in the midst, sixe of the tribes marching before, and sixe of them after: the *Leuites* were all about the Tabernacle. And when they sounded the third time, the quarter toward the West ward removed: & the fourth was that to the North ward. They made vse also of these Cornets in the diuine seruice, with which they ordered the sacrifices on the Sabbath and other dayes. Then also was the first Passeouer celebrated with solemn offerings after their departure out of *Aegypt*, they being in the desert.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. XII.

Sedition against Moses through the scarcitie of victuals, and the punishment of the Rebellious.

Not long after this they removed their campe from the mountaine of *Sinai*; and after certaine encampings (of which we will speake) they came to a place which is called *Iseremoth*, where the people once more began to ruminare and reuine their seditions, and lay the fault of their laborious pilgrimage vpon *Moses*, objecting that by his perswasion they had left a fertile countrey, and now not onely that they were destitute of the plentie thereof, but also in stead of hoped felicitie, forced to wander here and there in extreame miserie, and traueled with want of water: and that if *Manna* likewise should in any sort faile them, they were like all of them without question to perish for want of sustenance. Herunto annexed they diuers contumelies, which were euery where inflicted against him, being a man of so great desert and consequence. Meane while there arose one amongst the people, who (admonishing them of the forepassed benefits receiued by the hands of *Moses*) counselled them to bee of good courage, assuring them that at that time they should not be frustrate either of that hope, or helpe, which they expected at Gods hands. But the people were the rather incited against him by these words, and more & more whetted their spleenes against the prophet, who seeing them so desperate, willed them to be of a good courage, promising them, that although by iniurious speeches hee had vnderferuently bene offended by them, yet that he would giue them store of flesh, not for one day onely, but also for many. But they being incredulous (and some one amongst them demanding how he could make prouision for so many thousand men) God (saith he) and I, although we be euill spoken of by you, yet will we neuer desist to be carefull for you, and that shall you shortly perceiue. Scarce had he spoken this, but that all the campe was filled with quails, which they hunted for by heapes. Yet God not long after that, punished the insolencie and slander of the Hebrewes, by the death of no small number; for at this day the place retaineth his name, which for that cause was imposed thereon, and it is called *Cabrothaba*, as if you should say, the monuments of concupiscence.

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The year of the
world, 2455 be-
fore Christ's
birth, 1509.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 16.
al. 13.
Num. 11.
Sedition a-
gainst Moses.

The Israelites
obtain quails
in the desert.
The graues of
concupiscence.

D

CHAP. XIII.

Of the spies that were sent to search the land of Canaan; and how returning to the Israelites, they amated them with feare.

Not long after that *Moses* had led them out of that place, and had brought them into a countrey not so apt for habitation (not farre from the borders of the *Chanaanites*, which is called the lawes) hee called the people to a counsell; and standing vp in the midst of them, hee spake after this manner. God (saith hee) hauing decreed to graunt you two great benefits, namely the libertie and possession of a happie countrey, hath graunted you alreadie the possession of the one, and will shortly make you partakers of the other. For wee are vpon the borders of *Chanaan*, from whence both the Cities and Kings are so farre from driving vs, as the whole nation being vnited together, is not of power to expell vs. Let vs therefore adresse our selues verie confidently to attempt the matter: for neither without fight will they resigne the title of their countrey vnto vs; neither without great conflicts may wee obtaine the palme of victorie. Let vs therefore send out certaine spies to search into the secrets of the countrey, and such as may coniecture how great their power is: but aboue all things, let vs bee at vnitic one with another, and let vs honour God, who assisteth vs in all daungers, and fighteth for vs. After that *Moses* had spoken after this manner, the people (applauding his counsels) chose twelue out of the most noblest families of the tribes, to goe and search the countrey, out of euery tribe one; who beginning from the parts extending towards *Egypt*, visited all the countrey of the *Chanaanites*, vntill they came to the Citie of *Amathe*, and the mountaine of *Libanus*; & hauing searched out both the land, and the nature of the inhabitants, they returned home againe, hauing consumed fortie dayes in those affaires. Moreover they brought with the such fruits as the countrey yielded; & by the beautie thereof, & by the quantitie of those riches (which they reported to be in that countrey) they encouraged the hearts of the people to fight valiantly: but on the other side they dissuaded the with the difficultie of the conquest, saying, that there were certain riuers impossible to be ouerpassed, both for their greatnes & depth: that there were therein also inaccessible mountains,

Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 17.
al. 14.
Num. 13.

Moses sendeth
spies to search
the land of
Chanaan.

G

and

**The spies
drive fear in-
to into the
Israelites.**

The murmur
of the people
against Moles.

Josuah & Caleb appear, the people

Hedio & Ruf
finus, chap. 18.
al. 14.

**The Israelites
Should wander
in the desert
40 years.**

The repentance
of the people

Moses a man
of great au-
thority.

II

There are besides diuers great and euident signes of the more then humane vertue which was in him: and amongst the rest this was not the least, that certaine straungers, travelling out of the Regions

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world, 2455. be-
fore the Nati-
vity of Christ,
1509.

A Regions beyond Euphrates a foure months iourney , to their great charges and with no lesse perill, to honour our Temple, and offer sacrifice, yet could they not obtaine licence or permission to offer, in that by our lawes it was not lawfull for them to do it : and some other without sacrificing (other some the sacrifice halfe finished, the rest not permitted to enter the Temple) have returned backe againe to their homes, without finishing their purposes, choosing rather to obey *Moses* law, then their owne wills : yet being reprov'd therein by none but their owne consciences. So much did the opinion once conceived of this man prevuaile , that hee is esteemed more then a man, who is supposed to have receiued lawes from God, and to have deliuered them to men. Of late also (not long before the warres of the Iewes, during the Empire of *Claudianus*, and *Imael* being high Priest amongst vs) when as so great a famine oppressed our nation, that an Assar was sold for foure drams, and there was brought to the feasts of *Asymes* the quantity of seauenty Cores (which make thirtie Sicilian , and fortie Athenian Medimni, which are two bushels of our almost) some of the Priests were not so bold as to eate one graine of Barley (notwithstanding the country was in that extremity) fearing the law, and Gods displeasure extended alwaies against sinnes concealed. For which cause we ought not to wonder at that which happened at that time, considering that the writings left by *Moses* are in such force, euen at this day, that they themselves who hate vs, confesse that hee that hath instituted our gouernment is God, by the meanes and ministerie of *Moses* and his vertue. But of these things let every man thinke, as it pleaseth him.

The great
scarcity du-
ring the Em-
pire of Clau-
dius.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 4. Booke.

1. *The fight of the Hebrewes with the Chanaanites, and their overthrow by them, without Moses knowledge.*
2. *The sedition raised by Chore against Moses and his brother for the Priesthood.*
3. *How the authors of the sedition were slain by Gods iudgement, and the Priesthood confirmed to Aaron and his sonnes.*
4. *What chanced to the Hebrewes in the desert for the space of 38. yeares.*
5. *How Moses overcame Sehon, and Og Kings of the Amorites, and overthrew their armies.*
6. *Of the Prophet Balaam.*
7. *The victory of the Hebrewes against the Madianites, and how the country of the Amorites was granted by Moses to two and a halfe of the Tribes.*
8. *Moses lawes, and how he was taken out of the world.*

G4.

CHAR.

*The fight of the Hebrewes with the Chanaanites, and their overthrow by them
without MOSES knowledge.*

Numb. 14.
The Israelites
without Gods
or Moses com-
mande use
how to assaye
the enemies.



Milest thus the Hebrewes passed their life in great penurie and perplexitie in the desert, groning vnder the burthen of their grieuous afflictions; there was nothing that more distracted and discompered them than this, that God had forbidden them to hazard or enter battell against the Chanaanites: neither would they now any longer giue care vnto *Moses* (who perswaded them to peace) but waxed confident in themselves, that both without his conduct and counsaile, they might easily obtaine victorie ouer their enemies: and accused him likewise, as if hee sought after no other thing, but that they beeing daily pressed with great wants, should bee enforced continually to depend vpon his counsels. Whereupon they embattailed themselves against the Chanaanites, presuming with themselves, that God would succour them, not onely in regarde of *Moses*; but also for that he had a general care of their nation, ever since the time of their forefathers; whom he had alwaies held vnder his protection; and by reason of whose vertues he had already granted them liberty. They said likewise, that if they would take the paines at that time and endeavour themselves, that God would alwaies fight with them: protesting that they were able to occurr the nations, although they were but themselves; yea although *Moses* would endeavour to estrange God from them. In a word, that it was behouefull, that all of them should bee Lords of themselves, and that being recomfited and redeemed from the seruitude of *Aegypt*, they ought not to suffer *Moses* to tyrannize ouer them, or to conformance their liues to his will; vnder this vaine beliefe, that God had onely discovered to *Moses* that which was behouefull for them, by reason of the affection which he bare him: As if all of them were not deriued from the loynes of *Abraham*, and that he onely were the mooue of all, in foreknowing the things that should happen vnto them, by particular instruction from God? That euen then they should seeme to be wise, if (condemning his pride, & fixing their trust vpon God) they would take possession of the cuntry which he had promised them, in spite of *Moses* contradiction; who for this cause hindred them, setting the name of God before them: that therefore putting before their eyes their necessity and the desert, which daily more and more aggravated their miserie, they should endeavour themselves courageously to fall out against the enemy the Chanaanites; alleading that God would bee their guide; so as they had no reason to expect the assistance of their lawmaker. At last when this sentence was approved by a generall allowance, they flocke out in multitudes against their enemies; who neither affrighted by their fierce assault, neither terrified with their infinite multitude, valiantly resisted them, who desperately charged them: so that (the better part of the Hebrewes beeing slaine) they pursued the rest (enforced shamefully to turne their backs) euen vnto their campe. This overthrow (happning beside all mens opinion) wondrously delected the minds of the multitude, that they grew desperate of all future good fortune, concluding that God had sent and inflicted that plague vpon them, because without his counsell and fauour they had enterprised the battell. But when *Moses* perceived that both his owne countymen were dismayed with the overthrow which they had, and the enemy was waxen proude with their late victory, fearing likewise least (not content with their present successe) they should attempt further; he determined to retire his forces backe againe into the desert. And whereas the people promised thereafter to be obedient to him (being taught by their owne miserie, that nothing would fall out prosperously vnto them without the counsell and conduct of their guide) they disincamping themselves, retired into the desert vnder this resolution, that they would no more attempt the battell against the Chanaanites, before they received a signe of their good successe from heauen. But euen as in a great army it accustomedly falleth out (especially in time of trouble) that the common multitude wax headstrong & disobedient to their gouernours; so did the like also happen amongst the Iewes: for whereas they were in number fixe hundred thousand, and euen in their better fortunes seemed disobedient to their gouernours, so much the more were they exasperated by their wants & misfortunes, both amongst themselves, & against their gouernour. For which cause there arose so great a sedition, as neither amongst the Greekes or Barbarians the like was neuer heard of: which things without doubt had overthrowne them (being brought into so desperate an estate) except *Moses* (forgetting the iniurie hee had received which

Moses retyreth
the people into
the desert.

Seditio against
Moses.

G

A which was no lesse then a pretence to stone him to death) had succoured and relieved their distressed fortunes. Neither did God utterly abandon the care of them: but although they were contumelious against their lawe-maker, and transgressed also against the lawes which hee had deliuered them by *Moses*; yet deliuered he them out of that dangerous sedition, of which (without his especiall providence) there could be expected no other but a lamentable issue. This sedition, as also how *Moses* gouerned the estate when the troubles were ended, wee will now declare, hauing first expressed the cause thereof.

CHAP. II.

B *The sedition raised by CHORE against MOSES and his brother for
the Priesthood.*

Chores (a man noble in birth, and famous for his wealth amongst the Hebrewes, and endowed with a certaine kinde of popular eloquence) seeing *Moses* placed in the highest estate of dignitie, was sore troubled and oppressed with enuie. For although he were of the same Tribe and kindred; yet thought he it to be a great indignity in himselfe to be helde his inferiour, being both more inabled in riches, and nothing inferiour in parentage: For vvhich cause hee began to mutine and murmur amongst the Leuites (which were of the same Tribe with him, and his kinsmen) telling them (in vehement discourse) that it was not to be suffered, nor permitted, that *Moses*, vnder a pretext of certaine diuinitie, should by ambitious policie (to other mens preiudice) only study his owne glory: shewing them how of late without all lawe and right hee had giuen the Priesthood to his brother *Aaron*, and distributed other dignities at his owne pleasure like a king, without the allowance and approbation of the people: That this iniury done by him was not to be endured; by reason that so couerly he had insinuated himselfe into the gouernement, that before he might be espied, the people should bee brought vnder seruitude: For hee that knoweth himselfe to bee worthy of a gouernement, strueth to obtaine the same by kind perswasions and consent of the people, and not by force and violence: but they that despaire by good meanes to attaine thereunto, doe notwithstanding abstaine from force, least they should lose the opinion of their goodnesse and honesty; yet endeavour they by malicious subtilties to attaine thereunto. That it concerned the common-weale to extinguish and roote out the subtile insinuations of such men, least of priuate, they should at last grow publike enemies. For what reason (said he) can *Moses*, yeeld, why he hath bestowed the Priesthood on *Aaron* and his sonnes? For if that God had decreed that this honour should be bestowed on one of the tribe of *Leui*, there were more reason that I should haue it, who am of the same kindred with *Moses*, & who surpasseth him both in riches & age: And if this honor appertained to the most ancient of the Tribes, that those of *Rubens* loynes ought by right to enioy it, namely *Dathan*, and *Abiram* and *Phalal*, who are the most ancient of that Tribe, and the most powerfull in riches. These things spake *Chores* (vnder colour and pretence of the weale of the common-weale, but in effect onely to raise a tumult amongst the multitude, and intrude into the office of the high Priest. This Discourse of his passing by little and little from one care to another amongst the multitude; and multiplied by the enuious, and such as maligned *Aaron*, at last brought the whole Tribes into a mutinie: so that two hundred and fifty of the chiefe Nobles grew at length to be partakers of *Chores* conspiracie, and all of these enforced themselves to take away the Priesthood from *Moses* brother, and to transferre it to him. The people likewise were in such sort incensed, as that they sought to stone *Moses*; and ran all of them by confused heapes with noise and vpror, crying out before the Tabernacle of God, that the tyrant was to bee cut off and the people deliuered from thraldome, who vnder pretext of religion; had insupportable thraldome imposed on them: For if it were God that had chosen him to be high Priest, he would haue preferred such a one to the dignity who had been worthy, and would not haue departed it to those who were far inferior to others; that if he had decreed to bestow it on *Aaron*, he had remitted the commission of his election to the people; and not left the disposition thereof to his brother. *Moses*, who long before that time had perceiued *Chores* treacherous slander, and saw the people very sore incensed; was notwithstanding nothing at all abashed thereat: but being resolved in his conscience that hee had gouerned the estate vprightly, and well assured that his brother obtained the Priesthood, not by his fauor but Gods election, he came into the congregatio; where he uttered no one word against the people: but addressing himselfe to *Chore*, he expostulated with him; and accused him in as

Numb. 16.
Chore ende-
uoureth to
perswade the
multitude to
mutine a-
gainst *Moses*.

Alias Balas.

Two hundred
and fifty men
follow *Chores*
faction.
They crye out
to stone *Moses*

Moses orati-
on to sedition
Chore.

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much as was for him possible, being (besides his other qualities) fashioned & composed by nature G
eloquently to speake in publique assemblies. I think (saith he) *Chore*, that both thou and every
one of these (pointing with his finger at the two hundred & fifty men of his faction) are worthy,
of honour: yea I contemne not the rest of this assembly (although they are not to be compared
with you in riches, and other endowments. For neither doth *Aaron* therefore possesse the Priest-
hood because he is richer (for thou hast more ample possessions then either of vs) neither be-
cause he is more noble (for God hath equally imparted the same vnto vs all, hauing giuen vs one &
the same Grandfather) neither haue I been moued thereunto by brotherly affection, to bestowe
that on him which was due vnto others. For had I not respected God and right in disposing of
this dignitie; I had not forgotten my selfe, to further and preferre another, since there is no man
more neerer my selfe then my selfe, or whom I had rather wish well too, then to my selfe: for
what wilsome had it beene for me, to expose my selfe to those dangers which they incurre, who
make breach of lawes, to suffer another man reap the fruits of my impietie? But God forbid that
my conscience should be stained with any such sin: neither, were the fault mine also, would God
leauie it vnpunished; neither in me, who should contemne him, neither in you, for that you were
ignorant of that you ought to doe, and of that which was gratefull in his sight. He himselfe it is
that hath chosen the high Priest, and by this meanes hath acquired me of that accusation, that in
this respect might be objected against me. For although *Aaron* hath obtained this degree (not
by my fauour, but by Gods owne appointment) yet notwithstanding hee referreth and remit-
teth the matter to the publique disposition and order of you all, neither requirerh he any preroga-
tiue (for that he hath already exercised the charge, or for that at this present it is granted him to
entermiddle with the same) but esteemeth it to be the greatest good fortune that may befall him,
to see your mutinies and seditions cease; although with the losse of that honour, which he hath
received from your owne election: for neither haue wee iniurius Gods will, in this that wee also
wilshe your assent and allowance; but that which of his owne accord hee hath giuen, it was not
lawfull to refuse with a safe conscience: As reciprocally it is a thing most reasonable, that they
which receiue it should alwaies enioy it, since God himselfe had giuen them ~~them~~ both the assu-
rance and confirmation. God therefore shall once againe determine vho amongst you shall be
chosen to offer sacrifice vnto him, and to take charge of those things vvhich appertaine to pierie.
For it is a most absurd matter that *Chore* should haue power to desire a dignitie, and that God
should be deprived of that authority to dispose the same as best liked him.
Cease therefore to mutine amongst your selues, and to bee troubled vpon these occasions:
and let euery one of you that desire the Priesthood, to morrow bring each of you his censur
with perfumes, and fire from his house. But thou O *Chore*, giue place vnto God, and expect his
election, neither arrogate to thy selfe a greater authoritie then God hath, but come thou also
amongst the rest thy competitors in this honour, to heare his iudgement. Neither see I cause
why *Aaron* should not bee there also present to bee iudged with thee, in that hitherto hee hath
vertuously and vprightly behaved himselfe in the execution of that office, and is likewise of the
sametribes and race that thou art of. You shall likewise offer incense in the presence of all the
people, and when the perfume shall be past, let him whose sacrifice shall be most acceptable in
Gods sight, be declared and published for the high Priest: so shall I be acquit of that slander which I
is wrongfully vrged against mee, whereby I am charged to haue (vpon my particular grace and
fauour) bestowed the office of the Priesthood on my brother. After that *Moses* had spoken in this
manner, the people gaue ouer murmuring, and forbore to suspect *Moses*, allowing in themselves
all that which had bene spoken, as being profitable for the Common-weale: so that hereupon
they dismissed the assembly.

CHAP. III.

How the authors of the sedition were slaine by Gods iudgement, and the Priesthood
confirmed to *Aaron* and his sonnes.

Rufin. ch. 1.
Num. 16.

THE next day the people reassembled themselves together to assist the sacrifice, and to
leare the suite decided amongst the Competitors; neither was this assembly without
tumult: for the whole multitude were in insulpen in expectation of the euent, and some
of them were desirous that *Moses* might be convicted of deceit. But such as were of the wiser sort,
amongst them, desired an end of the sedition: for they feared lest the common weale should be
utterly ruined, if the tumult should proceed any further. The multitude likewise (being naturall-
ly

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A ly desirous of noueltie, and prone to speake euill of their Magistrates) were diuersly disposed
vpon euery occurrent. *Moses* also sent his seruants to *Abiram* and *Dathan*, to summon them to
appeare (according to the covenants and accord) to attend the issue of the sacrifice. But their
answer was, that they would not obey him, neither that they would any longer permit that
Moses by his subtilty and sinister deuices, should signiorize ouer the people. Which when *Moses*
vnderstood, hee rooke diuers of the Elders amongst the people with him: and being no wayes
moued with *Dathan* and his contumacie, he came vnto him (being willingly attended by those
who were drawne to accompanie him.) Now when *Dathan* and his friends vnderstood that
Moses with the Nobles came vnto them, both they, their wiues and children assembled them-
selues before the Tabernacle, expecting that which would ensue. They came likewise guarded
with their seruants, who were armed to oppose themselves against *Moses*, if so be he should offer
them any violence: But no sooner drew he neere vnto them, but that lifting vp his hands vnto
heauen, he cried out with a loud voice in the hearing of the whole multitude, and prayed after
this manner. O God (saith he) thou Lord ouer all that which either heauen, earth, or sea containeth,
thou art a sufficient witnesse with me of all mine actions: for that I haue managed all things by
thy will; and thou art he who hast giuen me power to execute my purposes: thou that alwayes in
commiseration of the Hebrewes hast bene my perpetuall helpe and assistance, heare this my
prayer. For nothing that is either done, or thought, is hidden from thee; for which cause I hope
thou wilt not disdain to testifie and iustifie my truth, and manifest the ingratitude of these men.
Thou doest exactly know the antiquitie of my race, not for that thou hast heard it, but for that
thou hast seene and assisted it; in effect, now also testifie the truth for me in those things which
these men (although they know the contrarie) are not ashamed to impute vnto me. At such time
as I led a peaceable life, and that by my vertue and thy counsell, and my father in law *Raguel*
fauour, I had sufficient to liue vpon; I forsooke the possession of my goods, and the fruition of
my peace, to ingage my selfe in these miseries, which I haue suffered for these men: and first of
all for their libertie, and now likewise for their safetie, I haue most readily vnder taken grieuous
travels. Now therefore since I am growne into suspicion amongst those men, who by my care
and providence haue escaped so many mischiefs and miseries; thou that appearedst vnto me in
that fire on the mountaine of Sinai, and vouchsafedst both to speake vnto me, and to confirme
me by the sight of miracles; that in thy name sentst me; messenger into *Egypt*; that hast aban-
doned the great fortunes of the *Egyptians*; and hast giuen me means to escape from their serui-
tude; and hast made *Pharaos* power and armie inferior to my fortunes; that when we were ig-
norant of our way gauest vs a passage through the sea, in whose bottom & wombe afterward the
Egyptians were drowned; that gauest vs armes, when we were vnuenponed; that made the
bitter water sauoury and fit to be drunke of; and in our scarcitie of water enforcedst drinke for
vs out of the bowels of the hard rocke; when we found no meat on the land, didst send it vs from
the sea; moreouer (as a thing neuer before heard of) affordedst vs meat from heauen, and hast
established our estate with lawes and customes: Be thou, O Lord, my Iudge in all things, and my
vnpartiall witnesse, that neither I haue bene corrupted by any bribe of any particular Hebrew,
nor to fauour iniustice, neither that I haue suffered a poore man in his iust cause to lose his right
against a rich aduersarie. And now hauing administred the common weale with all syceritie, I
am called in question for a crime, whereof I am altogether guiltlesse, as if I had bestowed thy
Priesthood on my brother for priuate affection, and not for thy command sake: make it knowne
that all things are dispensed by thy providence, and that nothing is brought to effect by casualty,
but by thy especiall ordinance: And to expresse that thou hast care of the Hebrewes, testifie the
same by thy iust punishment inflicted on *Dathan* and *Abiram*, who accuse thee to be insensible,
and boast that thou art circumvented by my subtilties. But thou shalt make thy reuenge more
notorious against the vnbridled detractioners of thy glorie, if they perish after no common man-
ner, least any man should suspect that they suffer nothing inhumane: but let the earth which
they vnworthily tread vpon, open it selfe and swallow them vp both with their families and sit-
tunities. By this means both thy power will manifestly appeare vnto all men, and thou shalt leade
an example to posteritie, that no man hereafter shall dare to thinke otherwise of thy maiesty then
becometh him, & my ministerie shall be approued to proceed from thy direction. But if those
crimes be truly vrged which are enforced against me, then let the caries returne and light on
mine owne head, and let those whom I haue cursed lue in safetie. And thus exacting a
punishment from those that disturbe thy people, keep the rest of the multitude in peace, concord,
and obseruat. o. n. of thy commandements, secure and void of that punishment which is due vnto
wicked

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Dathan and
Abiram re-
bellowed vp.

Chore with
two hundred
and fiftie men
is consumed
with fire.

Num. 17.

Another sedition
against
Moses.

wicked men, for that it is contrary to thy iustice, that the innocent multitude of the Israelites should G
answer their misdeeds, and suffer their punishments. Whilest he spake these words, and inter-
mixed them with teares, the earth instantly trembled, and shaking began to remoue (after such a
manner, as when by the violence of the wind a great billow of the sea floateth and waltereth.)
Hereat were all the people amazed. But after that, a horrible and shattering noyse was made about
their tents, the earth opened, and swallowed vp both them and all that which they esteemed
deere, which was after a manner so exterminate, as nothing remained of theirs to be beheld. Where-
upon in a moment the earth closed againe, and the vast gaping was fast shut, so as there appeared
not any signe of that which had hapned. Thus perished they all, leauing behind them an example
of Gods power and iudgements. And this accident was the more miserable, in that there were
no one, no not of their kinsfolke or allies that had compulsion of them: so that all the people H
whatsoeuer forgetting those things which were past, did allow Gods iustice with ioyfull accla-
mations, esteeming them vnworthie to be bemoned, but to be held as the plague & peruersers of
the people. After that *Dathan* with his family was extinguished, *Moses* assembled all those that
contended for the Priesthood together, committing againe the election of the priesthood vnto
God, concluding that the estate should bee ratified to him; whose sacrifice was most acceptable
in Gods sight. For which cause the two hundred and fiftie men assembled themselves, who were
both honoured for the vertue of their ancestors, and for their own abilities farre greater then
theirs: with these also stood *Aaron* and *Chore*, and all of them offered with their censers before
the Tabernacle, with perfumes such as they brought with them; when suddenly so great a fire
shon, as neither the like was euer kindled by mans hand, nor visually breaketh from the bowels
of the burning earth, neither was euer quickened in the woods, split and borne downe in the som-
mer time by a southerne brize, but such a one as seemed to be kindled in heauen most brightsome
and flaming: by force and power whereof those two hundred and fiftie (together with *Chore*)
were so consumed, that there scarce appeared any reliques of their carcases: Only *Aaron* remai-
ned vntouched, to the end it might appeare that this fire came from heauen. These things thus
brought to passe, *Moses* (intending to leaue a perpetuall memory to posteritie of that punish-
ment) to the end they should not be ignorant thereof, commaunded *Elezar* the sonne of *Aaron*
to consecrate their censers affixed to the brazen Altar, that by reason of this monument, all men
might be terrified, who thinke that the diuine power can be circumvented by humane policy.

CHAP. IIII.

What things hapned in 38. yeares space to the Iebrewes in
the desert.

After that by so euident an argument it appeared very sufficiently, that *Aaron* neither
by sinister insinuations, neither by the fauour of his brother, but onely by Gods election
had obtained the Priesthood; he euer afterwards held it without any contradiction: yet
for all this, the sedition was not sufficiently ceased, but that it brake out with a more yrgent furie
then at first: for it tooke his originall from such causes that it might easily appeare, that it would
be of long continuance. For whereas this perswasion had once taken roote in the hearts of men, I
that nothing is brought to passe without Gods will, they imagined that God wrought these
things in fauour of *Moses*; to him therefore imputed they all these things, as if God had not punished
those men thorow the hate he bare against their sins, but only on *Moses* solicitation: and they were
foreaggrued that *Moses* (hauing giuen this mayme vnto the people, by the losse of so many
noble men, that onely perished thorow the zeale they bare to Gods seruice) not onely had done
them open wrong; but that which was more, had assured the Priesthood to his brother after such
a manner, that thereafter no man durst oppose himselfe to purchase the same; seeing how vnfor-
tunately those others were ouerthrowne by a violent death. Moreouer the kindness of those that
were slaine, solicited and stirred the people, praying them to restraine the pride and ouer great
power of *Moses*, in that it lay in their power easily to performe the same. But *Moses* perceiuing M
that the people was incensed, & fearing least once more they should be thinke them on some inno-
uacion, whereby some great misfortune might succede, he assembled them together, and gaue
audience to their accusations: & without replying any waies (for feare he might the more incense
them) hee onely commaunded the heads of the tribes, that each of them should bring a rod,
wherein the name of each tribe should be written, promising that the Priesthood should re-
maine with them, in whose rod God should shew any signe. Which iudgement of his being al-
lowed

A loved by all men, both they, and *Aaron* brought their rods with their inscriptions; & *Aaron* had
written in his, the tribe of *Leui*. These *Moses* tooke from them, and laid them in Gods Taber-
nacle: the next day he brought them forth euery one of them (which were easily knowne to bee
those which the Princes brought, & the rest of the people had marked) and they saw that all theirs
remained in the same forme which the day before they retained, when *Moses* tooke them; but
out of *Aarons* rod there grew branches and buds: and that which is more to be wondred at, it
bare ripe Almonds, which in a rod of that kind of wood was admirable and miraculous. The
people amazed at the noueltie of this spectacle (dismissing their hatreds wherewith they both
prosecuted *Moses* & *Aaron*) became wholly amazed and drawne into admiration of Gods iudge-
ment, and forbore any more to repugne against God, or to oppose themselves against *Aarons*
Priesthood. And thus three times confirmed by the approbation of God, by all mens consent he
B became hie Priest; and the people of the Iebrewes turmoyled with long seditions, at last by this
meanes grew settled in peace and quietnes. But after that *Moses* had made the tribe of *Leui* (which
was dedicate to Gods seruice) free and exempt from warfare (for feare least being occupied
in providing themselves necessities for their maintenance, they should grow negligent in execu-
ting their duties in sacrifice) he ordained that after the land of Chanaan was conquered by their
forces and Gods fauour, that of the Cities they should conquer, they should distribute fortie
eight of the best & fairest on the Leuites, & certain lands abutting on their Cities, to the quantity
and space of two thousand cubits. Moreouer, he commaunded that the tenths of all the yearly
fruit that was gathered by the whole people, should be giuen and bestowed on the Leuites
C and Priests; and euer after this tribe had their solemne reuenues. Now must I declare what things
are proper to the Priests. Of the fortie eight Cities which were granted to the Leuites, he com-
maunded them to graunt thirteene to the Priests; and that of those tenths which they receiued
of the people, they should pay vnto them a tenth share. Besides, he gaue charge that the people
should offer vp vnto God all the first fruits of whatsoeuer the earth yeelded them: and that the
first borne of foure footed beasts dedicated for sacrifice, if it were a male, should be deliuered to
the Priests to sacrifice, to the end they might be nourished with all their family in the sacred Ci-
tie of Ierusalem; and that they which are not fit to be sacrificed to God, should be eaten by
them according to the vse and custome of the countrey, the owners paying in lieu of a firstling
a sicle and a halfe, and for the first borne of a man, five sicles. He allotted them likewise the first
D fruits of sheep-shearing, and ordered that the bakers should offer them some cakes. But they that
consecrate themselves by vow, and are called Nazarites (nourishing their haire, and tasting no
wine) when as they consecrate their haire, were bound to offer it vnto the Priests. They likewise
who call themselves Corban, which is called the gift of God, if they desire to be dismissed from
that ministerie (whereunto by voluntarie vow they bound themselves) must pay money to the
Priests, for a woman thirtie sicles, for a man fiftie; and that those that had not so much money,
should be left to the discretion of the Priests. And if any man should kill (for his priuate feault)
any beast, and not for Gods seruice, yet that he ought to offer vnto the Priest the breast and leg
of the beast. This is that allowance which *Moses* ratified to the Priests, and besides this, what-
soever the people offered for sinnes (as we declared in the next precedent volume.) And what-
E soeuer was contributed by the people to the order of the Priests, hee commaunded that both
their wiues, children and seruants should be made partakers of the same (onely except those
things which were offered for sinne offerings, for these things the Priests onely themselves eate
vp in the Temple the same day.) After that this policy was in this sort ratified by *Moses*, & that the
mutinie was appeased, he removed his campe, and with all his forces came to the borders of I-
dumæa, where he sent Embassadors to the King thereof, requiring him to grant him and his free
passage (and offering him such and so sufficient pledges, as he should esteeme and reckon of, to
assure him that no violence or iniurie should be offered; assuring him to make payment for
whatsoeuer victuall or drinke, eyther he or his army should receiue.) But he setting light by their
Embassage, denied them passage, and with a well furnished armie marched forth against *Moses*
F to withstand him, if contrary to his will hee should attempt to passe thorow his countrey.
And for that God had not counselled *Moses* to begin the combate, if he were informed by the e-
nemie, he retired backe againe, determining to seeke his passage athwart the desert. At that
time died his sister *Mary*, the fourth yeare after their departure out of *Egypt*, & the first Moone
of the moneth Xantique: he was magnificently entombed at the common charge, on a cer-
taine mountaine called Sein: and after the people had mourned for her fortie daies, hee puri-
fied them after this manner. The Priest taking a yong heifer (which had neuer as yet borne yoke
nor

The year of the
world, 2455. be-
fore the Nati-
vity of Christ.
1509.
Aarons rod
fruitfull.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus. cha. 2. 4.
Num. 18. 35.
Leuit. 24. 18. 28

The reuenues
of the Priests.

Num. 6.
Of the Na-
zarites.

The year of the
world, 2493. be-
fore the birth of
Christ, 1471.

Num. 26.
Moses Em-
basse to the
Idumæans.

Mariam
Moses sister
died.
Num. 19.
The manner
of purification.

The year of the
world, 2493, be-
fore Christs birth
1471.

nor laboured) in colour wholly red, led him a little apart from the campe, in a most cleane place, and there cut his throat, & with the bloud thereof taken on his finger, he seuen times besprinkled the Tabernacle of God; and after he had consumed in fire the whole heifer, with his skin and entrailes, he cast a branch of Cedar into the fire with a little Hyssope, and red-wooll, and wholly gathered vp the ashes thereof. A man that is cleansed putteth it in a cleane place, and they that are vnclane by meanes of one that is dead, put a little of these ashes into a fountaine with Hyssope, and after they haue mixed the ashes in the fountaine, they besprinkle themselves three times, and on the seventh day, and after that are they purified. He likewise ordained that the like purification should be vsed, when a man should take possession of his inheritance.

2 Sam. 20.

But after the army (that had so long mourned the dead sister of the Generall) were thus purified, he led them thorow the desert into Arabia; and arriuing in a place (which the Arabians account for their Metropolitane citie, in times past called Arce, and at this present Petra) which is inuironed with a high mountaine; Aaron ascended the said mountaine, & Moses shewed him the place, where he should yeeld vp his soule vnto God; and in the sight of all the army standing on a high place, he put off his stoale, and gaue it to his sonne Eleazar, to whom by eldership the succession appertained: and thus (in the sight of the people) he died in that verie yeare wherein hee lost his sister; and in the hundreth, twentie and third yeare of his age: he departed on the newe moone, in the moneth of August (called by the Athenians Hecatombeon, by the Macedonians Ious, and Sabba by the Hebrewes.) The people mourned for him for the space of fortie daies, and then desisted. Moses displaced his campe from thence, and pitched his tents neere vnto a riuer called Arnon (which springeth from the mountaines of Arabia, and runneth along the desert, and then entereth into the Alphaltique lake, separating the Region of the Moabites from that of the Amorites.) The country is fertile and sufficient to yeeld fruit to all the inhabitants in great foison: to *Sehon* King of this country Moses sent Embassadors, requiring passage thorow his kingdome, vnder such assurance as should best please him, that no wrong should be offered, neither to his country, nor the inhabitants thereof, assuring him to pay the price of what fouer his soldiers tooke either in victuals or water. But *Sehon* refused him, and arming his people, pitched his tents on the banks of Arnon, being readie to repulse the Hebrewes if they presumed to passe the riuer.

CHAP. V.

Moses ouercommeth *Sehon* and *Og*, Kings of the Amorites, and distributeth their country by Lot, vnto two Tribes and a halfe of the Hebrewes.

Num. 21.
The Hebrews
addresse the-
selves to fight
against the A-
morites.

BUt when Moses perceiued that the Amorites were disposed to hostilitie; for which cause supposing that the iniury and contempt was not to be endured, and seeing the Hebrewes were an intractable kind of men (and such as either by idleness or want, might be easily perwaded to renue their former seditions and tumults, and being willing to preuent all these occasions) he asked counsell at Gods hands, whether he would permit him to enforce his passage by the sword. Now when God had allowed his purpose, and besides that promised him the victory, he was greatly confirmed in hope, and animated and encouraged his soldiers, telling them that the time was now come, wherein they might enterprise their long desired warre with Gods fauour, and his approbation and encouragement: who reioycing at this libertie that was granted them, sodainly tooke armes, and in a set battell hastened to charge the enemy. On the other side the Amorite (as soone as he saw them march forward, and begin the onler) forgetting his former fiercenes was both himselfe terrified, and his soldiers likewise (who before the sight of their enemies were as cruel and bloody as Lions) now waxed as feareful and as meeke as Lambs. So that they scarcely had endured the first assault, but that they fled, reposing the whole hope of their prosperitie in their retreat: they trusted likewise to their walled townes (which notwithstanding did nought at all auail them.) For no sooner did the Hebrewes perceiue that their enemies began to trust their feete and that their ranks were broken, but they more freshly pursued them, and brought them into extreme feare: so that being vtterly put to flight and disperfed vpon the field, they were inforced to flie vnto their Cities. Yet ceased not the Hebrewes to pursue them more fiercely, but began more and more to molest them with those kind of weapons wherein they were exercised before time: for being expert and well trained in the sling and bow, and perfect in casting the dart, and nimble in bodie (by reason of their light armours) they ran after their enemies,

The Hebrews
ouertrow the
Amorites, and
put them to
flight.

A enemies, and with their shafts and bowes shot at those which were a farre off, and might not be ouertaken. So that there followed a most huge slaughter, and they that escaped were grievously wounded: yet were they more afflicted with thirst then any other hostilitie (in that it was sommer time) so that all those that went to refresh & coole their thirst at the riuer (besides all those that had turned their backs to flie) were pursued with all kinds of misile weapons and darts vntill they were all slaine. The king *Sehon* himselfe also was slaine in this fight. And the Hebrewes spoyled those that were slaine, & carried away great store of pillage. They had likewise great foyson and abundance of all kinds of fruits (in that the haruest was not as yet gathered.) Thus passed the Armie through the whole country, foraging and spoyling the same without any resistance, by reason that the enemy was discomfited, & that all his forces in warre were defeated. This was the destruction which hapned to the Amorites, who neither vsed their counsell prudently, nor managed their warre valiantly. But the Hebrewes occupied their country (situate betwene three riuers, after the manner of an Island.) For the banks of *Arnon* do terminate the Southerne coasts thereof, and *Jabacchus* the Northerne, which flowing into *Jordan*, leeseeth his name: now the Westerne coast is watered by the riuer of *Jordan*. Amidst this prosperous estate of the Israelites, there arose a new enemy against them, called *Og*, king of Galadine, & of the countries of Gaulanitis, who came as a friend and companion to assist *Sehon*; who seeing his fortunes and estate to desolage and desperate, yet in hope to obtaine the victorie, determined to make triall both of his owne mens vertue, and his enemies valour: which hope of his failed him, for he both died in the battaille, and his whole host was likewise discomfited. But Moses no sooner ouerpasse the flood of *Jabacchus*, but that entering *Og*s kindome, hee ouerthrew one citie after another, and destroyed all the inhabitants thereof (who for riches and fruitfull pastures exceeded all other men of that country.) *Og* also was a man of a most heroicke and high stature, and nothing inferiour thereunto either in strength or vertue; the argument of whose strength and stature was extant in the sacke of the chiefe citie & palace of the country of the Ammonites, called *Rabatha*, where there was an Iron bed found of foure cubits breadth, and nine in length. The fall of this man did not only further the present felicity of the Hebrews, but also became the cause of many their future and more fortunate successes: for they tooke sixtie wel fortified cities which were vnder his gouernment; and what with their priue preyes and publike pillage, they were all enriched. After this Moses remoued his campe toward *Jordan*, and pitched it in a broad plaine neere vnto the Citie of *Iericho* (which is rich and fruitfull, and aboundeth with palme trees and balme.) And now were the minds of the Israelites in such sort confirmed, as they desired nothing more then warre, and battell; and Moses thinking good to make vse of this their forwardnesse, (hauing sacrificed to God in way of thanksgiuing, and feasted the people) hee sent part of them armed to destroy the country of the Madianites, and to spoile the cities of that region: the cause of which warre had this originall.

The year of the
world, 2493, be-
fore Christs birth
1471.

Sehon king of
the Amorites
slaine.

The Hebrews
possesse the
land of the
Amorites.

The situation
of the land of
the Amorites.
Og king of Ba-
lan is slaine
with his army.

Ruffin. cap. 5.
Hedio. cap. 6.

Iericho.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Prophet Balaam.

EHen *Balaam* king of the Moabites (who was both an old friend and confederate with the Madianites) saw the Israelites increase to such greatnesse, he began to suspect the securitie of his owne fortune and estate: for he knew not that God had inhibited the Hebrewes to couet to possesse any other Country but the land of Canaan, and therefore more rashly then prudently he bethought him of new matters; and for that hee durst not assaile them in battell, whom he knew to be puffed vp with the successe of many victories (yet desirous to hinder them from proceeding any further) he sendeth Embassadors to the Madianites to consult with them, as concerning their common profit. They knowing that beyond Euphrates there was a famous Diuine called *Balaam* (who was their especiall friend) sent some of their most honourable princes together with *Balaam*s Embassadors, beseeching him that he would come vnto them and curse the Israelites. The Prophet intreating the Embassadors with great humanitie, and feasting them at his owne table, asked counsaile of God as touching that which the Madianites had required at his hands: but seeing that God forbade him to obey them, he returned vnto them, and told them that he wanted not will to gratifie them, but that God withstood him; whose mercie he ascribed the glorie which he had hitherto gotten by true predictions and prophecies: for that armie which they desired should be curied, was dearly beloued of God. For which cause he gaue them counsell, that seeking out the Israelites, they should make peace with them

Balaam king of
the Moabites
embassage to
the Madianites.
Balaam and the
Madianites
embassage to
Balaam.

The year of the world, 2493. before Christ's birth 1471. The second Embassage to Balaam. The Angel re- sisseth Balaam. The Ass spea- keth to Balaam. Balaam is re- prooved by the Angel.

them vnder whatsoeuer conditions: which said, he dismissed the Embassadors. But the Madi- nites (being instantly requested by *Balaam*) once more sent their Embassadors vnto *Balaam*, to that purpose, who desirous to satisfie them in their demands, consulted with God. But God (of- fended with him) commanded him to assent to the Embassadors: & he supposing that God had indeed licenced him therein, departed onward with the Embassadors. But as he trauelled vpon the way, the Angel of God came and met him in a certaine narrow way, betwene two mounds or wals made of stones; which when the Ass perceived whereon *Balaam* was mounted, he star- ted out of the way, and thrust *Balaam*, and crushed him against one of the wals; and neither by the strokes which his rider gaue him (being sore grieved by his bruiſe) nor by any other meanes might he be drawne forward. And when as neither the Angel forooke the way, neither the Pro- phet gaue ouer tormenting the Ass, at length the beast falling downe by the will of God, spake to *Balaam* in a humane and articulate voice; blaming him, for that hauing neuer before that time receiued damage by him, he had so cruelly tormented and beate him; considering that he vnderstood not that God did prohibit him from the performance of that which hee desired. Whilest thus he was troubled with the prodigious speech of the Ass, an Angell appeared vnto him, blaming *Balaam*, and telling him that the Ass was not in the fault, but that he hindered his journey, by reason hee attempted it against Gods will. Hereat the Prophet terrified, addrest himselfe to returne backe againe: but God commanded him to prosecute that journey which he had intended, charging him to declare and doe that which hee should aduise and instruct him in.

Balaam com- meth to Balaam.

After that God had giuen him this charge, he went vnto *Balaam*, who entertained him honour- ably, and caused him to be brought to a certaine mountaine, from whence he might behold the Hebrewes campe. *Balaam* also himselfe being royally attended, accompanied the Prophet, con- ducting him honourably vnto a certain mountaine, which ouerhung the Israelites, being seven score furlongs from their campe. Which when he perceived, he caused the king to build seven Altars, on which he laid seven Bulles, and seven Rams. All which being readily executed by the king, he offered a burnt sacrifice, to the end hee might preface and fore-prophecie the victorie:

Balaams pro- phetic of the people of Is- rael.

“which done, he spake after this manner. Happy are you, on whom God bestoweth so large a bles- sing and abundance of riches, and vouchsafeth you his prouidence for your perpetuall guide and assistance. Because there is not any sort of men, before whom in innocencie of maners and studie of honestie and vertue, you are not to be preferred: your successours also shall haue a more fa- mous posteritie, because amongst men God onely fauoureth you, and taketh care that no na- tion vnder the Sunne shall either exceede or equall you in happinesse. You shall likewise possesse that land whereto hee hath sent you: and your posteritie shall be perpetuall Lords thereof; and the glorie of your name shall fulfill both the whole earth, and sea; and so shall your nation bee multiplied, that there shall be no nation of the world that shall not bee intermixed with your blood and line. Blessed are you (most worthie armie) and deservng great admiration, hauing your increase thus multiplied by the means of one parent. For the land of Canaan at this present shall entertaine you, but in little number; but know that hereafter the whole world is destina- ted for your habitation: so that both in the Islands, and in the continent you shall liue in so great number, that you shall equall the starres of the firmament. And whereas you are like to growe so innumerable, yet notwithstanding he shall not suffer you to want the utmost of plentie and abundance; neither in warre shall hee cease to animate and leade you against your enemies. Let your enemies resolue to take armes and to assault you, yet shall there no one returne from them to beare message of the victorie, or to bring glad tidings to their wiues and children. This prou- dence and prowesse is giuen you by Gods prouidence, who onely can and may abate the power of greatnesse, and repaire the weakenesse of obscuritie. Thus spake the Wisard in his propheti- call spirit, being transported beyond himselfe, and rauished with a supernaturall fire. But *Balaam* was sore incensed against him, exclaiming that he had not kept couenant, although by great re- wards he had been by his Confederate drawne thither to curse them, vrging it against him, that in stead of execrations against them, he had published their pietie and praises. To whom the Pro- phet made this anſwer: Thinkest thou (said he) that it lieth in our power, as often as destinies are to be discouered, to speake or conceale what we list, at such time as God speaketh in our mouth? neither we know, nor euer thought vpon. Verily I sufficiently remember wherunto I was perswa- ded by the sollicitation of the Madianites, & for that cause came I hither, to execute that which they extorted from my hands; but God is more powerfull then my will, who contrarie to the

Balaam being displeased re- prehended Balaam.

Balaams Balaam.

The year of the world, 2493. before Christ's birth 1471. The second Embassage to Balaam.

A will of God, and for the particular fauour of men, had purposed to speake otherwise: but as soone as he entred into our hearts, there remaineth no more of our felues in our felues. Truly I had de- termined in my self to speak nothing in their praises, neither was it in my mind to reckon vp what God had decreed to bestow vpon that nation, but the fauorable power which befriended them, & studieth nothing more then the felicity & glory of that nation, hath in his prescience put these words into my mouth: now therefore (since it is my desire to gratifie both thee, & the Madianites, whose praier I ought not but admie) go to let vs erect new Altars, and prepare fresh sacrifice, and make trial if perhaps God will be moued to grant melicence to curse these kind of men. Herevnto *Balaam* gaue his content, yet did not God ratifie those his imprecations made against the Israelites, notwithstanding he had sacrificed twice; so that falling on his face, hee declared the occurrences of their kingdoms and commonweales, of most esteeme (of which some one were not as yet buile) and such things likewise as should thereafter happen to those men both by land and sea, euen to our dayes: out of all which things (accomplished according to his predictions) we may gather most assuredly that, which of his prophetic is to be fulfilled, will surely take effect. *Balaam* being sore displeased, because the Israelites could not be cursed, sent *Balaam* backe againe without honor: who returning homewards (at such time as he came vnto Euphrates) called *Balaam* and the Princes of the Madianites, & spake thus vnto them. *Balaam* & you Princes of Madian, it be- hooueth me to gratifie you (although it be against the will of God) for which cause giue eare vnto me: All the sorts of death that may be to the vttermoſt, cannot extinguish the race of the Hebrewes: neither by warre or pestilence, or famine, or any other chance may they be ruined: for God hath care to preſerue that nation from all euill, so that no slaughter can fall vpon them, whereby the whole multitude shall be extinguished: yet in the meane while some things may not be auoyded, whereby afflicted for a time, they may presently flourish more then they did be- fore, being by such a chastisement reduced to better health. For which cause if you seeke to ob- taine some short victorie ouer them, by this my counsell you shall bring your wishes to effect. Send me the fairest of your daughters, as trimly decked & beautified as is possible, who by their beautie may conquer, and by their loue allure their hearts; let these wander about their campe, and offer themselves to entertaine a familiar embrace, if by the young men they shall be solici- ted thereunto: and as soone as they shall espie them to bee surprised with desire, let them sodain- ly breake from them; and when as they shall be required by them to stay, let them not yeeld, ex- cept they will be perswaded to forsake their country lawes, and the seruice of God from whom they receiued them, and honour the Gods of the Madianites, and Moabites. For by this meanes shall they incense Gods wrath against themselves. Which when he had certified and admonished them of, he departed. Now when the Madianites (according as they were counselled) sent out their daughters, the yonger sort of the Hebrewes were intangled with the beautie of the damels: and growing in talke with them, they prayed them that they would not enuie them the opportunitie to reape the pleasure and inioymnt of their beautie, neither that they would disdain their in- tercourse: they willingly both admit the wordes, and the embraces of the young men, and ha- uing well hette them with dalliance, they addrest themselves to leaue them in the heat of their desires. Whereupon they discomforted at the womens departure, did instantly intreat them, that they should not in that sort forsake them, but that in hope of future marriage and possession of their greatest goods, they should remaine and dwell with them. These promises they confirmed with oathes, and sealed with teares, calling God to witnesse (the rather to perswade and con- forme them vnto mercie) whereupon they (after they perceived that they were surprised, and be- sorted with their companie) answered after this manner. Valiant young men; wee want not at home neyther ample faculties, or the affections of our parents, and domesticall friends; nei- ther come we hither vnto you for want of these things; neither admit wee your prayers, in that we meane to make file of our beauties: but being perswaded that you are honest men, we haue not disdained to entertaine you with this gracious hospitalitie, in that we see ye had need thereof, and for that cause haue we shewed our felues courteous vnto you: now therefore because you say you loue vs, & that you are sore agreeued at this our departure, we haue thought good not to gainſay your intreaties: if therefore you will plight your faith, and promise vs marriage (which thing onely is that which must satisfie vs) we will willingly liue with you as your lawfull wiues; but we feare least when your lusts are satisfied, you should with iniurie and contumelie, send vs backe againe to our parents: to which suspect of ours it becommeth you (if you so please) to giue a lawfull pardon. But they promised to giue their faith in what manner soeuer, & refused no con- dition (by reason of their extreame loue.) Wel then (said the virgins) since that you are so pleased,

The daugh- ters of the Ma- dianites come to the campe of the He- brewes.

and that you haue manners so different from others, that you also use your proper meates according to your peculiar manner, neither can you endure that your drinke be common with other mens; it behoueth you if you will liue with vs, to adore our gods: For by no other argument may you perswade vs that your loue is vnfaigned, except you honour as we doe the same gods: neither shall you be blamed if you honour the Gods of that countrey, into which you are come, considering that our gods are common vnto all nations, whereas your God is adored by none other but your selues. It behoueth you therefore (saide they) to conforme your selues in opinion with other men, or that ye seeke out another world, wherein you might liue solely according to your particular policie and religion.

The Hebrewes blinded with the loue which they bare vnto the virgins, conceiued well of their words, & consented to that which they said, suffering themselves to be seduced according as they were invited; so that they transgressed the ordinances of their fathers, in following strange gods; to whom they purposed to do sacrifice according to the maner of the country. They tooke pleasure also to eat strange kinds of meats which were prohibited them by the law, & addicted themselves to all kinds of pleasure, according as the women perswaded them, so that the whole army was infected with a dissolute disorder (amongst the younger sort) & a worse mutiny arose thereby then the precedent, wherethrough it was to be suspected, least the whole course of law and gouernment should be permitted. For the youth hauing once had a touch of these forraign & lasciuious fashions, were vnassably transported with the same: and if there were any more excellent then others in nobilitie, they together (with the rest of the multitude) were richly corrupted. *Zambrias* also of the tribe of *Simeon* (& one of the Princes among the) marrying *Cosbi* the Madianite (daughter vnto *Phinees* a gouernour of that country) at the commandement of his wife, & in contempt of *Moses* lawes, for her sake did sacrifice after a forraign maner, & contrary to the law disposed with his forraigne wife which was a stranger. During this estate of affaires, *Moses* being afraid least some more grievous mischiefe should succede, called the people together, accusing no man in particular, (for that he was vnwilling to draw the into desperation, who whilst they think they lie hidden, may be reduced to a better mind) but he told them that it was a thing vnworthy & ill becomming themselves or their elders, that they should set more by their pleasures, then by God and their religion. That it behoued them whilst they had time, to repent themselves, & that they shewed themselves to be valiant men, not by contempt of lawes, but by appeasing their disordinate desires. Besides he told them that it was an absurd thing, that whereas in the desert they liued modestly, they should now in a plentiful countrey grow so dissolute and disordinate, as to lose that by affluence which they had got by temperance. In such like speeches he inducured to correct the youth, and to reduce them to a better mind: whereupon *Zambrias* rising vp, spake after this manner. *Moses* (saide he) use thou thine owne lawes (whereunto by long use thou hast added strength and confirmation) which hadst thou not done, oft times ere this hadst thou suffered punishment, and learnt (to thine owne miserie) that the Hebrewes were not to be deluded: for my selfe thou hast neuer tie me to thy tyrannicall decrees, for hitherto hast thou inducured nought else, but vnder pretext of law & religion to bring vs into seruitude and subiection; and thy selfe by thy subtil and sinister meanes, to honour and soveraintie; taking from vs the pleasures and libertie of our liues (things that belong to free men, and such as appertaine or liue not vnder any mans gouernment.) For this should be worse then in *Aegyptian* thraldome, to punish euery man by thy lawes, according to thine owne pleasure; whereas thou thy selfe art more worthy to be punished, in that thou disannulst that thing which is approved by all mens consent: and desirest that thy decrees should be of more force, then all the resolutions of all other mortall men whatsoeuer. But I (as touching that which I doe) in that I suppose it to be well done, am not afraid to confesse in this assembly, namely, that I haue taken a stranger to wife: thou bearest mine actions from mine owne mouth, as from a free and resolute man, neither dost thou desire that they should be hidden. I likewise sacrifice to the gods contrarie to our custome, because I suppose it to be both iust and necessarie, that from many I seeke the truth, and not (depending as it were vpon a tyranny, or liuing thereunder) to build my faith vpon one only: for no man shall please me that will haue more interest in mine actions then my selfe. Whilst *Zambrias* alleged this both for himselfe and other of his faction; the people silently expected the issue of this audacious boldnesse, especially for that they saw their lawmaker would not contend any longer: least he should make an insolent man more outrageous, for he feared least diuers such in imitation of him growing impudent in their speeches, should stirre up tumults amongst the people: so that the assembly for this time was after this maner dissolved, and perhaps this mischiefe had taken further head

Zambrias and *Moses* accuseth the Hebrewes of Idolatrie & voluptuousness.

Zambrias oration against *Moses*.

The year of the world 2493. The daughter of *Madias* allureth the Israelites to Idolatrie.

The Hebrewes blinded with the loue of the women revolt to the lawes of their fathers.

A head, except *Zambrias* had bene sodainly cut off, by such a meanes as ensueth. *Phinees* (both in respect of other things, as also the dignitie of his father, the chiefe among the youths, and the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest, whose great vnkle *Moses* was) was grievously discontented with *Zambrias* contumacie, and least by his impunitie the law might grow into contempt, he resolved to be reuenged vpon the transgressors, being well assured how much the example of great men preuaileth on both parts: and whereas he was of so much strength of mind and of bodie, as that he would not attempt any thing rashly which he would not bring to issue, he repaired to *Zambrias* tent, and at one stroke slue both him and *Chosbi* his wife. By whose example the rest of the youth (being exasperated by this his worthie act) enforced themselves to do iustice on those that had committed the like offence; so that they slew a great part of them by the sword, and the rest by the pestilence (which was inflicted by Gods iudgement on them) were utterly rooted out. Neither spared he those, who though by reason of consanguinity they ought to haue restrained & dissuaded their kinsmen from lewdnes, yet had rather either dissemble, or kindle their lust in them, then counsaile them; neither intermitted he from punishing those men till foureteene thousand of them were done to death by sickness. For which cause *Moses* (being incensed against the Madianites) sent out an army to destroy that nation (of which expedition we will presently discourse, after that we haue annexed that which was omitted in this historie.) For reason would that we should not pretermitt to praise the designe of our lawmaker in this behalfe. For in regard of *Balaam*, (sought out by the Madianites vnder the intent to curse the Hebrewes, although he could not do it, being hindered thereto by the prouidence of God, who notwithstanding gaue that counsel to the enemy, by means whereof within a little space a great multitude of the Hebrewes were corrupted in their course of life, & diuerse haue bene grievously plagued with sickness) in regard I say of this *Balaam*, he hath greatly honoured him in chronicling his predictions in his writings. And although it had bene easie for him to haue depriued him of the glorie, and to haue appropriated it to himselfe, by reason that there was not any witness that might contradict him; yet neglected he not to giue testimonie of him, and to make mention of him in his writings: Yet let euery one thinke of this according as it shall seeme good vnto him. But *Moses* (as I began to say) sent an army of twelue thousand men against the Madianites, chusing out of euery tribe one thousand souldiers, and appointed *Phinees*, captaine ouer these forces, by whose industrie (as a little before I haue declared) both the lawes were satisfied, and *Zambri* (that brake the same) was punished.

Phinees thrusteth *Zambri* and *Chosbi* thorow at one time.

Otherwise 24000. *Moses* sendeth forces against the Madianites.

CHAP. VII.

The Hebrewes fight against the Madianites, and overcome them.

But the Madianites (hauing intelligence that their enemies drew neere vnto them, and that they were not farre off from their borders) gathered their forces together, and being all those passages of their countrey, by which they thought their enemy might breake in, addressing themselves to repulse them with force and valour: but no sooner did *Phinees* with his forces charge them, and set vpon them, but that (vpon the first encounter) so great a multitude of the Madianites was slaine, that the number of the carcasses might not be accounted: neither were their kings in like sort saued from the sword. These were *Og*, *Sures*, *Rebeas*, *Ybes*, & the fifth *Rekemus* (from whom the chiefe Citie of the Arabians deriueth his name, and at this day the Madianites retaineth the same, and is called *Recome*, which the Grecians had rather call *Petra*.) The Hebrewes hauing thus put their enemies to flight, foraged the whole Region, and caried and droue away with them a great prey; and killing all the inhabitants thereof both men & women, they only spared the virgins (for this command had *Phinees* receiued from *Moses* hands) who returning home with his armie in safety, brought with him a memorable and mightie prey, of Oxen, fiftie and two thousand, sixtie and seven: of Ases, sixtie thousand: of golden and siluer vessels a great number: which those of that countrey were wont to use in their domesticall affaires.) For by reason of their great riches, they liued verie delicately: there were also led captiue from thence about thirtie thousand virgins. But *Moses* (diuiding the prey) gaue the fiftieth part thereof to *Eleazar* and the Priests, and to the Levites another fiftie: as for the remainder he distributed it amongst the people. Whence it came to passe, that euer afterwards they liued in great security, hauing gotten riches by their vertue, & peace also to enioy the same. Now for that *Moses* was well

Hedio. cap. 7. Ruffinus. ch. 5

Five kings of the Madianites slaine. Otherwise *Arcome* or *Arca*.

A great prey gotten from the Madianites.

Numb. 17. Deut. 3. *Moses* appointeth *Iosuah* for his successor.

The years of the
world, 2493, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1471.

Num. 32.
The tribes of
Ruben, Gad,
and the halfe
of Manasse,
require the
land of the
Amorites.

Num. 35.
Deut. 4. 43.
Joshua. 10.

The Cities of
refuge.

Num. 27. 36.
The daugh-
ters of Salpa-
des haue their
inheritance in
their fathers
place.

The history of
Deuterono-
mie.

Ruffin. cap. 5.
Iud. o. cap. 8. manner.
Deut. 4.

stricken in yeares, he appointed *Iesus* (who if need were might succcede him in the offices, both of a Prophet and a Prince and Gouverneur; for God had so commaunded that hee should make choise of him) to bee his successor in the principallitie. For he was most expert in all diuine and humane knowledge; being therein instructed by his maister *Moses*. About that time, the two tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, with the halfe tribe of *Manasse* (being abundantly stored with cattell, and all other manner of riches) by common consent belought *Moses* that hee would giue and assigne to them in particular the Countrey of the Amorites, which not long since they had conquered by the sword, for that it was full of rich pastures. But hee (suspecting least surpris'd with feare, they did detract and withdraw themselves from the battell of the Chanaanites, and that vnder the pretext of the care of their cattell, they couered their sloth) highly taunted and controuled them, saying that they were fearefull dissemblers: He accus'd them likewise, that their desire was to possesse that land, which was conquered by the common valour of the people, to the end they might lead their liues in idleness and pleasure; and that bearing armes with the rest of the host, they would not helpe to possesse the land beyond *Iordan* which God had promised them, by overcoming those nations which hee commaunded them to account for their enemies. Who perceyuing that hee was displeased (least hee should seeme to be deserv'dly incens'd against them) answered, that neither thorow feare they fled danger, neither by reason of sloth shunn'd labour, but only shor at this, that leaving their prey in commodious places, they might bee more fit to enter conflict: saying, that they were ready (if so bee they might receiue Cities for the defence and receit of their wiues, children, and substance) to follow the rest of the armie whither soeuer they were conducted; and to aduenture their liues with them for the common successe. Whereupon *Moses* (allowing their forwardnesse, and assembling *Eleazar* the high Priest, and *Iesus*, with the rest of the Magistrates) graunted them the land of the Amorites, with this condition, that (together with the people ioyned vnto them in consanguinitie) they should warfare against their common enemy, till all things were accomplished according to their desires: and by this means hauing receiued that which they demanded, and building them called Cities, they left their children, wiues, and substance in the same. *Moses* also builded ten Cities in that Region (which are to bee reckoned in the number of those fortie and eight) in three whereof hee appointed sanctuaries and places of refuge, which they onely might take benefite of, who fledde thither for chaunce-meddlie; and he appointed them their terme of exile till such time as the high Priest died, vnder whom the manslaughter was committed: at such time they might safely returne into their Countrey. And during the time of their exile, it was lawfull for any of the kinne to take reuenge against the offender by his death, onely at such time as he found him without the Citie of refuge: and that right he onely ratified to those that were akinne, but not vnto others. Now the Cities of refuge were these: in the confines of Arabia, Bozora: in the region of Galadana, Arimanum: in the countrey of Bataneades, Gaulademman. And after the conquest of Chanaan so many Cities of the Leuites (by the commaundement of *Moses*) were appointed to that end that they might giue refuge and habitation to such sort of offenders. At that time when one of the Magistrates called *Salpades*, of the tribe of *Manasse*, was dead (and had onely left behind him children of the worse sexe) the gouernours of the tribe came vnto *Moses*, and asked his counsell, whether in the distribution of the lands, they should leaue out any part or portion for them: who answered them, that if they married within their tribe, they should haue their dowrie; but if they made choise to handfast themselves in another tribe, that then they should leese their patrimonie in their owne: and for this cause made he this ordinance, to the end that euery tribe should continually possesse his proper inheritance. But whereas now there remained but thirtie dayes onely, to fulfill the number of those fortie yeares since their departure out of Egypt, hee (summoning an assemblie in that place nere to Iordan, where now the Citie of Abila is situat, enuironed with a field beset with Palme trees) as soone as he saw the people addressed to heare him, spake vnto them after this

CHAP.

The years of the
world, 2497, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1471.

CHAP. VIII.

Moses Lawes, and how he was taken out of this world from the
company of men.

MY deare friends and fellow soldiers, companions in my long trauell, since it is so thought requisite by God, and mine age (attayning to the full number of one hundred and twentie yeares) requireth no lesse, but that I must depart out of this life; and since it seemeth not good in Gods sight, that either I should bee agent, or assistant in your affaires beyond Iordan: I haue thought it requisite that (in as much as appertaineth to your felicitie) I should not now also faile or default in my dutie towards you; but that according to the grace that is giuen me, I should provide that by laying open the way vnto you that leadeth to the same, I may seeme worthe amongst you to merit eternal glorie & memorie. Giue therefore care vnto me, that when as I haue first declared vnto you, wherein both your felicitie, and the happines of your posterity consisteth, & haue left this perpetual testimonie and monument of my intire loue towards you, I may willingly depart out of this life: for well I know that I deserue to be credited by you, both for that before times I haue incessantly (in studying for your profites) neuer deceiued you, as also for that the soule (being ready to bee separated from the bodie) becommeth more accomplished in all vertue and veritie. Ye sonnes of Israel, there is but one onely cause whereby men attaine vnto felicitie, to wit, the fauour of God, which he is onely able to giue to those that deserue it, and to withdraw it from those that offend him: towards whom if you continue dutiful (according as he requieth, and in such manner as I according to his direction, doe institute you) you shall neuer faile to multiply in vertue, and to draw all men into emulation of your happines: and that which is more, those goods which you haue now obtained shall be perpetuall, and that which you want shall shortly be plentifully bestowed on you. Onely endeavour you your selves to be subiect to Gods will, and obedient to his commaundements: and neither propose vnto your selves any other lawes then those I haue giuen you, neither thorow contempt innouate any thing in your religion. Which if you shall performe, you shall excell all other Nations in warre, and grow inuincible against your enemies: for by Gods assistance all threats are easily contemned. Moreouer, there are great rewards (in all the court of life) proposed vnto vertue, and the her self to her selfe is a chiefe and especiall reward: besides, by her all other blessings are easily obtayned, which if you intertaine amongst your selves, you shall both lead a blessed life, & obtaine immortal glorie, not onely amongst strangers, but also in all posterities. These things are you to hope vpon, if neither you your selves violate those lawes (which by Gods commaund, and mine industrie) are set downe vnto you, neither suffer any other to violate the same, but in your selves continually meditate vpon the vnderstanding & vse thereof. As for my selfe, I depart this life in fulnes of ioy, reioycing at these your good fortunes, & commending you all to the lawes of pietie and prudence, & the vertue of your guides & magistrates, who hereafter are to take care of your safety and felicitie. God likewise, vnder whose conduct you haue liued (and to whose fauour you owe whatsoeuer profit you haue receiued by me) will not faile to take care of you, but as long as you shall honour both him and pietie, so long shall you remaine in securitie vnder his protection: neither shall you want such men, who shall giue you ghostly instructions, whose counsels if you obey, you shall be fortunate (namely *Eleazar* the high Priest, & *Iesus*, with the Senat and Magistrates of the tribes) towards whom beware least you grow stiffnecked, knowing and remembering this, that he that is instructed to obey well (when hee shall attaine vnto dignitie) will gouerne well. Neither suppose you that libertie consisteth herein, if you mutinie against the commaundments of your Princes: for hitherto haue you reposed your libertie in your contumacie towards your benefactors; from which sinne if hereafter you shall blesse your selves, you shall see your estate waxe still more flourishing, and fortunate: And God forbid that you should euer be so exasperated against these, as you haue beene sometimes incens'd against mee. For if you remember your selves, I haue beene more oftentimes in hazard of my life by your means, then by the enemy: Which I speake not therefore vnto you to vpbraid you therewith; for I would not leaue you afflicted with the remembrance hereof; at the houre of my death, (who euen at that time entertained the iniurie with a quiet minde) but to the ende that being by mee admonished, you should henceforwarde bee wiser in those things which hereafter shall concerne you; and least you should grow contumelious against your gouernours, being made proude with affluence of your riches, which you shall enioy at such time, as you haue ouerpassed Iordan, and conquered Chanaan. Otherwise if made more insolent

The year of the
world, 2497, be-
fore Christ birth
1471.

The Israelites
are com-
manded to kill their
enemies, and
destroy their
Idols.

Moses deli-
uereth the Israe-
lites a booke
wherein their
lawes and man-
ner of life was
written.

Lawes made
by Moses.

Ruffinus of
the exile of
this Histori-
er why he inno-
uated the or-
der of the
lawes.

Item the Isra-
elites: Gail liue
in the land of
Canaan.
At cred cite
and Temple in
Canaan.

Blasphemie
gainst God.

Item, 4.
Dent. 16.
Thrice in the
year the He-
brewes ought
to meete.

by these blessings you fall into contumacie, and contempt of vertue, Gods fauour will ne-
uer bee extended towards you; whom if by your sinnes you shall incense agaynst your
selues, you shall both lose the lande which you haue conquered by your courage (by be-
ing shamefully oppressed by your enemies) and beeing dispersed ouer the face of the
whole earth, you shall fill both the land and sea with your seruitude; which if it should come to
passe, then were it too late to repent you, that you haue not obserued the lawes of your nation.
Wherefore (to the intent to auoid this danger, and for feare you violate the same) suffer not any
of your enemies, after your victorie is once gotten, to lye; and think it more conduicible for your
affaires, for feare least liuing with them, and intangled in the like studies & delights, you corrupt
and depraue your Countrey lawes and institutions. Moreouer, I command you to destroy their
woods, their altars, and temples, as many soeuer as you shall meete with, and so to rase them both
with fire and flame, as there may not remaine any token or memorie of them any more. For
so shall you more safely maintaine your estates. But least through ignorance of better things
your nature be depraued by the worse, by Gods commandement I haue written you lawes, and
a forme of administration, both of the common-weale, and your priuate estates; from which if
you shall no wayes diuert, or wander, you shall prouee the most fortunate people of the earth.
When he had spoken these things, he deliuered them a booke, containing in writing their lawes,
and customes of good life: which when they had heard and receiued, they melted in teares,
and now lamented they both for the losse of their Captaine, as also for that they remembred
them how many perils he had suffered, and how diligently he had procured their safetie and se-
curitie: & they grew carefull of the time to come, for that they were not like to recouer so good
a Prince: & they suspected likewise that God would not hereafter be so fauourable vnto them,
in that they had not a Moses to pray for them. Besides, they repented them of those things which
(through furie) they committed against him in the desert, and were grievously sorie: so that all
the people (breaking out into teares) would admit no consolation. But Moses recomforted them,
and prayed them to giue ouer weeping, & encouraged them to receiue their lawes: and so for this
time dissolved the assembly. But now before I addresse my self to manifest the rest, I haue thought
it meete to insert in this place the lawes of this law-giuer, worthy both his maiestie and vertue:
whereby the Reader may know what our lawes haue bene, euen from the first time, and in-
stitution of our common-weale. For all those things are extant which this man wrote, so that
wee neede not faine or affixe any thing in way of ornament: wee haue onely renewed the order,
and those lawes which he scatteringly set downe according as hee receiued them from God, wee
haue generally digested into their places: whereof I thought good to admonish the Reader,
for feare least hereafter anie of our Tribes comming to the view hereof, should rashly accuse me,
for that I had not scarce faithfully deliuered the writings & institutions of Moses. Now will I re-
con vp those lawes in especiall, which appertaine to the publike institution and rites of our Na-
tion: but those things that concerne priuate customes and contracts, either betwixt our selues
or forraigne nations, I haue deferred to be discoursed of in that commentarie, wherein (by Gods
assistance) I intend to debate of our maners, and method in sacred causes.

After that you haue gotten the land of Chanaan, built your Cities, and haue begun in se-
curitie to reape the fruit thereof; in obseruation of these commandements, you shall gratifie God
highly, and establish your atchieued felicitie. Let there be one sacred citie in the region of Ca-
naan, situate in a famous & fertile place, which God shall make choise of for himselfe, & his Pro-
phets: In the same let there be one onely Temple built, and one Altar erected of rough and un-
polished stones, and such as are gathered here and there, which shall be conveniently placed and
finished with decencie, as touching the outward ornament: and let not the ascent of the same
be made by degrees, but let the earth bee easily and fildly raised. But in any other Citie let there
be neither Altar, nor Temple: for God is one, and the Hebrew nation is one. Whosoever shall
blaspheme God, let him bee stoned to death, and hanged for a day, and bee afterwards ignomi-
niously and obscurely buried.

Let all the Hebrewes from their severall provinces, assemble themselves thrise in the year
in the sacred Citie and Temple; that they may giue thanks vnto God for the benefites they
haue receiued, and that they may by their prayers demerit his graces in future time; and that
by their conuersation and mutuall intertainments, they may increase their beneuolence and
loue the one towards the other. For it is behoouefull that they should know one another, who
are of the same stocke, and are delighted in the same studies. And this verie fildly falleth out by
their meetings after this kind of manner, whilest both the countenance and discourse as yet taketh
deepe

A deepe roote in mens minds, as contrariwise, they that neuer meet, it behoueth them that be stran-
gers the one vnto the other.

Besides, let the tenth part of the fruits (besides them that are due to the Priests and Leuites)
which you are accustomed to sell in your markets (beeing reduced into readie money) bee spent
on sacrifices and banquetts in the sacred Citie. For it is requisite to celebrate feasts in Gods ho-
nour, of the fruits of the earth, which we haue receiued from his hands.

Let no sacrifice bee made of the hire of an harlot: for neither doeth any thing delight God
which is annexed with iniurie; neither is there greater viciannesse, then the shamefull and vnlaw-
full mixture of our bodies.

Likewise, if any man take reward for couering a bitch (whether she be for the chafe, or for
the flocke) it is not lawfull to make sacrifice vnto God thereof. Let no man speake ill of those
gods which other Countreys and Cities suppose to be gods. Let no man spolie any strange
Temple, nor take that which is dedicated to any god. Let no man wear a garment woven of
linnen and woollen, for it belongeth onely to the Priests.

Euerie seventh year, when the people shall be assembled together in the sacred Citie to sa-
crifice vpon the feast of Tabernacles, at such time as the feast approacheth, the high Priest from a
high Pulpit (from whence he may be heard by the whole multitude) shall read the law vnto all
of them: so that neither women nor children shall be exempted from the hearing of the same,
no nor the verie slaues and bondmen. For it is requisite that they haue the perpetuall memorie
thereof, alwayes imprinted in their minds: for so shall they sinne the lesse, in that they vnderstand
what is decreed in the law.

The lawes likewise shall be of more force in the consciences of those
that shall offend, whilest they infixe in the minds of those that heare them, their doctrines inter-
mingled with menaces: so that the wil to performe the law shall neuer be inwardly extinguished;
& besides that the remembrance will liue in the, how many plagues they incur by contempt therof.
Let children in especiall learne the lawes, then which discipline there is not any more honest; nei-
ther more conduicible vnto felicitie. Twice in the day, in the morning & in the evening about bed
time, let God be honoured for his benefite of our deliuerance out of Egypt. For it is a thing in
nature reasonable, to giue thanks vnto God, as well in acknowledgement of the goods which we
haue before time receiued, as in expectation of his future mercies. The chief of these also are
to bee written ouer our doores, and worn on our armes: and those things which declare his

power and beneficence, are to be borne about, written on the head and armes: that euerie way
Gods bountie may be seene towards his people. In euerie Citie or township let there bee seven
gouernours, such as are approued in vertue, and famous for their iustice: let each one of these ma-
gistrates haue two ministers of the tribe of Levi. Let those that are appointed Iudge in the Ci-
ties be held in high reputation: so that in their presence no man presume either to vrg contumel-
ies, or iniurious speeches: for so shall it come to passe, that men accustomed to doe reuerence,
shall also exercise themselves in pietie, and grow so much the further from contempt of God and
his power. Whatseuer seemeth good to the Iudges to decree, let that be held inuiolable; except
it be apparant that they be corrupted with money, or that they may be manifestly conuicted of a
wrongfull iudgement. They ought likewise to iudge without respect of lucre or dignitie, and pre-
ferre iustice before all other things: for this iniurie sorteth out to Gods contumelie, as if it were
to be supposed, that he is to be suspected to be weaker then they, for whose sake they wrest the
law contrarie to equitie: for Gods power is iustice; he therefore that giueth iudgement in fauor
and partialitie of great men, maketh them greater then God himselfe. And if the Iudges can-
not determine of the matter in question (as it oftentimes falleth out) let them referre the cause
to the sacred Citie, and then shall the high Priest and the Prophet, with the assistance of the Se-
nate, determine that which shall be conuenient.

The testimonie of one witness shall not be receiued, but of three, or at leastwise of two, whose
testimonie shall be made good by the examination of their behaviour and life. As for women, it
is not lawfull for them to beare any witness, by reason of the leuitie and temeritie of that sexe.
Neither is it lawfull for a man seruant to bring in testimonie, by reason of his degenerate and ig-
noble mind: for is to be suspected, that either for lucre sake, or for feare, he will depose an vn-
true testimonie. And if a false witness shall fortune to be beleued, and hereafterwards bee con-
uicted of periuiric, let him be subiect to that penaltie, which he should haue endured that should
haue bene cast by his false accusation. If manslaughter be committed in any place, and the of-
fender may not be found out, neither there appeare any likelihood, that the man is slaine of ma-
lice, let there be a diligent and carefull inquisition made (with rewards prefixed to the disco-
uerer)

The year of the
world, 2497, be-
fore the birth of
Christ, 1471.
Tenthis.
Dent. 18

The hire of a
harlot.

Other gods.
D. uer. 11
Linnen and
woollen.
Dent. 11.

The booke of
the law is to be
read on the
feast of the
Tabernacles.

Children shall
learne the law.
Dent. 6.

The signes of
the law.
The leuen
presidents.
Honour to the
Magistrate.

The office of
Iudges.
Iustice is
Gods power.

Dent. 19.

The punish-
ment of a false
witness.
Dent. 21.

Of homicide
committed.

92
The year of the
world, 2403, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1471.

uerer) but if no probabilities or coniectures may bee gathered, then let the magistrates of the G. next Cities (that adioyne the place where the slaughter is committed) and the auncients of the same, assemble together, and measure from the place where the dead bodie lieth: and let the township that is found to be neereft, and the inhabitants thereof, buy a Heyfer; which they shall bring into a place vnlaboured and vnplanted, where they shall (after they haue cut the nerues of the necke) kill it, and the Priests, the Leuites and auncients of the Citie shall wash their handes in the blood: then shall they lift vp their hands over the head of the said Heifer, and crie out with a loud voice, that they haue their hands cleane fro that homicide, the which they haue not done, neither were they present at such time as it was perpetrated; and they shall call vpon the mercie of God, beseeching him not to permit that any such grievous accident euer fall out in their country.

Aristocracie
the best kind
of gouernment.
Deut. 17.

The gouernment of the Peeres is the best kind of regiment of all other sorts of gouernments take you therefore heed that you desire no other forme of policie, but retaine and continue the same, hauing no other superiours but the lawes; and managing your affaires by your selues. For it sufficeth you that God is your Prince.

Of the electi-
on of a king.

Yet notwithstanding, if you shall grow in desire to haue a king, (see that yee elect one of your owne nation, that he in all things be studious to procure iustice, and all other vertues, perswading himselfe that God and the lawes are most vpright: Let him not vnderake any thing without the aduice of the high Priest, and the counsell of the elders. Let him not haue diuers wiues, neyther let him hunt after huge treasures, nor multitudes of horse: for feare least possessing them, he become so insolent, as that he raise his power and will aboute the lawes: and if you see him affected vnto these things, beware lest he grow more puissant then is expedient for you.

Deut. 19.
The bounds
of lands are
not to be re-
moued.

It is not lawfull for any man to remoue the land markes, neither of his owne land, or any other mans whatsoeuer; for by this meanes is the peace conserved: Let each one therefore beare to remouue them, because they are as the voyce of God, assured for euer. For warres and souldiers are raised thereby, when such as would augment their inheritance, striue alwayes to enlarge the bounds of their dominion: And they that are so hardie to remouue the same, are not farre from contempt of the lawes.

Leuit. 25.
The plants
that are not
of four years
growth are
prohibited.

He that shall plant a peece of ground, and the trees begin to fructifie before the fourth yeare, the first fruits thereof shall not be offered vnto God, neither shall any man eate thereof, by reason that the time is inconuenient, and permitteth not that the trees should fructifie as yet; and nature her selfe is as it were enforced before her time, whereby the fruit is neither conuenable for God, nor couenient for the vse of man. But all that fruit that shall grow in the fourth yeare (for then is the time that the trees should beare) shall be gathered and brought into the holy Citie (together with the tenth of all other fruits) and they shall be eaten during the feast which the Lord therof maketh to his friends, and with Orphanes and Widowes: But in the fifth yeare it shall be lawfull for him to gather the fruit for himselfe.

Vines to be
planted.
The law of the
plough.

Sow not a field that is planted with vines, for it sufficeth that it nourisheth one sort of plants: so that it needeth not to be laboured and manured with the plough. The land is to be plowed with Oxen: neither are any other sorts of beasts to be yoked with them, but the tillage must alwayes be performed by beasts of the same kind.

The seeds also ought to be cleane and without any mixture; so that two or three sorts ought not to be sowed together: for nature alloweth not a commixtion of things that are different.

It is not lawfull also to couer the female with a male of another kind: for it is to be feared that this filthines should draw men to forget themselves; and grow in contempt of that sexe which is appropriate vnto them: for it often falleth out, that from small beginnings, things waxe worser and worser. For nothing ought to be admitted, by the imitation whereof, there might chaunce to grow any maime in policie: for which cause the lawes dissemble not (no nor the lightest) things, to the end they may no way seeme to be deficient in their nature.

They that mow and reape corne, ought not to glean, but to leaue some eares for those that are in necessitie, to the end to succour them. They likewise that plant vines, ought to leaue some clusters for the poore, and some fruit on the Oliue trees, to the intent that they that haue none of these, may gather some little thing for their reliefe: for the owners of the field shall not reape so much profit by the sparing inning of their corne, as may be compared with the good and profit which the poore shall reape by their gleanings: for God will bring to passe that their land (who regard not their particular profit, but shall haue care of the nourishment of those that are in necessitie) shall be farre more fat and fertile to bring forth and nourish her fruit.

Some glean-
ings are to
be left for the
poore in the
field.

Neither

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world, 2403, be-
fore Christs birth.
Deut. 25.

A Neither is the mouth of the Ox to be mouzled, at such time as he treadeth the corne in the mow: for it standeth not with reason, that they who haue beene partakers of the labour, and haue traualled for the increase of the fruites; should bee bridled from the vse and benefite thereof.

Neither ought the traualler also in his journey to be denied to gather and taste the fruites of Autumne; but he is to be permitted to take his fill, as if they were his owne, whether hee bee of the country or a stranger, who shall depart ioyfully, in that they haue beene made partakers of such fruit: but it is not lawfull for them to carie any away with them.

They likewise that gather Grapes, ought not to forbid any man to taste of them as they beare them to the presse: for it is an vnjust thing, that the goods which are giuen by the will of God for the sustenance of man, should be denied them that desire to taste the fruit which God giueth in due season, and must sodainly passe away.

They likewise are to be invited, that through shame make nice to touch the same, yea and to be intreated to take part (if they be Israelites) for such are companions and maisters, in that they are of the same race; and if they trauell into any place, they ought to be intreated to take part of those benefites which God presented vnto them according to the season. For it is not to be supposed, that that is ill employed, which in way of curtesie a man permitteth another man to take, since it is God that furnisheth and giueth the abundance and foison of all things, not to the end to inioy them in priuate, but also to bestow them willingly; and he it is that by this means would declare vnto other people, the good will hee beareth to the people of Israel, and the felicitie whereof he maketh them partakers, by reason that in that abundance which they haue, his will is that other men should haue part thereof. But who soeuer shall do the contrarie, let him bee chastised for this his dishonestie, and in publike receiue thirtie nine stripes (if he be a free man) for that making himselfe a slave vnto his gaine, he hath dishonoured his excellent qualitie.

It shall verie well become you (said Moses) since you haue tasted miseries both in Egypt, and the desert; that you haue care of those who are in like estate; and for that you are made rich by Gods mercie and providence, it behooueth and becommeth you to impart somewhat to the indigent, who at the present are in that estate in which you were.

Besides the two tenths which I commanded you yearely to pay (the one to the Leuites, and the other for your festiuals) you shall for euery yeare annexe a third, to be distributed amongst the poore, to women, widowes, and orphanes.

Incontinently after a man hath gathered his first fruits, he shall bring them to the Temple: and after he hath giuen thanks vnto God (for that the land which he hath giuen him in possession hath brought forth fruit) and as soone as hee hath accomplished that sacrifice (which the law commandeth him to make) hee shall giue the first portion to the Priests. And after he hath done all that which concerneth him to do (as well the tenths vnto the Leuites, as also those other things which were ordained for the feasts, and first fruits) being readie to returne vnto his home, let him stand vpright neere vnto the Temple, and aboute all things giue thanks vnto God, that hauing deliuered them from the grievous seruitude of Egypt, he hath giuen them a plentiful and ample land to enioy: and making protestation that he hath paid the tenths according to Moses law, let him beseech God; that he will be fauourable both to himselfe in priuate, and the Hebrewes in publike; and that he will continue those goods vnto him which hitherto hee hath bestowed vpon him, and of his great goodnesse and mercie vouchsafe to encrease them.

Let those that are of full yeares to be married, match themselves with vertuous virgins; and such as are borne of honest parents. And he that will not take a virgin to wife, let him not abuse himselfe with one that is married to another man, lest he breed discontent and sorow in her first husband. Let not free men match themselves with such as are seruants, no nor although they bee thereunto moued by loue. For it is a thing worlthe and befitting honour, to surmount a mans affections. Let no man meddle with an Harlot (whose sacrifice God refuseth, by reason of the filthinesse of her bodie.) For the children shall bee of a free heart, and addressed in verrie, nor if of an harlot.

For the children shall bee of a free heart, and addressed in verrie, nor if of an harlot. they be ingendred in villanous and vnlawfull concupiscence; but if they be begotten and borne by a free father and mother. If any one that is married for a virgin, be afterwards found to the contrarie, let her bee brought before the Iudge, and let him produce all the signes that hee can, and let the new married wiues cause be defended by her father, or brother, or by them who next vnto them shall seeme to be her next in blood; and if the Damozell be found to haue committed no crime, let her returne and dwell with him that hath accused her, who cannot any more refuse her; except she giue him great occasions, wherunto she cannot contradict. But hee that

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Free men
ought not to
marry seruants.

The marriage
of an harlot.

The penalty
of a woman
married for a
virgin, and
not found so.

Deut. 24.

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fore Christ's na-
tivity, 1471.

without cause, and rashly shall accuse and slander his wife, he shall be punished with thirtie nine G stripes; and in way of amends shall pay fiftie sicles to her father. But if it be proued that he hath bene defoured, and hath bene common, then shall she bee stoned to death, for that she hath not chastly conserved her virginity, till the time of her lawfull marriage; and if she be of the race of the Priests, she shall be burned alive.

Deut. 21.
The first be-
gotten should
hold his right.

If any man haue two wiues, the one of which he holdeth in great honour and amitie, either for loue, or by reason of her beautie; and that the other be not in the like condition and estimate; if the sonne of her that is borne beloued, demandeth to haue the prerogatiue of the elder, which is two portions of that which commeth to all the rest by his fathers patrimonie (for so much import our ordinances) and chalengerh the same by reason that his father more dearly loueth his mother then the other, let it not be graunted him. For it is an act against iustice, that the eldest should be deprived of that which appertaineth vnto him, because his mothers condition is inferior to that of the others, by reason of his fathers affection.

The punish-
ment of adul-
terie, or rather
rauihing.
Deut. 22.

Whosoever shall violate a maiden, being betrothed to another man (if by perswasion shee hath consented to lie with him) let her die with him. For they are both of them equally guiltie of sinne: the man, because hee hath perswaded the maiden to suffer an insufferable dishonour, and to preferre her lust before an honest marriage: and the maid, for suffering herselfe to be ouercome, and abandoning her bodie to villany, either for lust or luces sake: But if meeting her alone he inforce her, and she haue none to succour her hard by, let him die alone.

The defou-
ring of a vir-
gin.

He that shall deflower che virgin that is vnmarried, hee shall take her to wife: but if hee condescend not to the father to entertaine her in wedlocke, he shall pay fiftie sicles for amends of the iniurie.

If any man pretend to separate himselfe from his wife for certaine causes, such as ordinarily happen amongst married couples: let him confirme it in writing, that hee will neuer more entertaine her againe, and so may shee marrie againe vnto another, and refuse the former husband: And if it happened that shee were euill intreated by the second, or that hee being dead, the first would take her againe in marriage, it is not lawfull for the wife to returne vnto him.

Leuit. 25.
The wife of
the dead bro-
ther married.

If the brother of him that is deceased without issue, take to wife her whom his deceased brother had married; and that the sonne which was borne by this second wedlocke, beareth his name: let him be brought vp as the successor of his inheritance (which thing is granted for publike profit sake, to the end that families should not come to ruine, and that the goods should remain to those of the same kindred.) Furthermore it is allowed for the comfort of afflicted women, that they may be ioined in marriage with the next akin of their first husbands: but if the brother wil not take her to wife, shee shall repaire vnto the Senate and make this protestation, that the brother of her deceased husband will not intertaine her (although she had desired to remaine in that line, and bring forth infants vnto him) protesting that by him onely the memorie of her deceased husband was dishonoured. And when the Senate shall haue examined the cause why hee estrangeth himselfe from this marriage, his excuse shall be allowed of how great or sleight consequence soeuer it be; and then shall the widow vnloose his shoe, and spit in his face, and tell him that he hath deferdly suffered these things, in that he hath iniured the memorie of his dead brother: and thus shall he depart out of the court, being defamed for his whole life time, and the woman may marry whom shee will.

Marriage with
a bondwoman.
Deut. 21.

The lamenta-
tion & mourn-
ing of thir-
tie daies.

Deut. 21.
Disobedience
to parents.

If any man take a virgin prisoner, or such a one as hath bene already married, and bee deforous to take her to his wife, it is not lawfull for him to touch or approach her before such time as she hath bene shauen, and (hauing put on her mourning apparell) hath bewailed her parents, or friends slain in battell: but after she hath in this sort asswaged her sorrow, she may afterwards addit herselfe to mirth and marriage. For it is a matter both honest and iust, that he that entertaineth her to haue issue by her, should condescend vnto her will in all that wherein he might gratifie her, and that he should not onely addit himselfe to the pursuit of his pleasure: when as then the thirtie daies of mourning shall be expired (for that time is sufficient for the wife to bewaile her friends in) then may she harken after marriage: and if after he hath had his pleasure with her, it fortune that he mislike her, and will not accept hir for his wife, he can no more make her his slave, but she may goe whether soeuer she please, for that she beareth with her her libertie.

All those young men that shall make no reckoning of their fathers and mothers, and that shall not doe them that honour which belongeth vnto them (whether the same proceed of shame, or spring from folly, by which meanes they grow to neglect their dutie) these first of all, shall be admoni-

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A admonished by discrete counsel of their parents (who are by nature appointed sufficient iudges in that behalfe) who shall signifie vnto them, that they were matched together in matrimonic, not for their pleasures sake, neither that by vniing their possessions, they might become the more richer; but to the end they might beget children, who might nourish them in their age, and minister vnto them in their necessities. That they had received them at Gods handes with great thanksgiving and infinite ioy, and brought them vp with great care and diligence, sparing nothing that might appertaine to their sustentance or instruction. Now therefore (that they say, surely the tollies of youth are to be pardoned) let this suffice you that hitherto you haue forgotten your dutie: for which cause, remember your selfe, and grow wise: thinking with your selfe that God is grievously offended against those who disobey or disdain their parents, by reason that he himselfe is the father of all mankind, whosometh to be preiudiced in himselfe, in that dishonour which is done vnto those that beare his name, at such time as they receiue not such dutie from their childrens hands, as he commaundeth. The law likewise inflicted an ineuitable punishment against such: which thou oughtest with all providence to preuent and not incur. If by these medicines the vnbridled irregard of youth may be healed, let no man either impute or reproche him in his submission: for in so doing, the law-maker shall be accounted mercifull, and the parents shall be held to be happy, when as they see that their sonne or daughter is exempt from punishment. But if such speeces and instructions of the father are set light by the sonne, let the lawes be irreconcilable enemies against such continuall outrages committed by the children against their parents, and let them drag them out of the Citie, in the sight and presence of all the people, and there let him be stoned to death: and after the offender hath lien there a whole day in the sight of the people, let him be interred and buried by night. In like manner ought they to bee buried, who for any occasion whatsoever are condemned and executed by iustice.

Let the enemy also be interred after the same manner, and let no dead man lie vnburied after such time as he hath bene iudged, and hath satisfied the lawes.

Enemy to be
buried.
Deut. 23

It is not lawfull for any Hebrew to lend vpon vsurie, whether it be meat or drinke: for it is an vnjust thing to make profit of the fortunes of the tribes; but it is better to succour their necessities; and impute their thanksgiving, and Gods retribution, to be a gaine vnto them, which are wont to follow such kind of benefites. But they that haue borrowed either money, or any fruit, either drie or moist; when as by the fauour and assistance of God, they shall reape their owne harvest, and gather their fruit, let them make a willing restitution to those that haue lent them, as if they had laid them vp for themselves, to possesse them at such time as they had need of them. But if there be any so impudent as they will not make satisfaction, let no man enter into their houses to take a pawne, before the Iudges haue giuen order that the pledge should be demanded before their doore, and the debtor without contradiction shall bring it vnto him, being assisted by the maiestie of the law. If he of whom the pledge is taken haue sufficient abilitie, the creditor may retaine the gage, till such time as he be paid: but if hee be poore, he shall restore him his pawne before the sunne set; and especially if it be any garment whereon he is accustomed to sleepe: for God doth naturally bestow his mercy on those that are poore. It is not lawfull to receiue in way of gage either a mill, or ought else that belongeth thereunto, least any debtor should be deprived of the necessarie instruments to prouide his victuals with, and hee should endure any euill thoroow povertie. Let him that committeth any theft be punished with death; but he that hath stolne either gold or silver, let him restore it two-fold. If any man kill such as breake into their houses to rob them, or they that breake their wallles, let not such a one be punished. Who so shall steale a beast shall restore foure for it; except it bee an Oxe, for which one shall suffice five-fold: and if the thief want meanes to pay this penaltie, let him be their slave against whom they haue trespassed, and at whose suit they are condemned. If any one be sold vnto one of his owne tribe, let him serue him seuen yeares; and at the seuen yeares end, hee shall depart with libertie: but if during the time that he remaineth with the buyer, he beget any child vpon a female fellow slave, and that hee bee willing to serue by reason of the good affection and great amitie that he beareth vnto the house, in the year of liberte (which happeneth every fiftieth yeare) let him be set at libertie, leading away with him his children, & wife with their freedom. If any man find money of gold by the way, let him seeke out him that hath lost it, and make knowne the place where he found it, to the intent he may restore it, knowing that the profit is not good, which cometh and accrueeth by an other mans iniurie. The like is to be done with beasts, for if any man find them strayed in the desert, if he find not out the owner, let him presently keepe it by him, taking God to witnesse that he will not detaine with him another mans goods. If any man find another mans

That which is
borrowed must
be paid.
Deut. 24.
A pledge.

Theft.

An Hebrew
slave is to be
set at libertie
after seuen
yeares.

Goods that
are found.

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tivity, 1471.

without cause, and rashly shall accuse and slander his wife, he shall be punished with thirtie nine stripes; and in way of amends shall pay fiftie sicles to her father. But if it be proued that she hath bene defoured, and hath bene common, then shall she be stoned to death, for that she hath not chastitie conserued her virginie, till the time of her lawfull marriage; and if she be of the race of the Priests, she shall be burned alieue.

Dent. 21.
The first be-
gotten should
hold his right.

If any man haue two wives, the one of which he holdeth in great honour and amitie, either for loue, or by reason of her beautie; and that the other be not in the like condition and estimate; if the sonne of her that is borne beloued, demaundeth to haue the prerogatiue of the elder, which is two portions of that which commeth to all the rest by his fathers patrimonie (for so much import our ordinances) and chalengerth the same by reason that his father more dearly loueth his mother then the other, let it not be graunted him. For it is an act against iustice, that the eldest should be depriued of that which appertaineth vnto him, because his mothers condition is inferiour to that of the others, by reason of his fathers affection.

The punish-
ment of adul-
terie, or rather
ravishing.
Dent. 22.

Whosoever shall violate a maiden, being betrothed to another man (if by perswasion shee hath consented to lie with him) let her die with him. For they are both of them equally guiltie of sinne: the man, because hee hath perswaded the maiden to suffer an insufferable dishonour, and to preferre her lust before an honest marriage: and the maid, for suffering herselfe to be ouercome, and abandoning her bodie to villany, either for lust or luces sake: But if meeting her alone he inforce her, and she haue none to succour her hard by, let him die alone.

The defour-
ring of a vir-
gin.

He that shall defoure the virgin that is vnmarried, hee shall take her to wife: but if hee condescend not to the father to entertaine her in wedlocke, he shall pay fiftie sicles for amends of the iniurie.

If any man pretend to separate himselfe from his wife for certaine causes, such as ordinarily happen amongst married couples: let him confirme it in writing, that hee will neuer more entertaine her againe, and so may shee marrie againe vnto another, and refuse the former husband: And if it happened that shee were euill intreated by the second, or that hee being dead, the first would take her againe in marriage, it is not lawfull for the wife to retume vnto him.

Leuit. 25.
The wife of
the dead bro-
ther married.

If the brother of him that is deceased without issue, take to wife her whom his deceased brother had married; and that the sonne which was borne by this second wedlocke, beareth his name: let him be brought vp as the successor of his inheritance (which thing is granted for publike profite sake, to the end that families should not come to ruine, and that the goods should remaine to those of the same kinred.) Furthermore it is allowed for the comfort of afflicted women, that they may be ioined in marriage with the next kin of their first husbands; but if the brother will not take her to wife, shee shall repaire vnto the Senate and make this protestation, that the brother of her deceased husband will not entertaine her (although she had desired to remaine in that line, and bring forth infants vnto him) protesting that by him onely the memorie of her deceased husband was dishonoured. And when the Senate shall haue examined the cause why hee estrangeth himselfe from this marriage, his excuse shall be allowed of how great or sleight consequence soeuer it be; and then shall the widow vnloose his shoe, and spit in his face, and tell him that he hath deseruedly suffered these things, in that he hath iniured the memorie of his dead brother: and thus shall he depart out of the court, being defamed for his whole life time, and the woman may marry whom shee list.

Marriage with
a bondwoman.
Dent. 21.

If any man take a virgin prisoner, or such a one as hath bene already married, and bee desirous to take her to his wife, it is not lawfull for him to touch or approach her before such time as she hath bene shaven, and (hauing put on her mourning apparell) hath bewailed her parents, or friends slaine in battell: but after the hath in this sort awaged her sorrow, she may afterwards addict her selfe to mirth and marriage. For it is a matter both honest and iust, that he that entertaineth her to haue issue by her, should condescend vnto her will in all that wherein he might gratifie her, and that he should not onely addict himselfe to the pursuit of his pleasure: when as then the thirtie daies of mourning shall be expired (for that time is sufficient for the wife to bewaile her friends in) then may shee harken after marriage: and if after he hath had his pleasure with her, it fortune that he mislike her, and will not accept hir for his wife, he can no more make her his slave, but she may goe whether soeuer she pleaseth, for that she beareth with her, her libertie.

The lamenta-
tion & mourn-
ing of thir-
tie daies.

Dent. 21.
Disobedience
to parents.

All those young men that shall make no reckoning of their fathers and mothers, and that shall not doe them that honour which belongeth vnto them (whether the same proceed of shame, or spring from folly, by which meanes they grow to neglect their dutie) these first of all shall be admoni-

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A admonished by discrete counsel of their parents (who are by nature appointed sufficient iudges in that behalfe) who shall signifie vnto them, that they were matched together in matrimonie, not for their pleasures sake, neither that by vniing their possessions, they might become the more richer; but to the end they might beget children, who might nourish them in their age, and minister vnto them in their necessities. That they had receiued them at Gods handes with great thankgiuing and infinite ioy, and brought them vp with great care and diligence, sparing nothing that might appertaine to their sustentance or instruction. Now therefore, shall they say, surely the follies of youth are to be pardoned; let this suffice you that hitherto you haue forgotten your dutie: for which cause, remember your selfe, and grow wise: thinking with your selfe that God is grieuously offended against those who disobey or disdain their parents. By reason that he himselfe is the father of all mankind, who seemeth to be prejudiced in himselfe; in that dishonour which is done vnto those that beare his name, at such time as they receiue not such dutie from their childrens hands, as he commaundeth. The law likewise inflicted an inuitable punishment against such: which thou oughtest with all prouidence to prevent and not incur. If by these medicines the vnbridled irregard of youth may be healed, let no man either impute or reprove him in his submission: for in so doing, the law-maker shall be accounted mercifull, and the parents shall be held to be happie, when as they see that their sonne or daughter is exempt from punishment. But if such speeces and instructions of the father are set light by the sonne, let the lawes be irreconcilable enemies against such continuall outrages committed by the children against their parents, and let them drag them out of the Ciuitie, in the sight and presence of all the people, and there let him be stoned to death: and after the offender hath lien there a whole day in the sight of the people, let him be interred and buried by night. In like manner ought they to be buried, who for any occasion whatsoever are condemned and executed by iustice.

Let the enemy also be interred after the same manner, and let no dead man lie vnburied after such time as he hath bene iudged, and hath satisfied the lawes.

Enemy to be
buried.
Dent. 23

It is not lawfull for any Hebrew to lend vpon vsurie, whether it be meat or drinke: for it is an vnjust thing to make profit of the fortunes of the tribes; but it is better to succour their necessities; and impute their thankgiuing, and Gods retribution, to be a gaine vnto them, which are wont to follow such kind of benefits. But they that haue borrowed either money, or any fruit, either drie or moyst, when as by the fauour and assistance of God, they shall reape their owne harvest, and gather their fruit, let them make a willing restitution to those that haue lent them, as if they had laid them vp for themselves, to possess them at such time as they had need of them. But if there be any to impudent as they will not make satisfaction, let no man enter into their houses to take a pawne, before the Iudges haue giuen order that the pledge should be demanded before their doore, and the debtor without contradiction shall bring it vnto him, being assisted by the maiestie of the law. If he of whom the pledge is taken haue sufficient abilitie, the creditor may retaine the gage, till such time as he be paid: but if hee be poore, he shall restore him his pawne before the sunne set; and especially if it be any garment whereon he is accustomed to sleepe: for God doth naturally bestow his mercy on those that are poore. It is not lawfull to receiue in way of gage either a mill, or ought else that belongeth thereunto, least any debtor should be depriued of the necessarie instruments to provide his victuals with, and hee should endure any euill thorow pouertie. Let him that committeth any theft be punished with death; but he that hath stolne either gold or siluer, let him restore it two-fold. If any man kill such as breake into their houses to rob them; or they that breake their walles, let not such a one be punished. Whoso shall steale a beast shall restore foure for it; except it be an Oxe, for which one shall satisfie foure-fold: and if the thiefe want meanes to pay this penaltie, let him be their slave against whom they haue trespassed, and at whose suit they are condemned. If any one be sold vnto one of his owne tribe, let him serue him seven yeares; and at the seven yeares end, hee shall depart with libertie: but if during the time that he remaineth with the buyer, he beget any child vpon a female fellow slave, and that hee bee willing to serue by reason of the good affection and great amitie that he beareth vnto the house, in the year of Iubile (which happeneth every fiftieth year) let him be set at libertie, leading away with him his children, & wife with their freedom. If any man find money or gold by the way, let him seeke out him that hath lost it, and make knowne the place where he found it, to the intent he may restore it, knowing that the profit is not good, which commeth and accruech by another mans iniurie. The like is to be done with beasts, for if any man find them strayed in the desert, if he find not out the owner, let him presently keepe it by him, taking God to witnesse that he will not detaine with him another mans goods. If any man find another

That which is
borrowed must
be paid.
Dent. 24.
A pledge.

Theft.

An Hebrew
slave is to be
let at libertie
after seuen
yeares.

Goods that
are found.

mans

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Drut. 22.
The law of
violence.

Poison.

Talions Law.

Of an Oxe
bitting with
his horne.

Drut. 22
A pit.

Drut. 24.

In the same
place.

Hire.

Children are
not to be pu-
nished for
their parents
offences.

mans beasts bemired or bebogd, let him not passe further, but succour them: or if hee find them G
travailed with foule weather, let him indeuour himselfe to saue the same, and helpe him that is the
owner, not sparing or making nice of any labour.

Let each man direct the ignorant trauailer in his way, and set him in the right path if he wan-
der, without deluding him, or hindering him in his necessities, or misleading him in his iourney.
Let no man speake ill of him that is either ablent or deafe. If any man bee strooken in a quarrell,
and it be not with a weapon, let him that strooke him bee presently punished in receiuing the like
outrage as he hath offered him. But if he be carried into his house, and lie sicke vpon it diuerse
dayes, and in the end die thereof, he shall be exempt of the penaltie. But if he escapeth, and du-
ring the time of his sicknesse hath bene greatly hindered and charged; then let him that strooke
him pay all the charges he hath bene at during the time he kept his bed, and satisfie the Philiti- H
ons. He that with his foote shall strike a woman with child, if the woman miscarie, he shall bee by
the Iudges amerced in a summe of mony, for that he hath lessened the number of the people by
the losse of him that is dead in his mothers wombe. Let him likewise bee condemned to pay a
summe of money vnto the husband. But if the woman die of the stroke, hee that offred the violence
must die the death also, by reason that the law iustly ordaineth, that life should bee satisfied
with life.

Let not any one among the Israelites, vse any mortall poyson, nor any drug that may do hurt
vnto any man: and if any man be found with such things about him, let him die, dying that death
which he determined they should suffer, for who he had prepared the poyson. VVho hath mai-
med any man, or puld out his eye, let him in like manner be maimed and blinded, being deprived
of the same member of his bodie whereof hee hath deprived another man; except hee that is
maimed had rather haue a pecuniarie amends, by reason that the law remitteth it to the election
of the offender to estimate his iniurie, and if hee will bee more seuerer he may. If any one haue
an Oxe that striketh with his horne, let him kill him: and if the same Oxe striketh and killeth any
man in the field, or mow, let him bee stoned to death, and let no man eate the flesh thereof. And
if it be prooued that the maister which oweth the same hath heretofore knowne the qualitie of
the beast, and hath not taken order hee should do no harme, let him also be put to death, as being
the author of the murder committed by the Oxe. But if the said Oxe kill a slaue, either male
or female, he shall be stoned; and the owner thereof shall pay thirtie sicles to the maister of the
slaue that is slaine. If one Oxe be strooken by another, so as he die thereof, let both of them (both
that which was dead, and that which stroke the other to death) be sold, and the price thereof shall
be departed equally betwixt both their owners. They that dig a pit or cisterne, must bee careful
that they inclose and fence it in with planks or bars, not to hinder any man from drawing water,
but least any man by misfortune should fall into the same. And if any mans beast shall fall into
the same (and it vndefenced) the owner of the pit must pay to the owner of the beast the price
thereof: and euer after let it bee couered as it were with a wall; for feare least any thereafter fall
into the same. Let him that receiueth any thing in trust keepe it carefully, as a thing sacred and
diuine; and let neither man nor woman attempt to alien that which is committed to his custody,
although thereby he might gaine an infinite sum of gold; and although there were not any man
that could conuince him thereof. For since that generally the conscience knoweth the same, euery
one ought to endeouour himselfe to deale vprightly; & supposing himselfe to be a sufficient witness
against himselfe, let him doe those things which are laudable in the sight of men, but in especiall
that which is pleasing to God, from whose sight no wrongfull dealing is concealed: if notwithstanding
he to whom this trust is committed (without any fraud on his part) shall chance to lose
the thing that is so left in trust; let him present himself before seuen Iudges, and there take anoth-
er that nothing is lost by his wil or weeting; & that he hath not conuerted any part thereof to his own
vse, whereupon let him be dismissed without any further enquire. But if he haue made vse of the
least part of that which hath bene committed to his charge & trust, and that he happen to lose it,
he shall be condemned to restore all that which was committed to his keeping. As it hath bene
ordained in respect of matters in trust: the like is decreed as touching hire which is due vnto the
labourer; and let each man take heed least hee defraud a poore man of his hire, knowing that
God gaue him his hands instead of lands, and other possessions. For which cause the payment of
hire ought not to be deferred, but satisfied the same day, by reason that God permitteth not that
the labourer should lose the fruit of his trauell. The children shall not bee punished, for the mis-
deeds of their parents: but if they be vertuous, and are begotten by lewde fathers, they rather
merit that men should haue compassion of them, then that they should hate them: neither are
the

OF THE IEWESE IN THE III. BOOKE.

A the offences of the children to be imputed to the parents, by reason that youth oftentimes en-
geth in those follies, which he neither learned by examples, nor for which hee endureth
not to be reprouid. Eunuches are to be detested, and their companies to be fled, because they
depriae the pleasures of manhood, and the gift of begetting children, which God hath giuen vn-
to men for the increase of mankind. Such people therefore are to be driuen farre from vs, and
esteemed wholly inexcusable, who kill their children before they be borne. For it is a matter ve-
ry manifest, that their spirits being effeminate, their bodies also are degenerate. Each thing also
that is monstrous to behold, is to be driuen away: neither is it lawful to geld either men or beasts.
Let this be the disposition of those lawes, wherewith you shall be pollicied and gouerned in time
of peace, and God be fauourable vnto you, and giue you grace to vse them in good order, and
without confusion. And since it cannot otherwise be, but that humane affaires must sometimes fall
into troubles and dangers, somwhiles beyond desire & expectation, and otherwhiles of set par-
pose: I will briefly set you downe certaine lawes as touching that point, to the intent that being
fore-instructed of that which you ought to do, you may haue abundance of holisom remedies,
and being well provided and instructed in that which you ought to do, you may preuent and not
fall into any danger and calamitie.

God grant that you may enioy the countrey. (which he hath giuen you) in contempt of tra-
uels and in exercise of vertues; and that you may possesse the same in security and peace, and
that strangers may not leuie armies to ouerthrow you, and that no ciuil mutiny may be raysed
amongst you, which may bring to passe, that that which hath bene well ordered and decreed by
C your aunccestors, doe come to nought, when you shall happen to commit the contrarie. Liue
therefore, and persist you to conforme your selues to those lawes, which both God hath appro-
ued for good, and hath also giuen you. But if perhaps your selues at this present, or your succes-
sours hereafter, shall fortune to entertaine and vndertake a warre, God grant it may happen with-
out the confines of your countrey: but if the matter must needs be tried out by the sword, you
shall send certaine heralds to your destinated enemies. For before you enter battell, it shall bee
requisite first of all to parlee with them, and to declare vnto them that you haue a great army,
and horses, and weapons, and (besides all these) that you haue Gods fauour and assistance: who
shall require them therefore that you may not be enforced to warre against them, nor to make
bootie of their goods, and to carry them away in spight of their resist. If they condescend vnto
D any reasonable conditions, then entertaine peace; making your accompt that they are stronger
then you be: but if they will needs offer you iniury, you shall lead forth your army against them,
hauing God for your Generall and soveraigne Conductor; and for his Lieutenant, him whom
you your selues haue chosen; surpassing all the rest in valour. For wher as there are diuers com-
manders, it falleth out that that which ought necessarily and readily to be executed, is hindered;
and commonly the issue is vnfortunate, where there are diuers commanders. Let your army be
generally leuied of men that are strong in body, and hardy in courage, and sequester from your
armie him that is fearefull, least such men hapning to flie when they ought to fight, do giue your
enemies the aduantage. Let them also be free from war, who hauing built them a new house,
haue not enioyed the same for a yeares space; as also he, that hath planted a vineyard and hath not
gathered the fruite thereof; and besides these, hee that hath wedded a wife; and hath not as yet
E brought her home to his house: least being transported with the desire of these things, and re-
serving themselves to their forsaken pleasures, in the behalfe of their wiues, they fight but faintly
and coldly.

But when you haue brought your army into the field, take heed you commit no outrage: and
when you shall assault any Cities, if you fortune to haue any neede of matter to make engins of,
grub not the land, neither see you cut downe the fruitfull trees, but spare them; remembering you
that they are planted for the good of men, and that if they could speak they would accuse you,
alleging that without cause of war they are ill intreated against all right: and that if they had the
power to depart from thence, they would dislodge and remoue into another country.

F But when the battell is ended, and the day is yours, kill all those enemies that resisted you in
the skirmish, the rest reserve as your tributaries (except the people of the land of Chanaan, for
they with all their families are to be ruined.) Beware also (but especially in warre) that nei-
ther a woman vse a mans apparell, neither a man a womans raiment. These are the lawes which
Moses left. He gaue them likewise certaine institutions (which he had written forty yeares before
that time) whereof we will speak in another treatise. Some few dayes after (for he assembled the
people six daies one after the other) he gaue them his blessing, and pronounced his maledictions

The year of the
world, 2492.
before Christs
Nativity, 1471.
Eunuches.

The lawes of
warre.
Drut. 20.
Heralds to
be sent.

Fruitfull trees
are not to bee
cut downe.

The Chana-
nites are
wholly to bee
extinguished.
Drut. 20. 31. 32.
Moses sang &c
blessing.

The year of the world, 2493.
before Christ's
Nativity, 147.

The Amalechites to be punished.

Deut. 29.

Moses bindeth the Hebrews by an oath to keep the law.

Moses exhorteth Iosuah.

against those which should not live according to his lawes, but should transgresse the determinations thereof: He read also vnto them a Poeme of sixe measures (which hee had enregistred in the holy booke) containyng a prediction of things to come, according to which all things haue and doe fall out, without varying any waies from the truth and verity. These volumes and the Ark, gaue he vnto the Priests; in which he also placed the ten commaundements written in the two tables. Hee committed also vnto them the custodie of the Tabernacle. He likewise exhorted the people that (at such time as by force they had conquered the promised countrey, and were planted therein) they should not forget the iniurie which the Amalechites had done vnto them, but that they should lead forth their army against them, and take vengeance of the wrongs they had done then, at such time, as they were in the desert. And commanded them that as soon as they had taken the countrey of Chanaan, they should exterminate and extinguish all the people.

He willed them also to erect an Altar toward the rising of the sunne (not farre from the Cite of Sichem, betweene two mountaines, the one Garizim on the right hand; and the other called Gebal on the left) and that distributing the people into two parts (sixe tribes in every part) they should plant them on the mountaines. And he commaunded that the Leuites, and Priests should be with them, to the intent that they first of all that were vpon the mountaine of Garizim, should beseech God that hee would multiply his blessings vpon them that should bee zealous of his seruice, and carefull of the conseruation of his lawes, without diuerting from that which Moses had commaunded. The sixe other also were appointed to answer the like: and when as likewise these six last had praied, the sixe first were to answer them, and confirm that which they had pronounced. This done, they pronounced maledictions against the transgressors (each one answering other) in ratification of that which had been spoken. He reduced also vnder writing these blessings and curses, to the intent that the memorie thereof might neuer bee suppressed or extinguished by time: which he also (being neere vnto his death) caused to be written in the Altar on the one side thereof, in that part which extended it selfe toward the place where the people stood, at such time as they sacrificed and offered burnt offerings. Since which day there were no more sacrifices offered in that place: because it was contrary to law. Thus did Moses establish, and these the Hebrew nation obserue continually & inuolably, euen vnto this day.

On the next morrow, he reasssembled all the people, themselves, their wiues, and children: he likewise commaunded that the slaues should be there present, binding them by an oath that they should maintain and keepe the lawes, and that diligently tying themselves to the wil of God, they should not so much esteeme either their kinned, or means, or perils, or any other cause whatsoever, as that thereby they should be driuen to neglect their lawes, or depart from the ordinances thereof: but whether it were any one of their kinned, or any City whatsoever, that would seeke to alter and disturbe the same, or strue to weaken the estate thereof, that both in particular and in publike, they should expose themselves and endeavour to punish them: and if they should fortune to take such a City, that they should rase and vtterly deface the same; and if it were possible not to leaue one stone vpon another, but to destroy the foundation. But if they were too feeble to take such a reuengc, yet that they should make it knownen that they were not consenting to their impietie. Hereunto the whole people subscribed and sealed it with an oath. He afterwards tolde them, how the people should know when the sacrifices were agreeable vnto God, and how they ought to march out to battell, taking a signe of the stones of which I haue forespoken.

Iosuah likewise, during the life and in the presence of Moses, foreprophecied whatsoever he intended to performe for the profit of the people, either abroad in the administration of war, or at home in prescribing lawes; and preparing them to an order of life (which was newly prescribed them) he tolde them, that by instructions from God he foreprophecied, that if they violated their countrey religion, they should not escape their destruction; for that both their country should be filled with forraigne armes, and their Cities sackt, and their temple burnt, & that they themselves should be tolde vnder the speare, and that they should serue a nation which would not be moued or touched with consideration of their afflictions and miseries; and that at length they should roolately and vnprofitably repent them of their error: yet that God their establisher should restore Cities to the Citizens, and a Temple to his people: And that it should come to passe, that they should not lose this only one time, but also very many times. Then did Moses also exhort Iosuah that he should lead his army against the Chanaanites, promising him that God would be assistant in his actions, prophceying besides much good hap vnto the people.

Since

A Since that (saith he) I goe vnto mine ancestors, and that God hath prefixed this day and time of my departure, I protest before you, that liuing as yet and standing in your presence, I giue him thanks for the care and providence, which he hath hitherto had of your affaires, nor onely in propulling your aduerfaries, but also in largely imparting his blessings vnto you, and for that he hath alwaies fauourably helped me whilst I endeouored by my labour and care to reduce your fortunes to a better state: And that which is more, it is he which hath giuen both the entrance & the issue; making vse of me but as his committee and seruant in all that good, which hee would should be done vnto his people. For all which things I haue thought it requisite, that (in departing from you) I should blesse the power of God, who in time to come shall haue the care and charge of you: and to acquit my selfe of that debt, I leaue you this in remembrance, which is, that you ought to serue and honour him, and reuerence the ordinances which he hath giuen you, whereby (continuing his fauours towards you) he will graunt you grace to conserue and keepe this excellent gift. Truly that law-maker (that were no more then a man) would be greatly displeased and highly discontented with those men, who should violate his ordinances, and should set them at noughts: doe not you therefore tempt God, who is prouoked vnto anger, when those lawes which he himselfe hath established and giuen you, shall be contemned and neglected.

Whilst Moses pronounced these his last words, and discoursed vnto the tribes their severall destinies, the whole multitude brake into teares; and the women beating their breasts, shewed and exprest the sorrow they had conceiued at his death. The children likewise lamented, making it knownen that they could not bee masters of their owne sorrowe, because that in their tender yeares they had vnderstood the vertue and famous actes of Moses; and betwixt the elder and younger sort, there was as it were a conflict who should weepe more bitterly: for the one vnderstanding of how worthy a Gouvernour they were deprived, lamented the time to come; and the other were perplexed, because they should then forsake him; before they had sufficiently tasted and made triall how great his vertue was. But how great the compassion and complaint of the people was, a man may make coniecture by this that then befell the Prophet. For, although he were assuredly perswaded, that a man was not to lament vpon the instant of his death (in that it chanced vnto him both according to the will of God, and the law of nature) yet he beholding the affection of the people, could not temperate and restraine himselfe from teares: And whilst he was born thither where he vanished out of their sight, all of them followed him, wetting their faces and bosomes with flowing teares. Then did Moses (beckening with his hand) warne them from afar off, that they should stand stil and keep their places, and exhorted them that were nearest him, by word of mouth, that they should not follow nor prosecute him any further with teares, for feare least they should make his departure tragicall and lamentable. Onely the Senate led him forth, and Eleazar the high Priest, and the chieftaine Iesui. And when he was arrived vpon the mountaine called Abarim (which is very hie, and situate neere vnto Iericho, and from whence he might discouer the greater part of the land of Chanaan) he dismissed the elders: and whilst with mutuall embraces he rooke his last leaue of Eleazar and Iesui, and discoursed with them, a cloud sodainly enuironed him, and he was taken away into a certaine valley: but in the scripture he writeth that he died, fearing least for the excellency of his vertue, they might report that he was rauished and taken away by God. The whole time of his life was one hundred and twenty yeares, the third part whereof he spent in gouernment (one month only exempted.) He died the last month of the yeare, and the first day of that month which the Macedonians call Dystus, and our countrymen Adar. Of all men the wisest that euer was, and who in execution of his good counsells had no man to equall him. Moreouer in eloquence he was incomparable, and in dexterity and grace to entertaine and perswade the people, he had no second: and so were his affections alwaies leuelled and limited by his wisdom, that hee seemed vtterly to want them; and that only he knew the names of those passions which hee perceived to be too active in other men. In his gouernment he was matchlesse, in his prophecies peerlesse, so that all the orations that he made seemed to be Oracles. For which cause the whole multitude mourned for him during the terme of thirty daies: neither were the Hebrewes euer seised with so extreme griefe, as they were at that time when the Prophet died; neither did he only leaue behind him a present desire of him, but a great estimation amongst all men, who haue euer chanced to read and examine his writings, whilst by them they make estimate of his vertues. And these are those things which I thought good to bespoken of the death of Moses.

The year of the world, 2493.
before Christ's
Nativity, 147.
Deut. 32.

The Hebrews
lamentation
at Moses death.

Moses when he
died was 120.
yeares old.

Amongst the
Hebrewes, Adar
is the 12.
month, but a-
mongst vs it is
called March.

Moses was a
good gouer-
nour, and a
great prophet.

THE FIFTH BOOKE

OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE

IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS

IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 5. Booke.

1. How Iesus, Generall of the Hebrewes, hauing overcome and slaine the Chanaanites, diuided their land amongst the Tribes by lot.
2. How after the death of the Generall, the Israelites (neglecting the ordinances of their forefathers) fell into extreame calamities, and thorow a ciuill warre that was raised amongst them, there were but 300. of the tribe of Benjamin left aliue.
3. How for their impiety the people of Israel were deliuered by God into captiuitie vnder the Assyrians.
4. Their liberty by Cenizus.
5. How the people once more were overcome by the Moabites, and exempt from seruitude by Iodes otherwise called Ehud.
6. How they were brought vnder the subiection of the Chanaanites, and restored to their libertie by Barac.
7. How the Amalechites (hauing entred the country of the Israelites, and conquered them) possessed and spoiled the same for the space of seven yeeres.
8. How Gedeon deliuered the people.
9. How some successors of Gedeon waged warre against the neighbour nations round about them.
10. Of Sampsons strength, and what mischiefs he did in Palestine.
11. How the sonnes of Eli the Prophet were slaine in battell by the Palestines.
12. How Eli (hearing of the death of his sonnes, and the losse of the Arke) fell downe from his throne and died.

CHAP. I.

How Iesus, Generall of the Hebrewes, hauing overcome and slaine the Chanaanites, diuided their land amongst the tribes by lot.

They are of the world, 2494. before Christ. Nativity, 1470

Iesus sendeth spies into Iericho

Iesus calleth to memory & reckoneth vp what the tribes of Gad, Ruben, & Manasses had promised Moses. Num. 13. The spies suruey Iericho.



After that Moses had bin taken from amongst men (after the manner as I haue declared) and that all whatsoeuer he had ordained, was duly performed, and his funerall obsequies were at an end: Iesus commanded the people to prepare themselves, and to march forward into battell. He sent spies likewise into Iericho, who might both sound their minds, and discover their forces: presently after he dislodged, and incamped in the open field, intending with all expedition to passe the riuer of Iordan, as soone as any opportunity offered it selfe. Then assembled he together the Princes of the tribes of Ruben & Gad, and the halfe tribe of Manasses (for to this halfe tribe the countrey of the Amorites was giuen for an habitation, which was the seuenth part of Chanaan) and remembered them of that which they had promised vnto Moses, entreating them (in memory and fauour of him, who in the last period of his life was not wearied to take care of their common-weale, and publike profit) speedily and willingly to performe that which they had promised vnto him: who shewing themselves ready and willing, to performe that which hee commaunded them, he armed and arranged fiftie thousand men, that were his followers, and afterwards (departing from the City of Abila) he drew towards Iordan, and marched forward some sixty furlongs. As soone as he was encamped, the spies returned againe and presented themselves vnto him, certifying him of the whole estate of the Chanaanites. For being vnknownen and vsuspected, vpon their first arriuall they obserued and viewed the walls end strength of the City at their pleasure, searching which of them were more or lesse defended, and which of the gates were easiest or hardest to assault; neither did any of those that met them, offer any offence vnto them: whilst they thus pried into, & viewed euery place

A place, the Citizens interpreted their diligence to bee rather an accustomed curiosity of strangers, then suspected them that they intended any hostile stratageme.

About the shutting in of the euening, they rettyred themselves into a certaine hostrie that adioyned the walles, into which they had been directed to take their repast; and whilst after supper time they consulted vpon their returne, the king was giuen to vnderstand (as he late at his supper) that certaine Spies sent out of the Hebrewes campe, had suruayed the Citie, and taken vp their lodging in Rahabs house, where they supposed to concale themselves till they might giue them opportunitie to depart. Whereupon the King sent a speedy commandement and officers to apprehend them, to the end that being brought before him, hee might by torture extort from them the cause and reason why they came into his Citie. Of whose approach, when

Rahab had gotten some priuate intelligence, she hid the Spies vnder certaine packes of linnen, which she dyed nere vnto the walls, and tolde them that were sent by the King, that certaine strange guests a little before Sunne set had sup in her house, but that they were departed; who if they were suspected by the King, as such as intended any detriment to the common-weale, they might with little labour and pursuit be easily surprised in their way. They hearing the woman speak after this manner, and imagining no subtilty or deceit in her, returned backe againe without searching the hostrie. But after they were busied and trauelled in the pursuit and search after them euery way, and trafficking of euery path, whereby they might be suspected to trauell towards Iordan, and perceiuing no signe of their flight, they desisted any further to pursue them. No sooner was the tumult appeased, but Rahab calleth forth the Spies, and tolde them the dangers to which she had exposed her selfe for their security sake (for had she bin conuincied to haue concealed them, she might by no means haue escaped the punishment of the King, but that both she and all her family had miserably perished.) She therefore required them, that at such time as they should bee Lords of the countrey of Chanaan, and had both the occasion and power to require her curtesies, that they would haue her in remembrance. This sayde, shee dismissed them (to the end they might returne home againe.) But before their departure she took an oath of them, to warrantize both her selfe and all that which appertained vnto her, at such time as they should become masters of the Citie, and had destroyed all the Citizens thereof, according to the arrest and sentence giuen against them; which she knew should come to passe, hauing certaine apprehension of the same, by certaine signes and tokens from God: whereupon for the present with

many thanksgiuings they protested, and for the future avowed and swore vnto her, to acknowledge her kindnesse not in words, but in deedes. At such time therefore as she should perceiue that the Citie was ready to be surprised, they counselled her that shee should rettyre all her substance, and all those that appertained vnto her, into her house; and that before the doore thereof, she should spread some crimson garment, to the intent that the Generall perceiuing the same, might inhibite the souldiours from pillaging and spoiling her house: For (said they) wee will giue him notice herof, by reason of that willing forwardnes that hath bin in thee to saue our liues) and if by misfortune anie of thy friends die in the combate, doe not impute the fault vnto vs; and wee beseech God (by whome we haue sworne) that he be not displeased against any of vs;

except against such as falsifie their oathes. Hauing after this manner accorded vpon the covenant, they let downe one another from the wall; and when they were arriued in safety among their nation, they recounted vnto them all that which had happened since their arriuall in the Citie. Iosuah hereupon declared vnto Eleazar the high Priest and the rest of the Elders, what his Spies had sworne vnto Rahab, who all of them ratified the promise they had made. But the Generall was penfoule and sore troubled, for that he knewe not which way he might passe the riuer of Iordan, by reason that for the present it was very deepe and without bridges. For, before that time there was not any bridge built thereupon; and if they would haue built one, the enemy would haue interrupted them: and further besides that, there were not anie places conuenient to stay in. But God made him a promise that he would make the waters fall; and giue them passage therethrough. Iosuah therefore encamped his hoste for the terme of two dayes (to the end he might passe ouer his whole Armie, and the rest of the people, after this manner following.) The Priests marched before with the Arke. After them went the Leuites bearing the Tabernacle, and those vessels which were destinated for sacrifice. Then followed the whole multitude, distinguished in their Tribes; hauing inclosed within their battells the women and children, whereby they might be the more secure from the force of the flood. But when as the Priests had marched foremost, and found the riuer passable, and that the water was decreased, and that the current thereof was not so violent, neither the billowes so incensed; but that in the

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The year of the
world, 2494. be-
fore Christs
birth, 5470.

Iesus buildeth
an altar on
the other side
of Iordan.
The Israelites
celebrate Eas-
ter, enjoy the
fruits of the
earth, & cease
to feed on
Manna.

Iofuah, 6.
Iesus with his
army walketh
about the city

Iesus commi-
deth that
none but Ra-
hab and hers
should be sa-
ued.

The walls of
Iericho fall
downe of
themselves.

Iericho is ta-
ken, the men
slaine, and the
citie de-
stroyed, and
burnt: Rahab
and hers re-
served.

bottom there was good footing (for that the grauell and sand was not quicke but settled) then G all of them without feare passed ouer the foord, finding althings assuredly performed vnto them, which God had foreprophefied, and promised vnto them: but the Priests kept them in the midt of the channell vntill the multitude were past ouer, and were in securitie; and when as e uery one had gotten the other banke, the Priests issued out, permitting the riuer to flow ac- cording to his free and ordinary course: which pleasantly flowing grew to that greatnesse and swif- nesse which it retained at the first. Now when the Hebrewes had marched fiftie furlongs, they incamped themselues some tenne furlongs from Iericho. But *Iesus* builded an altar of stones (vvhich euery one of the Princes of the Tribes had gathered out of the channell of Iordan, ac- cording as the Prophet had commaunded) to the end it might be a monument of the prodigi- ous restraintment of the flood, and on the same he sacrificed vnto God, and the solemnity of the Paſchal was celebrated in that place; and at that time they, who in times past were in great neces- sitie, were largely furnished with all plentie and abundance: for they did reape the corne of the Chanaanites (which at that time was ripe) and caried away the rest for a prey. In the same season likewise their nourishment of Manna failed them, wheron they had fed for the space of 40. yeers. And whereas the Israelites did all these things with security and freely, and the Chanaanites ne- uer failed out against them, but appauled with feare, shut themselues vp within their wals; *Iesus* decreed and resolved to besiege them in their Cities: so that on the first day of the feast, the Priests bearing the Arke, and guarded on euery side with troups of armed men drew neere vnto the Ci- tie, founding their Ieuén hornes: and exhorting their souldiers to behaue themselues manfully, they walked about and inuironed the walls round about, being attended both by the Senate and Elders, neither did they any other thing but blow their hornes, and so returned backe into their campe. Which when they had done for the space of sixe dayes, on the seauenth *Iofuah* assembled the armie and all the people, bringing them ioyfull newes of the City, which that day should bee surprised without labour (the walls falling downe of their owne accord, and without mans hand, and yeelding them free passage and entrance into the City) and hee encouraged them to kill all those whom they met withall, and not to giue ouer the slaughter of their enemies, although they were wearie, neither to be moued with compassion, nor allured from the slaughter and execu- tion by desire of prey, or to permit the enemy in any sort to flie, but that they should extinguiſh and roote out all that which breathed and had life, reseruing nothing for prey or priuate profite. He commaunded likewise that all that which was found (either of golde or siluer) should bee brought into one place, & referred to be the first fruits of the happy works of God; and after the surprisall first of the Citie, that onely *Rahab* with her kindred should be sined, by reason of the othes which the spies had sworn vnto her. This said, he arranged his host, & made them approche the City, then did they once more walke round about the City, the Arke marching before them, and encouraging the army to valour by the sound of their Corners. And after they had enui- roned the walls seuen times, and had a little reposed themselues, the walles fell (wheras then neither the Hebrewes had enforced any engine against them, or used any other violence.) So that they entering into the City slue all those that were therein, who were already discomfited by the so- daine and vnexpected ouerthrow of their walles, and thorow their sodaine feare made vnapt to fight, so that they were slaine amidst their streets, finding neither refuge nor reliefe to succour them: yea so were they fished in the slaughter, that they neither spared women nor children, but filled the City with dead carcases, which at length being set on fire, serued them for a funerall flame to consume them in, and with equall furie rauaged and burnt the fields. Only *Rahab* and hir household (who kept themselues within her hostrie) were sined by the spies: who brought to *Iofuahs* presence, he gaue her thanks for sauing his spies, and promised her that hee would rewarde her courtesies, and anone after gaue her possessions, and euer after held her in great honour. All that of the City which the fire spared, the sword consumed. And *Iofuah* pronounced curses against those, who should afterward endeouour to erect that which he had ruinated: namely that he that should lay the first foundation, should be deprived of his first begotten sonne, and he that should finish the worke might lose his youngest sonne; neither pleased it God that this impreca- tion of his should be frustrate, as hereafter it shall be spoken. At the surprisall and sacke of this ci- tie, there was gathered an infinite quantitie of gold, siluer, and brasse, so that no man brake the Edict, or sought any prey or lucre thereby for himselfe. These spoiles *Iesus* deliuered vnto the Priests, to be laid vp in the treasure, and after this manner was the Citie of Iericho destroyed. But *Achar* the sonne of *Zebed* of the tribe of *Iuda*, hauing gotten a royall pall altogether embrode- red with golde, with an ingot of gold of three hundredth sicles in weight, and thinking in himselfe

that

A that it were a very fond thing, that the profite he had made by the hazard of his life, should bee ta- ken from him and presented vnto God, who had no neede thereof, digged a deepe pit in his tent, and buried his spoiles therein, thinking by this meanes to defraud God, and deceiue his compa- nions. At that time their tents were pitched in a place which was called Galgal (which signifieth Enfranchized, because that hauing past the riuer Iordan they knew that they should be deliuered from the affliction of Egypt, and the penurie of the desert.) But some few daies after the destru- ction of Iericho) *Iofuah* sent out three thousand armed men against *Ainan* (a Citie situate a little about Iericho) who encountering with the Ainities in battell & by them put to flight, lost thirtie and sixe of their company. The newes of which disaster beeing brought into the campe, the I- raelites were seised with exceeding grieve, not onely for the men they had lost (which were all the Ainities) but also by reason of the despaire they conceived of their future successe. For being already perswaded that they were masters of the field, & that their armie should be alwaies warranted and safe at such time as they should fight (according as before times God had promised them) they saw (contrary to their opinion) that their aduerſaries had taken heart; inſomuch as clothing themselues in sackcloth vpon their raiments, they spent all the day in teares & lamentations without tasting any meat; so grieuouſly were they afflicted with the inconuenient that had hapned. But *Iofuah* perceiuing the armie discomfited after this manner, and conceiuing some sinister hope of their estates, boldly addressed himselfe vnto God saying: We haue not beene induced by our own temerity to attempt the conquest of this land by force, but we haue beene hereunto encouraged by thy seruant *Moses*, to whom thou hast promised by diuers signes that thou wouldst giue vs this country to inhabit in, & that our army should haue alwaies the vpper hand in battell, and of these thy promises we haue oftentimes experimented the euent. But now beyond all expectation (hauing receiued an ouerthrow and lost some of our foldiers) being terrified by this accident, and suspicious of thy promises to *Moses*, we both abstain from warre, and (after so many enterprises and entrances of warre) we cannot hope of any fortu- nat or successful proceedings. Be thou therefore assisstant vnto vs, O Lord (for it lieth in thy power) & by thy mercy relieue our present sorrow with a largesse of victory, & take from vs the thought of despaire wherein wee are too farr plunged. *Iofuah* lying prostrate on his face made this prai- er vnto God, who presently answered him, that he should arise, commanding him to purge the armie of that pollution that had hapned therein, and of a theft committed by one of the multitude who was so hardy as to violate and conceale those things which were consecrated vnto him, assuring him that that cause was the meanes of the present calamitie: but that as soone as he had searched out, and punished the sacrilege, the Israelites should become fortunate and obtaine the victorie. This Oracle *Iofuah* declared vnto the people, and calling for the high Priest and the Magistrates, he cast lots vpon the tribes, and when as the lot had fallen on the tribe of *Iuda*, it was againe cast by kinreds; and when againe the sacrilege was found to bee committed in *Zacharias* kinred, they examined the same once more man by man, and found out *Achar*: who ha- uing no meanes to deny the same, and being discovered by God himselfe, confessed the fact, and brought forth those things, which hee had concealed: Whereupon being presently put to death, he was by night buried after an ignominious manner, according as he deserved it. But *Iofuah* ha- uing purified the people, ledde them forth against *Ainan*, and laying an Ambuscado by night time about the Citie, early in the morning hee drew the enemy out to fight, who boldly broke forth (being encouraged by their former victorie) but *Iofuah* making a shew of retreat, drew them farther off from their Citie (forming in them an imaginarie hope that the Israelites fled, and that they should gaine a second victorie ouer them.) But when *Iofuah* sodainly made a stand, and fresh- ly charged them, and gaue a signall vnto those that lay in ambush, they were incontinently ad- dressed and encouraged to fight, and with all expedition entred the gates of the Citie, on the walles whereof there stood diuers of the inhabitants, beeing eye-witnesſes (as they thought) of their achieued victorie. In this manner was the Citie taken, and all they that were therein, were slaine: and *Iofuah* on the other side enforced those in such manner (with whom he maintai- ned skirmish) that they turned their backs, and fled towards the Citie, as if it had beene in the same estate as they left it; but when they perceiued that it was surprised, and saw both it, their wiues, and children consumed with fire, they scattered themselues about the fields, not being able to rallie themselues, by reason of their disturbance and disorder. After this ouerthrow of the Ainities, there were a great number of women, children, and bondslaves taken captiue, and store of all sorts of moueables. The Hebrewes also became Lords of much cattell, and gathe- red a great quantitie of siluer (for the countrey was rich.) All which *Iofuah* (vpon his returne to

The year of the
world, 2494. be-
fore Christs
birth, 5470.

Achar hideth
certaine parts
of the prey
contrary to
Gods com-
mandement.
Galgal signifi-
eth libertie.
Iofuah 5.
The Israelites
are put to
flight by the
Ainities.

Iofuahs prai-
er vnto God.

Gods answer
to Iofuahs
prai-
er.

Achar found
out by Lot and
punished.

Ainan sacks
and burnt.

The prey di-
stributed a-
mongst the
people.

Galgal)

Theseare of the world, 2404 before Christ, 263 in the 1470. Iosuah 9.

Galgai distributed amongst the soldiers. But the Gabeonites (who dwelt not farre off from Ierusalem) vnderstanding what had hapned to them of Hiericho (and seeing the estate of the Ainites, and fearing lest the like misfortune might fall vpon them) thought it not good to offer treaties of peace to *Iosuah*, supposing they should find no tolerable conditions at his hands, because they knew that he warred vnder that resolution, vnto to roote out and extinguish the nation of the Chanaanites from off the earth. They therefore made a league with the Cephtherites, and Cathierimites their neighbours, telling them that they should not escape the danger if so be it fell out that the Gabeonites were first taken by the Israelites: but that if they were vnited together, they might both resist the greatness, and auoid the dangers of them. Which counsell of theirs being accepted, they sent embassadours vnto *Iosuah* (such men as they thought to be both most capable and wisest amongst them in the affaires of common-weale) to the intent

The Gabeonites send embassadours to Icius.

The Gabeonites send to the Hebrews.

Icius maketh a covenant with the Gabeonites.

The Gabeonites are appointed to publike ministeries. *Iosuah 10.* The king of Ierusalem moueth warre against the Gabeonites.

Icius driueth them out of Ierusalem to fight

The Sunne stood still.

Five kings slaine. *Iosuah 11.*

to entreate a peace betwixt them and the Israelites: who knowing that it would be verie dangerous for them, if they should say that they were Chanaanites; & that on the contrarie side, they should auoid the danger, if they protested that they had no communic or alliance with them, but that they dwelled far off from them; told *Iosuah*, that (being incited by his fame) they had vndertaken a long journey, the truth whereof hee might coniecture by their habits: for vpon their letting forth their garments were new, and now by their long journey quite worne (for they had purposely put vpon them old raiment, to the end it might be suitable to their subtil insinuation.) Standing vp therefore in the midst of the multitude (attired after this maner) they told them that they were sent by the Gabeonites, and the neighbouring Cities thereabouts (farre disioyned from that country) to articulate and ratifie a peace betwene them, according as they haue bin accustomed to proceed in their accords: For knowing well that the countrey of Canaan was giuen vnto them by the grace and gratuite of God (so the end they should bee masters and possessors thereof) they were much reioiced thereat, and required them to be receiued as their confederates. By these words, and tokens of their garments, and intimation of their long journey, they perswaded the Hebrewes to enter an accord and amitie with them. And the high Priest *Elezar* with the counsell of the Elders sware vnto them, that they should be reputed for friends and allies, and that no vniust action should bee enterprised against them; the people likewise approued their oathes. But *Iosuah* encamping with his Armie vpon their confines, and vnderstanding that the Gabeonites dwelt not farre off from Ierusalem, and that they likewise were of the race of the Chanaanites, he sent for the principall and princes among them, and complained & vpbraided them of their deceit: whereunto they answered, that they had no other meanes to procure their safetie and securitie, and for that cause (and their necessitie sake) that they had sought their refuge thereby. Whereupon hee called vnto him *Elezar* the high Priest and the counsell of the Elders, who told him that he might not infringe the oath which they had made vnto them, but that he might depute them to serue the publike ministeries. Whereupon they were adiudged to attend on these seruices: and by this meanes deliuered they themselves from their imminent perill. But for that the king of Ierusalem was sore incensed against the Gabeonites (for that they had revolted, and submitted to *Iesus*) he assembled together the kings of his neighbour nations, to make warre against them. The Gabeonites perceiuing the danger they were in, and how the enemy was prepared to assault them (and how to that intent they had pitched their tents neere vnto a certaine fountaine not farre off from the Citie) they required *Iesus* to assise and defend them. For their affaires were in that estate, that they expected death from the hands of their friends; & contrariwise hoped for helpe to be warranted by those Hebrewes, with whom they had contracted amity (notwithstanding that they arrived in that country to destroy the whole nation of the Cananites) *Iosuah* therefore (hastning onward with his whole armie to giue them assistance, and marching both day and night) early in the morning charged the enemy (at such time as he intended his assault) and hauing put them to flight, he pursued them by a steep tract, which place is called Bethora, where hee knew that God had fought for him (as it appeared manifestly by the thunder, lightning and haile that fell at that time, far bigger then was accustomed.) The day likewise (the like whereof was neuer heard of before) was lengthened; least by the speedy approche of the night the enemy should escape from the victor: whereupon it came to passe that *Iesus* tooke all those five Kings in a certaine caue neere Makkedah, where they were hidden, and condemned them all to the death. And that the day at that time encreased above common custome it is extant & registred in the sacred volumes, which are referred in the Temple. When after this manner the Kings that invaded the Gabeonites were slaine and conquered, *Iesus* led his Armie into the mountaines of Canaan, where hauing made a great slaughter

ter

ter of men, and taken a rich bootie, he brought backe his armie into Galgai. Now when the renoune of the Hebrewes valiant acts, and the admirable number of those that were slaughtered, were bruited & scattered farre and neere amongst the neighbour nations; they were surprised with a sodaine feare: so that the Kings of the Chanaanites that bordered vpon Libanus, and they also of the plaine of Chanaan, ioyned themselves confederates with the Palestines, and all of them were incensed against them, and incamped neere vnto Berotha (a Citie of the higher Galilee, not farre from Cedesa, which is also situate in the land of Chanaan.) The whole armie of them consisted of three hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand chariots. This great multitude of the enemy astonished *Iosuah*, and the Israelites, and (by reason of the assured feare wherewith they were seized) they conceiued but little hope of obtaining the vpper hand; but God reproched him, and vpbraided him of that his timidity; and for that they suspected themselves to be scarcely secured vnder his protection, he promised them likewise that he would ouercome their enemies, and make their horses vnprofitable, and would consume their chariots by fire. *Iosuah* therefore was emboldened by these promises from God, and marched out against his enemies, whom he surprised on the fifth day. The encounter was strong, & the slaughter so great, that they who should but heare the same would scarcely beleue it: many also were slaine in the pursuite; so that (a few onely excepted) the whole armie was put to the sword. The Kings also were all of them slaine; and of their men there remained not any one aliue. *Iosuah* also commanded that their horses should be slaine, and hee burned their chariots, & securely marched thorow the whole countrey: so that no man durst sallie out, or make head against him. He besieged likewise their strong places, and killed all those whom he might apprehend. Now when the fifth yeare was fully finished, and not any one of the Chanaanites were left aliue (except such as were fled into their Cities and forts of defenses) *Iosuah* once more retired his campe toward the mountaines, and placed the sacred Tabernacle in the Citie of Siloe; which seemed to be a verie conuenient place, by reason of the beautie of the same, where the arke might remaine til such time as their affaires of estate permitted them to build a Temple. From thence he departed with all the people to repaire vnto Sichem, and there buidied he an Altar in that place (according as before time *Moses* had commanded and enioyned) and hauing diuided his army, he planted the halfe of them on the mountaine of Garizim, and the other halfe on the mountain of Gebal (on which also there is an Altar) with the Leuites and the Priests; and after they had sacrificed and done their execrations, and ingrauen them on the Altars, they returned into Siloe. Now in so much as *Iosuah* was well strooken in yeares, & verie well perceiued that the cities of the Chanaanites were hardly to be assaulted (both in respect of the places wherein they were situate, as also for the munitions, wherewith (besides other advantages of nature) their walles were strengthened and fortified: for the Chanaanites hauing intelligence of the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, and how they hastned thitherward, to the intent vnto the extinguish and ouerthrow that nation, spent all that time in defending and fortifying their Cities) he assembled all the people in Siloe, where when (with mutuall and frequent conourse) they were assembled, he declared vnto them the happy successe which (till that time) had befallen them; and the braue executions worthy in their euents to challenge God for their author; furthermore the excellency of the ordinances vnder which they liued, alledging that the thirty one kings which had bene so hardy as to encounter them hand to hand, had by them bene overcome: that all the army that had yndertaken to ouerthrow them in battell, was wholly discomfited, so that there remained not any memory of them. But for that certaine of the Cities were taken, and the rest better defended (& for this cause more obstinate) had need of a longer assault and expugnation, he thought good that they (who had bene drawne from out the countrey situate beyond Iordan to be associates in this common cause of conquest, and by reason of affinity had made themselves copartners and companions in their perils) should be sent backe into their owne countrey with all complement of thanks, and gratuite. Afterwards, that some one of each tribe of approued vprightness and loyaltie, should be pickt out, who leuying out and surveying the countrey, might faithfully and without fraud report the greatnes thereof. This sentence was approued by the whole multitude, and thereupon diuers men were sent (accompanied with such as were skillfull in Geometry, who in respect of their science could neither erre, nor be deceived) to measure out the land, according to the goodnes thereof. For the nature of the land of Chanaan is such, that there are great plaines very fruitfull, and which (being compared with other places) might be esteemed happy and fruitfull in all sorts of fruit: but if they be compared with the other countrees of Iericho, and the land about Ierusalem, they seeme to be nothing worth.

The yeare of the world, 2494. before the Natimitie of Christ, 1470.

The kings of the Chanaanites moue warre against the Hebrewes.

The huge armie of the Chanaanites.

All the kings of the Chanaanites slaine, *Iosuah* spoileth the whole land of Chanaan.

Iosuah diuideth his army into parts.

The yeare of the world, 2499. before the birth of Christ, 1465. *Hedio & Rufinus. cha. 3. Ios. 13. 14. 18.*

Iosuah commandeth the diuiding of the countrey, & counselleth that the two tribes and a halfe should be dismissed. *Iosuah* sendeth certaine men to measure and diuide the land.

The year of the
world, 2499, be-
fore the Nativity
of Christ,
1465.
15/14/9.

Tofuah diui-
deth the Re-
gion of Chan-
aan to the
nine tribes
and the halfe
tribe of Ma-
nasses.

10f. 16. 17. 18.

Supra lib. 4.
chap. 7.

Num. 32.
10/14/13.

Iesus generally
commandeth
euery tribe to
route out the
race of the
Chanaanites.

The cities of
refuge.
Num. 35.
Deut. 4.
Iofuah 20.
The distribu-
tion of the
prey.
Iofuahs ora-
tion to those
that dwell on
the other side
of Iordan and
had ieiued
with the rest.

worth: for although in generalitie the whole countrey be small, and for the greater part mountainous, yet in respect of the abundance, bountie, and incredible beauty of the fruits thereof, it is second to no other whatsoeuer. For this cause he thought good that the portions should rather bee estimated according to their value, then their measure; by reason that oftentimes one plow land was worth one thousand other. Those which were sent were ten in number, who (having trauielled ouer the whole countrey and suruaied the same) returned againe to Siloe, at the end of fixe moneths, where the Arke was kept.

Then *Iofuah* (taking vnto him *Eleazar* with the Elders, and Princes of the tribes) diuided the Region amongst nine tribes, and the halfe part of the tribe of *Manasses* (having an vnpartiall respect of the greatnes of euery tribe) and when as each mans lot was cast, there fell to *Iudah* part all the higher *Iudah* (which extendeth it selfe in length euen vnto *Ierusalem*, and in breadth to the lake of *Sodome*; to which likewise were annexed the cities of *Afcalon* and *Gaza*.) The tribe of *Simeon* (which was the second) obtained a part of *Idumæa*, confining vpon *Aegypt* and *Arabia*. The *Beniamites* had that countrey which extendeth from *Iordan* vnto the sea in length, and in breadth vnto *Ierusalem* and *Bethel*: and this portion was very small (by reason that the countrey was good) for it contained the Cities of *Iericho* and *Ierusalem*. The tribe of *Ephraim* was allotted his portion in length, from *Iordan* vnto *Gader*; and in breadth from *Bethel* vnto the great plaine. The halfe tribe of the *Manassites* was valued from *Iordan* to the citie of *Doi* in length and in breadth vnto *Bethsan* (which is at this day called *Scythopolis*.) After them *Issachar* had the mount of *Carmel*, and the flood of *Iordan*, for the limits and termes of his length, & the mountaine *Iacob* for the bounds of his breadth. The *Zabulonites* were allowed that countrey, which stretcheth our as far as *Genazereth*, and that abutth on the mountaine *Carmel*, and the sea. The countrey which is betwixt *Carmel* and *Sidon*, was adiudged to the *Asserites*, in which portion was comprised the Citie of *Arce*, which is also called *Asipus*. The *Nephthalites* possessed that quarter that stretcheth our from the East vnto the Citie of *Damascus*, and the lower *Galilee* as far as the mountaine of *Libanus*, and the head of *Iordan*, that issueth from the same, on that side where are the borders of the Citie of *Arce* on the North side. To them of *Dan* was assigned the valley that is extended to the Westward, and is terminated by the Cities of *Azoth* and *Dor*, that containeth all the countrey of *Iamnia* and *Gitta*, from *Abaron* euen vnto that mountaine where beginneth the tribe of *Iuda*. After this manner did *Iesus* diuide the countrey of the fixe nations (bearing the name of *Chanaan*) and gaue it in possession to nine tribes and a halfe. For *Amorrhæa* (so called by one of the Ionnes of *Chanaan*) had bene already taken by *Moses*, and assigned by him to two tribes and a halfe, as I haue already heretofore declared. But all the quarter of *Sidon*, of the *Aruccans*, *Amatheans* and *Ariteans* were not comprised in this diuision, neither was it tilled. But *Iesus* (seeing him selfe ouerburdned with yeares, and vnfit to execute in his owne person those counsels, which hee had concluded vpon; and foreseeing that the Gouernours of the people which should succeed after him, would be negligent in procuring the common profit) commaunded euery seuerall tribe in particular, that (when they should possesse the countrey thus distributed amongst them) they should not suffer any one of the race of the *Chanaanites* to liue. For *Moses* had before time tolde and perswaded them, that their securitie and the maintenance of the customes of their forefathers consisted in that one point) which hee had likewise learned by his owne experience. Further, that they should deliuer vnto the *Leuites* thirtie and eight Cities, because they had already ten in their possession, within the land of *Amorrhæa*: three of which were ordained for cities of refuge to those that fled: (for he aduised them with all consideration and care to omit nothing of that which *Moses* had commanded them) of the tribe of *Iuda*, *Hebron*; of that of *Ephraim*, *Sichem*; and of *Nephthali*, *Cedesai*: which is a place in higher *Galilee*. Morcouer he distributed vnto them the surplusage of the prey which was very great: so that not onely in publike, but in priuate, they got no small quantitie of substance, for there was so much gold and rayment, and household stuffe, and so great store of cattell and horses, as the number may not be comprehended. After which he assembled the whole armie, and to those that were planted on the other side of *Iordan* (who had borne armes with the rest, and were in number no lesse then fiftie thousand) he spake after this manner:

Since God (the father and master of our Hebrew nation) hath giuen this countrey into our possession, and hath promised, that (at such time as it shall bee conquered) hee will continue and conserue the same in our possession, and since likewise you haue willingly and forwardly assisted vs in all our necessities and daungers (according to Gods commaund and direction) it

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world, 2499, be-
fore the Nativity
of Christ,
1465.

A is requisite at this present (since there remaineth nor any further matter wherein wee haue neede to imploy you) that we dismisse you; and abuse not your forwardnes and readinesse any further; (by reason wee are assured that if hereafter wee shall haue neede of you, you will with no lesse endeavour and willingness be as industrious to do vs kindnes. VVe therefore yeeld you hearty thanks for that you haue vouchsafed to be companions in our perils: and we require you, that you will perseuere in this your mutual beneuolence, remembering you of your friends, and how you haue gotten your possessions by our helpe, as wee (by Gods fauour and your assistance) haue attained to this our present felicitie. Neither haue you aduentured without some reward of your trauels: for in this your warfare you are intiched, and shal beare away with you a great prey both of gold and siluer: and besides all these, our beneuolence and loue, tied vnto you with all alacritie and readiness whensoever you shall haue cause to vs vs. For we haue neither forgot nor let light by *Moses* commaund before he departed out of this life; and haue spared no endeuour, wherby you might allie and tie our affections to you: we therefore dismisse you to your owne possessions in complete fullnes of your delight, praying you to remember your selues onely of these things; & that you will suppose that no terme can terminate our kinred: Neither (by reason of the entercourse of the riuer *Iordan* betwixt you and vs) suppose you vs to bee any others then *Hebrewes*. For all of vs (both those that dwell on this side, and on the other side of *Iordan*) are the posteritie of *Abraham*: and one and the same God hath brought to light both yours and our progenitors; whose lawes and religion (instituted by *Moses*) are diligently to be obserued: for by this meanes, hee will become our helper and fauourer; as on the contrarie side (if we shall degenerate from his statutes) he will be an enemy against vs. After hee had spoken vnto them after this manner, he embraced in particular all those that were in dignitie, and in general the whole people. This done, he stayed in that place, but the rest of the whole people conueyed them onward with teares, and they departed the one from the other with great grieve and remembrance. But after that the tribe of *Ruben* and of *Gad*, and the rest of the *Manassites* had passed ouer *Iordan*; they builded an Altar vpon the banke of the riuer, that might serue for a memoriall to posteritie; and a token for the present of the coniunction, which they had with those that dwell on the other side of *Iordan*. But when the tidings hereof came vnto their eares that dwell on the further side of the riuer, and that they knew that they had builded an Altar; but notwithstanding were ignorant of the respect and cause they had in building it, they supposed that seeking to innouate their religion, they would introduce the seruice of forraine and false gods: and being rashly stirred vp with this suspition of the violation of their religion, they put themselves in armes with this resolution, to reuenge themselves of those who had builded that Altar, and to take punishment of them for that they had forsaken the lawes and ordinances of their forefathers. For they supposed that they were not so farre to respect their parentage or dignitie (who were accused) as to forget the will of God, and that seruice which was agreeable in his sight: for which cause (being in this manner incensed) they prepared themselves to the expedition. But *Iofuah* and the high Priest *Eleazar*, with the rest of the Elders restrained them; counselling them first of all to found their deliberation, and afterward (if it should bee apparant vnto them that they did it vnder a sinister intent) at that time they might lawfully inuade them by the sword. Hereupon they sent *Phinees* the sonne of *Eleazar*, and ten other of the most noblest amongst the *Hebrewes*, as Embassadors vnto them, to know what the intent and reason was, why they had builded that Altar on the banke of *Iordan*.

Now when these Embassadors had past the flood, and were come amongst them, they summoned an assembly, and *Phinees* standing vp in the midst of them, spake after this manner. You haue committed so heinous an offence (saith hee) as there is no question either to reprove or punish the same hence forward in words: yet notwithstanding wee haue not vpon the instant taken armes, neither assaulted you in battell, or had reference or regard to the heinousnesse of your crime, to the intent to punish you, but wee haue bin sent to you as Embassadors (in consideration of our alliance) & for that (as we suppose) you may be drawn by good perswasions to the acknowledgement and detestation of your misdeeds; to the end that when we are informed of the cause that hath induced you to erect this Altar, it might not be thought that wee haue headlong thrust our selues into armes against you, if vnder an holy affection you haue builded the same: and if it appeareth otherwise, that the offence is iustly imputed and grounded against you; we may take reuenge of the same, according as reason requieth. For scarcely could we beleue that you (who are inwardly grounded in the knowledge of God, and who are hearers of those lawes which he himselfe hath giuen you) should (since your departure from vs, and vpon your arriuall

Heb. 10 & Rufinus. chap. 4. *Iofuah* 22. The *Israellites*, after they had past ouer *Iordan* builded an Altar on the banke thereof.

The embassage of the ten tribes to the rest of the *Israellites*.

Phinees oration to the *Rubenites*.

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world 2409, be-
fore the Nativity
of Christ,
1565.

in your owne patrimonie (which you haue obtained by lot by the meanes of his grace, and per-
ceably enioy by the power of his prouidence) should forget him, so soon as to forsake the Ta-
bernacle, Arke, and Altar, which we haue by hereditarie right received from our progenitors,
and introduce strange Gods, to the intent to be partakers of the impieties of the Chanaanites.
But if you repent your misdeedes, and plunge your selues no further in so great madnesse, but re-
claime your thoughts, and reuerence your domestical and auncient lawes, the pardon is graun-
ted you: but if you obstinately persist in your wickednes, we will refuse no trauell for the main-
tenance of our liues, but passing the riuer in defence both of them (or to speake more fully) of
our God, and accounting you no lesse hatefull and impious then Chanaanites, wee will utterly
root out and raze both their memorie, and your posteritie together. For doe not suppose this,
that because you haue past the riuer, you are exempt from Gods power, because in what place
soeuer you bee, you are numbred amongst them that appertaine vnto him; and it is impossible
for you to auoid either his power, or his vengeance: And if you thinke that the place is an im-
pediment and let vnto you from following the better course, it were better for you to make a
new diuision of lands, and leaue this region to bee conuerted into pastures. It behooueth you
therefore to grow better aduised, and that changing your purpose, you desist from innovation:
Whereunto wee exhort you by that loue which you beare to your children and wiues, and be-
sech you by the respect you hold of that which is most deare vnto you, that you inforce vs not
to wage war against you, who are wholly vnwilling to listen to your iniuries. Resolue your selues
therefore in this present matter, assuring your selues that therein consisteth the issue, whether
you had rather perpetually enioy your peace and affections by our perswasion, or expose both
you and yours to the perill of a bloody warre.

The Rubenites
answer.

After that Phinees had finished this his oration, they that were the Peeres and principals of
the assembly, gaue this answer in defence of the common cause. Men and brethren, neither
will wee neglect our kinned, neither innouate any thing in that religion, of which wee make ac-
count: we know that there is one God comon vnto all the nation of the Hebrewes, and
acknowledge also his brazen Altar which is before the Tabernacle, and no other but that shall re-
ceiue our sacrifices. As for that which we haue now erected, and that breedeth in you at this pre-
sent a cause of suspition, we built it not to the intent to pacifie God by sacrifices, but that it might
remaine as a perpetuall argument of our friendship, and might admonish vs of our countrey re-
ligion, not to the end you should suspect it were an induction toward the violating of religion:
And that this was the onely cause which allured and induced vs to build the same, we onely chal-
lenge God for our faithfull witnesse (for which cause hereafter conceiue a better opinion of vs)
and God forbid you should suppose vs to be so besotted in that sinne, of which, whosoever of
Abrahams posteritie is guiltie, and whosoever shall degenerate from the manners and customes
of his forefathers, may not expiate that crime without a capitall punishment. As soone as Phi-
nees had heard these things, and praised their constancie; he returned vnto Iesus, and declared all
those things vnto the people: who reioycing (in that they had no occasion to leuie men, nor cause
of ciuill warre or bloodshed) offered vnto God their sacrifices of thankgiuing; and presently dis-
solving the assembly, each man returned vnto his owne home, but Iesus chose his habitation in
Sichama. Twenty yeares after: Iosuah being extremely olde (calling vnto him the most honou-
rable of euery Citie, and both the Elders and Magistrates, and as many of the people as
might commodiously be assistant) spake vnto them after this maner. First he called vnto their
remembrance the diuers benefites which God had bestowed vpon them, by meanes whereof
from their poore and afflicted estates, they had attained to so great riches and glory: then ex-
horted he them, that they should endeavour themselves hereafter in such sort as God might hold
and continue his mercifull hand ouer them; since they knew, that his beneuolence could be al-
lied vnto them by no other meanes, but by their good inducements: he further alledged, that it was
his dutie before he departed out of this life to admonish them of their dutie; last of all he required
them that they should accept of that his good admonition, and should bee perpetually mindfull
of the same. After this his oration hee paid the due of nature, and died in the hundredth and tenth
yeere of his life; whereof hee spent fortie as minister vnder Moses their magistrate, and after his
death, gouerned the common-weale twentie five yeares: a man of incomparable both prudence
and eloquence. Moreouer strong and expedite in matter of gouernment, and both good and
profitable in affaires of peace; finally most exact in all sorts of vertue: hee was buried in a Citie
called Thamna belonging to the Tribe of the Ephraimites. About the same time likewise died
Elezar the high Priest (leauing the inheritance of the Priesthood to Phinees) the monument laid

Iosuah dwelt
in Sichama.

Iosuahs ex-
hortation at
his death, to
the Magi-
strates and El-
ders amongst
the Hebrewes.

Iosuah 23. 24.
Iosuahs death.

Elezars
death.

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world 2409, be-
fore Christ's na-
tivity, 1465.
Indg. 1.

A laid on his sepulcher is extant in the Citie Gabatha. After their deaths Phinees being deman-
ded by the people what Gods pleasure was, and to whose charge the affaires and warres against
the Chanaanites should be committed, answered them that God commanded them to giue the
gouernment to the tribe of Iuda, which by election chose Simeon and his, they for their associa-
tes vndertook the war vnder this condition, that when they had utterly rooted out the remnant
of the Chanaanites out of their owne dition, they should likewise employ themselves to extin-
guish all the reliques of that race amongst the other tribes.

CHAP. II.

B How the Israelites after the death of their Emperour, forgetting the religion of their forefathers,
fell into extreame calamities: and how thorow a civil war raised amongst them, there
were onely 600. of the tribe of BENIAMIN left aline.

BEVt the Chanaanites (whose estate at that time was in sufficient security) expected them
with a great host about the Citie of Bezeca, hauing their army conducted by the king
of that place called Adoni-Bezeca, which name signifieth Lord of the Bezecenites: (for
Adoni in the Hebrew tongue is as much to say as Lord) now these men promised vnto them-
selues the vpper hand, by reason that Iosuah was deceased. Against these (of whom I haue fore-
spoken) the two tribes fought very valiantly, and slaying tenne thousand of them (whilest they
pursued the rest) they tooke Adoni-Bezeca captiue, who hauing his hands and feete cut off, ac-
knowledgeed the diuine iustice: for he confessed that he had vsed leuentie and two kings before
times after the same manner. In this plight they conducted him neere vnto Ierusalem, where de-
parting out of this life they buried him. Then ouerran they the country, sackeing and taking the
Cities, and after they had diuers of them in their possession they besieged Ierusalem, and entring
the lower Citie thereof, they put all the inhabitants to the sword. But the higher towne was
very hard to be assaulted (by reason of the fortresses and strength of the walles, and the naturall
and strong situation of the place) which was the cause that they leuied their campe to goe and
besiege Hebron, which they took, & slew all those that were therein. In that time there were some
remainder of the race of Giants, who in that they were greater in stature, and vnlike vnto other
men, were horrible to behold, and terrible to be heard. Their bones are to be seen as yet at this
day, which for their highnesse surpasse all credulity or conceit. This Citie was giuen in waie of
honour to the Leuites with two thousand cubits of land, or thereabouts: and as touching the rest
of the countrey it was freely giuen to Caleb, according as Moses had commanded it (this was one
of those spies which Moses sent to ouerlook the land of Chanaan.) They gaue lands and posses-
sions likewise to Iethro the Madianites posteritie (who was father in law to Moses) for that they
had forsaken their owne territories, and annexed themselves to the Israelites, and had bene with
them in the desert. The tribe of Iuda and Simeon tooke those Cities of the mountaynous coun-
trei of Chanaan, and those that were in the Plaine neare vnto the sea coast (namely Ascalon and
Azoth.) But as touching Gaza and Accaron, they escaped: for these Cities being in the Plaine,
and defended with a great number of chariots, repulled those that assaulted the same to their dis-
aduantage. So these two tribes hauing had good successe in warres, retired themselves into their
Cities, and laide aside their weapons.

As touching the Beniamites to whom Ierusalem appertained, they receiued the inhabitants
thereof as their tributaries, so that all of them being in peace, and the one ceasing from slaughter,
and the other assured from danger, both of them employed themselves in manuring the coun-
trei. The rest of the tribes did the like, conforming themselves according to the example of the
Beniamites, and contenting themselves to receiue their tributes, they suffred the Chanaanites to
liue in peace. The tribe of Ephraim (besieging the Citie of Bethel) could not see such an end
of their desseigne, as the length of time and the trauels they had taken in the siege required: and
although they were very much toyled and wearied with the same, yet desisted they not the con-
tinuance of the siege. At last they took one of the Citie (who issued forth to find our certaine ne-
cessary things that he wanted) whom they assured that if he would deliuer them the Citie, they
would saue him, and grant life and liberty likewise to all them that were of his linage; who swore
vnto them that he would deliuer the City into their hand: which when he had performed, both
he and his were wholly warranted; but all the rest of the inhabitants were put to the sword. From
that time forward the Israelites behaued themselves more mildly towards the enemy, and im-
ployed

Hedio & Ruf-
inus. chap. 5.
al. 2.

Ten thousand
Chanaanites
slaine, and
Adoni-Bezeca
taken.

The year of the
world 2425, be-
fore the birth of
Christ, 1439.
Iosuah. 2. 1.

Iethroes pos-
teritie who
was the father
of Moses pos-
sessed of lands.

The Israelites
overcame not
the Chana-
nites at one
time.

The Ephrai-
mites recouert
Bethel by a
stratageme.

The year of the world, 2525, before Christs birth, 2439. Hecio. & Rufin. cap. 6, al. 3. The Israelites omit w. arce.

Judg. 10. The history of the Leuites wife.

The year of the world, 2526, before the birth of Christ, 2438. Thirty stadia are foure Italian miles. Two Italian miles & a half

The horrible wickedness of the Gabeonites.

played them in tillage of their lands, and husbanding their fruits: and being grown in riches they followed the delights and pleasures of the world, yea in such sort grew they dissolute, that they had no mind neither of their policy, nor the lawes of their forefathers. Whereupon God was grievously incensed against them, who gaue them to vnderstand first of all, that contrary to his command they had spared the Chanaanites: & afterwards, that those Chanaanites in time to come should exercise great cruelties against them. And although they were astonished at that which was declared vnto them, yet notwithstanding they took no pleasure in feats of armes, both for that they had receiued many profits by the Chanaanites, as also for that (being effeminate thorow delights) they were vnapt for labor. It hapned then at such time as their Aristocratical gouernment was corrupted, & that they respected not their elders, or any other magistrates before time ordained, & were extreamely addicted vnto gaine, & infinitely tooke pleasure therein; that amidst their greatest security, a grievous mutiny and commotion was once more raised amongst them, so that at length they fel at oddes one with another, on that occasion which ensueth.

A certaine Leuite and one of them of the common sort, that dwelt within the dominions of the Ephraimites, took a wife that was borne in the City of Bethleem, which pertaineth to the tribe of Iuda, whom (by reason of hir incomparable beautie) he most intirely loued; and found himselfe much aggrieved, for that he found not her affection answerable to his loue: at last his passion so much preuailed with him, as they grew at odds, and fell into contentious dislikes, whence at last it fell out that the woman (tired with disquiet) forsook her husband, and went and dwelt with her father. The husband fore aggrieved thereat (by reason of the loue which he bare her) came vnto her fathers house and appealed the differents, and was reconciled vnto her: There abode hee for the space of foure dayes, being friendly intreated and intertained by his wifes father and mother. On the fifth day, he thought good to returne to his owne dwelling, and both of them departed about mid-day (by reason that the father and the mother gaue them a loth farewell, and consumed the better part of the day in entertainment.) They had a seruant which followed them and an asselike, on which the woman was mounted. Now when they had trauelled the space of thirty Stadia or furlongs, and that they drew neare the City of Ierusalem: their seruant counselled them to take vp their lodging in some place, for feare least by their late trauell they might fall into some disaster, the rather for that they were not farre from the enemies country, and that the present time was such, as might make those things that were most assured, suspected. But this opinion of his pleased not his master, who would not lodge amongst those of a forraigne nation (for the city pertained to the Chanaanites) but his intent was to passe further, and trauell yet twenty furlongs more, to take vp his lodging in one of their cities. This aduise of his being allowed, they came to Gaba of the Tribe of Benjamin, when it was late: and whereas they found no man in the market place that might lodge them; at length a certaine old man, returning out of the country to his house (who was by birth an Ephraimite, and dwelt in that City) meeting with him, asked him what he was, and for what cause so late as it was hee sought for his supper? He answered, that he was a Leuite, and that he brought his wife with him from her father and mother, and was returning to his house, which was amongst the Tribe of Ephraim. The old man hauing regard vnto parentage (by reason that he was of the same tribe, and that by good hap they had after that manner met the one with the other) lodged him in his owne house. But certaine young men amongst the Gabeonites, perceiuing the woman in that place, were rauished in admiration of her beautie and good graces, and getting some notice afterwards that she had been brought thither as a guest, they set light by him (by reason of his weaknes and age, and the small retinue that he had in his house) and came and knockt at his doore. The olde man required them to depart, and that they should offer him no violence, nor to her outrage. But contrariwise they importuned him to deliuer them his guest, and that done they promised him in no sort to procure his further molestation. But although that the olde man alleged that she was of his parentage, and that her husband was a Leuite, and that they should commit an hainous offence, in sinning for their corrupt pleasures sake against the lawes: yet had they no regard of equity, but mocked him, menacing him likewise to murder him, because hee hindered them from satisfying their lust. Finally, he was driuen to that exigent, that (to their intent they should not offer violence to his guest, and a stranger) he abandoned and prostituted vnto them his owne daughter, supposing it to be a lesse inconuenient to let them satisfie their vbridled concupiscence on her, than that his guest should suffer any villany; at leastwise he made this account, that by this meanes he should not be guiltie of any iniury done vnto them. Notwithstanding all this, they intermitted not to sollicite and vrge the deliuerie of the woman (being incensed

The year of the world, 2526, before the birth of Christ, 2438.

The Leuite diuiderh the bodie of his wife into 12. parts, and sent them to the 12. tribes. Judg. 20.

The Israelites send Embassadors to the Gabeonites to require those at their hands that had committed the rape. They deny to yeeld the vphirupon the Israelites make an oth neuer to match their daughters with any one of the tribe of Benjamin, and they leuy and lead out against them an army of foure hundred thousand men. Twenty two thousand Israelites slaine in battell. Eightene thousand Israelites more slaine. The Israelites place one half of their battell in ambush, and as if they fought with disadvantage they retired by little and little.

A incensed in vnbridled lust towards her.) Contrariwise he besought them that they would not be so audacious as to violate the lawes: but they seconded their disordinate desires with extreame violence, and rauished her perforce, and led her to their owne lodgings. Afterwards (when as during all the night time they had lewdly appeased their lusts on her) they thrust her out of doores from them vpon the breake of day. But she being wholly desolate, and discomforted by this disaster, returned to her lodging, and both by reason of the agonie which she had suffered, as also for the shame that hindered her from appearing before her husband, who would bee incredibly and extreamely tormented with that accident, she fell downe and gaue vp the ghost. Her husband supposing that she was onely seised with some sound sleepe (not suspecting any other inconuenient) thought to awake her, with that deliberation to comfort her, because shee had not willingly condescended to their violences and lusts, but maugre her resist was rauished by them, and taken out of his lodging. But so soone as he perceiued that she was dead, he moderated his affections, considering the extremitie of his euills, and laying the dead body vpon his Ass, he carried it to his house; where he no sooner arriued, but that he diuided and cut the same into twelue pieces, which he sent to the twelue tribes of Israel; commanding them that bare the same to tel euery tribe, who they were that were the authors of the death of his wife, and what villany they had practiced against her. The tribes were very much discontented at that which they both saw, and heard (hauing neuer before that time heard of any the like aduventure) and incensed with extreame displeasure (and yet iust) they assembled themselves in Siloe: and being arraunged before the Arke, they resolved sodainly to take armes, and to assaile the Gabeonites as their capitall and mortall enemies. But the elders with-held them, declaring vnto them that they ought not after that manner enterprise a headlong warre against their brethren, before they had conferred and debated the cause with them, and examined the crimes wherof they were accused; the rather, for that the law permitteth not any war (no not against strangers) before an enterparle & embassage, which might reclaim those that were held culpable & reduce them to reason. For which cause they tolde them that they should conforme themselves, both according to the letter of the lawe, and the bond of brotherhood, to send certaine messengers to the Gabeonites to demand at their hands the authors of that villany, to the end that when they were deliuered, they might take their satisfaction by their punishment: but if they should not regard that which was demanded, then that it was lawfull for them to assaile them with open warre. Hereupon they sent certaine messengers to the Gabeonites to accuse those young men that had perpetrated that indignity against the woman, to demand them at their hands, to the intent they might suffer condigne punishment by death for the breach they had made of the law. But the Gabeonites would not yeeld vp the young men, supposing it to be an indignity for them for feare of war to be obedient to other mens commandements, by reason that they thought themselves no waies inferior vnto others in feats of warre, both in respect of their number, and the courage both in the one & the other. The rest of the tribe also made great preparation, by reason they were all of the resolved, and vnited together, mutually to defend themselves against whosoever should assaile them. After that the report of the Gabeonites answer was brought vnto the Israelites, they sware an oth the one vnto the other, that none of them would giue their daughters in marriage to a Beniamite, promising each of them to issue & make warre against them: against whom they were more incensed, then our predecessors haue been animated against the Chanaanites, as we haue bin giuen to vnderstand. They speedily therefore leuiued & led into the field an army of 400000. men against them. The Beniamites host consisted of 26000. armed men, and 600. others; 50. of which were expert in shooting, and fighting with the left hand. The felde was fought neer to Gaba, wherein the Beniamites put the Israelites to flight; who were slaine to the number of 22000. and more of them had beene slaughtered that day, had not the night sodainly ouertaken them and ended the skirmish. Thus did the Beniamites ioufully return vnto their Cities, and the Israelites were discomforted thorow their vnexpected calamitie. The next day they once more renewed the battell, and the Beniamites had the vpper hand once againe: so that the Israelites lost eightene thousand men more, and by that mean forsooke their campe thorow feare, and retired to Bethel, which was not farre off from the place. The day after they fasted, and belought God (by the mediation of Phinees the high Priest) that it would please him to appease his wrath against them, and that contenting himselfe with the two ouerthrowes which he had sent them, he would now at last both giue them victory and valour to encounter their enemies. All which God promised them by the prophecy of Phinees. Whereupon they diuided their army into two parts, and laid the one thereof in ambush neere vnto the Citie. In the meane time (whilest the other halfe that

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The year of the
world, 3526, be-
fore the birth of
Christ, 1438.

made head against the Beniamites retired themselves, to the intent their enemies should assault them) the Beniamites suddenly issued, and set upon them that orderly retired, and the more they retired (vnder purpose to draw them the further from the town) the more eagerly the enemy insisted: so that all they likewise, who thorough age and weaknesse were left in the City, sallied out as companions and sharers in the future prey. But when as they were drawne far enough from the City, the Hebrewes staied, made head, and fought against them. Then gaue they a signe to those that were in ambush, in such sort as was accorded amongst them: who suddenly issuing out together, rushed in upon their enemies with a huge crie. VVho seeing themselves so suddenly surprised knewe not what to doe, but retiring themselves into certaine Baricadoes, they defended themselves with arrowes, but all of them were slaine, except it were six hundred: who making head, and closely filleted and embattailed together, thrust themselves desperately into the midst of their enemies, and by this meanes escaped they into the mountaines hard by, where they encamped. All the rest to the number of twenty five thousand or thereabouts were slaine.

Five & twenty thousand Beniamites slaine, & onely sixe hundred escape alive. Iabes & other Cities of the Beniamites burned. Ind. 21.

The Israelites reuoke the six hundred that were fled.

The Israelites gaue the Beniamites the foure hundred virgins of Iabes in marriage.

When & how an oath ought to be kept.

The Beniamites are permitted to ravish them wiues.

And the Israelites burned Gaba vterly, & slew both the women and children. They exercised no lesse iustice on the other cities of *Beniamin* (so much were they fleshed & transported with fury.) And for that *Iabes* (a Citie of Galad) would not ioyne with them in battell against the Beniamites, they sent twelve thousand chosen men out of their companies to destroy the same, who slew all those that might beare armes, with their wiues and children, except foure hundred virgins. So much griefe and fury had they conceived thorow the accident that chaunced to this woman, and the despight they had conceived against the Beniamites for prouoking them vnto armes: which furie when it was somewhat appeased, they repented themselves, reputing them selves to be deprived of one tribe: And although they thought them iustly oppressed in battell (by reason they had offended against the lawes of God) yet celebrated they a fast in the behalfe of the dead. They sent Embassadors also, and reuoked those sixe hundred that were fled, and helde a certaine rocke in the desert which is called *Rhoa*. The Embassadors complained not onely for that the warre had extinguished them, but also for that the Israelites had lost their Parents: and by these perswasions they preuailed so much, that they bare their crosse and losse with less griefe; & they came vnto them & besought them that they would not giue sentence of the total extincion of the tribe of *Beniamin*. We grant you (said they) the reuenues of your whole tribe, and as much booty as you may driue away. But they acknowledging their iniustice, and that they were condemned by the iust iudgement of God, returned into the possessions of their tribe, and the Israelites gaue them in marriage those foure hundred virgins of *Iabes*: and for the rest (which were two hundred) they deliberated with themselves how they might prouide them of wiues, to the intent they might haue issue. And when as before time in the beginning of their warre it was decreed by an oth, that none of them might match his daughter with anie of the tribe of *Beniamin*; there were some of them that thought good that the oth might be dispensed withal (by reason it was grounded vpon wrath, & not on iudgement) alleging further, that they should do nothing contrary to the will of God, if they might saue a tribe which was in daunger vterly to be extinct: That periuries were dangerous and noisome, not at such time as they are enforced by constraint, but when they are practiced with an intent to do euill. But when as the Elders reclaimed hereagainst (abhorring the mention of periury) there arose vp a certaine man amongst them, that said he had a policie, whereby without breach of oth the Beniamites might light vpon wiues. And being commanded by the Senate to expresse the same, wee haue a custome cuery yeare (sayd hee) to assemble and keepe a feast at *Siloe*, and for companions in those our congregations we haue both our wiues and daughters: as many of these as they can ravish, let the Beniamites lay hold of, without reproofe (neither being inhibited nor encouraged by vs) and if their fathers shall be displeased therewith, and shall require reuenge, wee will say that they are in the fault who haue negligently kept their daughters, & that we ought not too much to whet our wrath against the Beniamites, for that we had too much already vied & abused the same towards them. This sentence was allowed by all of them, and it was decreed, that it was lawfull for the Beniamites to ravish and violently take to themselves wiues amongst them. Now when the feast was at hand, the two hundred Beniamites (of whom we haue spoken) came two by two, and three by three, and lay in ambush neere vnto the Citie (amongst the vines and other thickets, and close places, in which they might hide themselves to surpris the *Damscella*) Now they suspecting nothing, securely and pleasantly wantoned on their way: but the young men breaking from their ambush, laid holde of them (being scattered and diuided here and there) and after they had married them they departed home to labour their land, and began to studie

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A new how to recouer their former good hap. Thus the tribe of *Beniamin* (which was welny vnterly exterminated) was restored to his former dignity after this manner, by the wisdom of the Israelites: and it incontinently flourished and encreased in a litle time, as well in number of men as in all other things. Thus finished this fatal warre.

The like accident hapned to the Tribe of *Dan*, which fell into the like incombrance for this cause which ensueth.

The Israelites about this time hauing forgotten the exercise of armes, and being onely occupied in tilling, and trimming their land: the Chanaanites (in contempt of that nation) raised forces, not for that they were affraide of their owne estates, but to the intent that ouerlopping the Hebrewes with some memorable ouerthrow, they might more securely inhabit their Cities thereafter: and conspiring together (and arming a great number of footmen; and ioyning to them certaine chariots) they drew *Ascalon* and *Acharen* (two cities within the lot of *Juda*) into their confederacy, and diuers other Cities of the champaigne country: so as they of *Dan* were driuen into the mountaines, hauing no place in the champaign where they might peaceably inhabit; who (for that neither in warre they were able to confront them, neither had sufficient habitation for the number of men, which they had) sent five men of their tribe into the champaigne country and Midland, to spie if they could finde any place that were fit and conuenient for them to establish and fixe their colonies in. These trauelled a daies iourney nor farr from the mountaine of *Libanus*, and more lower then are the sources of *Jordan*, bordering vpon the great plaine of the citie of *Sidon*. In which place (hauing obserued that the land was good and fertile in all sorts of fruits) they made it known vnto their people, who traouailing thither with their army, builded a citie in that place called *Dan* (by the name of the sonne of *Iacob* so called, and in honor of the tribe of *Dan*). Many aduersities befell the Israelites from that time forwards, both for that they were vnexercised in trauell, and for that they contemned pietie. For hauing once forsaken the obseruation of their ordinances, they suffered themselves to be deuoured in pleasures, liuing according to their owne appetites: so that they gorged and glutted themselves with those vices, which were most of all accustomed and vsuall amongst the Chanaanites.

CHAP. III.

D How the people of *Israell* by reason of their wickednesse, were by God deliuered to the seruitude of the *Assyrians*.

For this cause the wrath of God was kindled against them, in such sort, as (thorow their negligence) they lost the good which they had gotten by infinite trauell. For *Schisart* king of the *Assyrians* leued an army against them, who killed a great number of their men in the fight, and either by force, or composition, took diuers of them prisoners; and brought their city vnder his subiectio. Diuers also willingly submitted themselves vnto him, (thorow the feare they had conceived) and they paid tributes exceeding their powers, induring all kinde of outrage for the space of eight yeares, after which they were deliuered by these means following.

CHAP. IIII.

Their liberty restored by *CENIZVS*.

A Certaine man of the tribe of *Juda* called *Cenizus*, a man of execution and of braue courage, was aduertised by a voice from heauen, that hee should not permit the Israelites in that sort to be reduced into so extreame necessity, without taking care for them, but that hee ought to aduenture himselfe to set them at liberty. For which cause, calling vnto him some few companions of his perills, who were discontented with their present estate, and desired a change, he first of all ditcomfited the garrison which *Schisart* had placed ouer them: and so much was he furthered with his first successe, that the number of his followers increased more & more; so that they seemed sufficient to equall the enemy in open field: wherupon encountering him in one battaile, they ouercame him, and recovered their libertie; and the rest of the scattered and confused army retired themselves toward *Euphrates*. Now after that *Cenizus* had by this effect giuen proofe of his valour, he receiued the gouernment at the peoples hands, and exercised the office of iudge forty yeares, at the end whereof he died.

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CHAP.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

CHAP. V.

How the people were againe made subiect to the Moabites, and how by Iodes they were exempt from seruitude.

Medio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 8.
Iudg. 3.
Eglon king of
the Moabites
conquereth the
Israelites.

The year of the
world, 534. be-
fore the birth of
Christ, 1430.
Iodes or Eglon
insinuateth
himselfe into
Eglons famili-
arity.

Iodes killeth
Eglon.

The Moabites
put to flight
& slaine by the
Israelites.

The year of the
world, 614. be-
fore the birth of
Christ, 1350.

Medio & Ruf-
fin. cap. 9.
Iudg. 4.
Iabin king of
the Chanaa-
nites, subdu-
eth the Israe-
lites.

After whose death (the government and seate being void) the affaires of the Israelites began againe to fall to ruine, and the rather for that they neither yeelded due honour vnto God, neither obedience to the laws: whence it came to pass, that *Eglon* king of the Moabites (seeing the disorder of their policie) set them at nought, so that he waged war against them, and ouercame them many times. And for that he was a Prince of greater force then any of his predecessors, he fought against them & weakened their forces, & constrained them to pay tribute.

This man (translating his court to Iericho, and proud in his victories) omitted no meanes whereby hee might vex and molest the people: so that they liued for the space of 18. yeares in great miserie. But God (being moued with their calamities, and supplications) deliuered them from their intolerable thralldome after this manner. *Iodes* the sonne of *Gera* of the tribe of *Beniamin* (a young man, both addressed by valour of minde, and strength of hand to attempt any worthy action) dwelt at Iericho. This man insinuated himselfe into *Eglons* familiaritie, and by presents and gifts entertained and courted him in such sort, as hee was well beloued and esteemed amongst all those courtiers that were neere about the King. It chanced one day, that bearing certaine presents vnto the king (attended by two of his household seruants) he secretly girt a dagger to his right thigh, at such time as he entred in to the king: now it was about mid sommer and mid-day likewise, whereby the watch was growne the more careless and slothful, partly by reason of the heate, and partly for that the guard were occupied about their dinner. The young man therefore offering his presents vnto *Eglon* (who at that time disported himselfe in a certaine sommer chamber) began to discourse with him. Now they were both alone (by reason that the king resolving to talke familiarly with *Iodes*, had sent away his guard, and late him downe in a seate :) but *Iodes* feare, least failing to stab home enough, he should not giue him a fatall and deadly wound, required him to rise, telling him that he had a dreame to report vnto him by the commandement of God. Whereat he reioicing very much, leapt from his seate; whereupon

Iodes stabd him to the heart: and leauing the poinard sticking in his wound, he escaped and locked the doore after him; the guard making no noise at all, supposing that the king had laide him downe to rest. But *Iodes* giuing priuate notice hereof to them of Iericho, offered himselfe to bee their leader in the recovery of their former liberty: who (willingly accepting therof) presently took arms, and sent trumpets to publish the same thorow the whole country: (for after that manner were they wont to assemble the people.) They that were about *Eglon* were wholly ignorant of that which hapned: but about the euen-tide (feare, lest some mishap had befallne him) they entred into the place where he was, & found him dead; whereat they were greatly astonished, so as they knew not what to doe. For before they had assembled their forces together, the Israelites fiercely charged them, and some they killed instantly; the rest that were ten thousand in number, betooke themselves to flie, vnder hope to recover their country of *moab*: but the Israelites (hauiug before that, laide and fortified the passages of Iordan) pursued them and slew them: so that diuers of them perished in the Ferry, & not one of them remained that escaped their hands. By this meanes the Israelites were deliuered from the seruitude of the Moabites: and for this cause *Iodes* was aduanced to the government of the people. Finally, after hee had liued for the space of fourescore yeares, he died. A man (besides the act of late rehearsed) worthy of praye in all other things. After him *Sanagar* the sonne of *Anath* was elected gouernor, and in the first year of his raigne, he left this life to partake the fruition of another.

CHAP. VI.

How the Israelites were brought vnder the subiection of the Chananites, and ransomed from seruitude by BARAC.

BVt the Israelites (in no sort reclaimed or reconciled by their forepassed calamities) fell againe into their former impiety and disobedience: and before they had sufficiently shaken off the seruitude of the Moabites, were subiectd vnto *Iabin* king of the Chananites. This man kept his residence imperially at *Afor* (a Citie situate on the lake of *Sachonites*)

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OF THE IEWEES. THE V. BOOKE.

The year of the
world, 2614. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1350.
Sisara or Si-
lar, the cap-
taine of the
host.

Deborah the
Prophetesse.

Barac appoin-
ted Emperour
against the e-
nemie.

Deborah and
Barac charge
the enemies.

Sisara slaine
with his host.

Tael killeth Si-
sara with an
yron nail.

Barac gover-
ned the Israe-
lites 40. years.

A he had in pay thirtie thousand foote, and ten thousand horse: and besides these, hee had three thousand warlike Chariots. Quer all this huge armie commaunded *Sisares* (an especial man amongst the kings favorites) who encountering with the Israelites, brought their affaires into desperate an estate, that they willingly (for their owne securitie sake) accepted seruitude, and paid tribute (whereunto they were enforced through the austeritie of their subiection, almost for the space of twentie yeares, not daring to lift vp their heads) all which fell vpon them by the will of God, to the end he might punish the too great contumacie and ingratitude of that nation. Who at length repenting themselves, and acknowledging the cause of their calamities (namely that it proceeded from the contempr of their lawes) they repaired to a certaine Prophetesse called *Deborah* (which name in the Hebrew tongue signifieth a Bee) beseeching her that by her prayers she would endeavour to prouoke God vnto mercie (to the intent he should not suffer them so to be oppressed by the Chanaanites.) Hereupon God (being inclined to take compassion on them) granted them helpe, and appointed *Barac* to bee their gouernour (a man of the tribe of *Nephthali*, whose name signifieth lightning. *Deborah* therefore sending for *Barac* commaunded him to picke out, and muster ten thousand chosen men, and lead them forth against the enemy: alleading that they were sufficient to obtaine the victorie which God had promised by his Oracle. But *Barac* denying to vndertake the government, except shee also would ad- minister the same with him, she moued therewith, spake thus: Wilt thou (said she) surrender the dignitie which God hath giuen thee, to a woman? well I will not refuse it. Whereupon leuying ten thousand men, they pitched their tents neere to the mountaine of *Itabyr*. *Sisara* at that time (according as the king had commanded him) presently marched out to meete them, and encamped himselfe not farr from the enemy. But *Barac* and the rest of the Israelites (being terrified with the multitude of the enemies) was encouraged by *Deborah*, who commanded them that verie day to enter and vndertake the battell, assuring them that the victorie should be theirs, and that God would both asist and helpe them: whereupon they charged the enemy, and there sodainly fell a storme of raine mixed with haile, which the winde droue against the faces of the Chanaanites, and tooke away their sight, making those that carried darts, and such as serued with the sling, vnprofitable in their seruice: the Targetiers likewise hauing their hands benumbed with colde, could scarcely wield their swords. But the tempest beating on the backs of the Israelites, not onely wrought them lesse offence, but made them also more forward (being wher- ted thereunto by the manifest signe of Gods fauour and preience.) Whereupon disarraying and breaking thorow their enemies battell, they made a great slaughter of them, so as part of them fell by the weapons of the Israelites: the rest were ouerrunne by their owne horsemens and chariots. *Sisara* also as soone as he saw his souldiers turne their backs (leaping from his chariot) fled away hastily, till at last hee arriued in the tent of a woman of *Cenitis* called *Tael*, who being desired by him to conceale and hide him, entertained him: and whereas he required drinke shee gaue him sowe milke, which when he had ouergreedily drunke, he fell asleepe: and whilst hee so lay buried in his slumbers, *Tael* tooke a mallet and droue an yron nayle thorow his temples, & fastned him to the pauement: and anon after, when *Baracs* souldiers came vnto her, she shewed him vnto them, in such manner as he was nailed. And thus a woman (according as *Deborah* had foretold) was the author of this victorie. But *Barac* leading his armie to *Afor*, slew *Iabin* that came out against him: and hauing slaine the king, and leuelled the citie with the ground, hee gouerned the Israelites for the space of fortie yeares.

CHAP. VII.

How the Amalechites ouercomming the Israelites, destroyed their country for the space of seuen yeares.

BVt when *Barac* and *Deborah* were dead, about the very same time and hard after, the Madianites (accompanied with the Amalechites and Arabians) armed themselves against the men of Israel; and encountering them in open field ouercame them in a great battell, and destroying their fruits and haruest led away a great prey, and when as they continued these their incursions for the space of seuen yeares, they compelled the Israelites to forsake the champaigne, and flie vnto the mountaines: who digging them dens and houses vnder the earth, kept all that secretly hiddē which they had reserved & conueied from the furie of the enemy. For the Madianites inuading them in the sommer time, permitted the Israelites to plie their husbandrie in the winter, to the intent they might spoile and depopulate their country.

The year of the
world, 2614. be-
fore Christs birth
1350.

Medio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 10.
Iudg. 6.
The Madi-
anites confede-
rate with the
Amalechites
ouercome the
Israelites in a
great battell.

country the more. Thus liued they in perpetuall famine and want: neither was there any other hope or succours left them, but onely by prayers and supplications vnto God.

CHAP. VIII.

How GEDDON deliuered the Israelites.

God commaunded Gedeon to deliuer the Israelites from the Madianites Iudg. 7.

God commaunded Gedeon to chooſe a few men. The victory is to be attributed to God.

Gedeon repaired to the enemies tents, and by them is confirmed by a dreame.

Gedeon with three hundred men: and hee with the sight.

About that time, *Gedeon* (the sonne of *Iafus*, one of the chiefeſt of the tribe of *Manaſſes*) ground certaine sheaves of corne, which he had ſecretly conueied into his preſſe: for hee durſt not bring them openly, for feare the enemy ſhould haue eſpied him. To him appeared there a viſion in the forme of a young man, which ſaid vnto him, that he was happy and beloued of God: and that a certaine ſigne of his good happe ſhould bee, that hee ſhould vie his preſſe in ſteed of his grange; willing him to be of good courage, and to endeouour himſelfe to recouer his countries libertie. *Gedeon* answered, that it was impoſſible, by reaſon that the tribe whereof he was deſcended, had very few men in it; and that he was too young and feeble to thinke on affaires of ſo great conſequence: but God promiſed him to ſupply his neceſſities in whatſoeuer he held himſelfe deficient; and aſſured him (vnder his conduct) that he would giue the *Israelites* the victorie. Theſe things *Gedeon* communicated with certaine young men, who willingly beleeuing the Oracle, answered, that for the preſent they had ten thouſand ſouldiers in a readineſſe, moſt readie to attempt any thing in regard of their libertie. But God appeared to *Gedeon* in a dreame, and told him that men naturallie were, louers of themſelues, and haters of thoſe who were excellent in vertues: ſo that if there grow any queſtion of victorie, they forget God, and appropriate the ſame vnto themſelues, ſaying; that they are many, and all valiant men at armes. To the end therefore that they may conceiue his handie worke in their diſcuerance, hee counſelled him that about the mid-time of the day, at ſuch time as the heate was moſt vehement, he ſhould conduſt his armie to the riuer; and that beeing there, hee ſhould diligently obſerue thoſe that bowed themſelues to drinke, which hee might eſteeme for men of valour: but all thoſe that dranke haſtily and with noiſe, ſhould bee marked as men fearfull and afraid of the enemy. *Gedeon* did according as God had commaunded him, and there were found three hundred men that liſted water to their mouthes with their hands, with feare and trouble: God willed him that he ſhould aſſaile the enemy with thoſe three hundred, promiſing that he would giue him the victorie. About this time were they incamped vpon the banke of *Jordan*, ready to paſſe the foord the next morrow. But *Gedeon* was ſore troubled, by reaſon that God had before times tolde him that he ſhould aſſaile the enemy by night: but God willing to deliuer him of his feare, commanded him to take one of his ſouldiers with him, and enter the campe of the Madianites, aſſuring him that he ſhould be both aduiſed and encouraged by themſelues: whereunto hee obeyed, and for his better aſſurance, hee tooke with him one of his ſeruants. Now as he drew nigh a certaine tent, hee perceiued that they that were within the ſame were awake, and that one of them with a loud voice, tolde his companion the dreame which that night hee had had; which *Gedeon* ouerheard, and thus it was. Him ſeemed that he ſaw a barley cake (ſo loathſome as no man would feed vpon the ſame) which rowled thorow the camp, which firſt ouerthrew the kings tent, & afterward the tents of all his ſouldiers: alleading that this viſion ſignified the loſſe of the whole army. Annexing to this his allegation the reaſons that induced him thereunto; namely that of all ſorts of corne, barley is moſt contemptible; and amongſt all the nations of *Aſia*, there were not this day any people to bee found more diſgraced and contemned then the *Israelites*, and that in this reſpect they reſembled barley. That which at this day ſeemeth to encourage them is *Gedeon*, and the army that is with him; and whereas this cake turned to ouerthrow our tents, I feare me leaſt God hath giuen ſome ſigne of victorie vnto *Gedeon*. *Gedeon* (hauing ouerheard all theſe things) conceiued good hope, and attempted with a valiant heart, and preſently commanded his domeſticall ſeruants to arme themſelues, diſcourſing vnto them the viſion which appeared to their enemy: wherevpon they ſpeedily prepared themſelues at his commaundement, ruminating and hammering in their mindes vpon that diſcourſe which hee had declared vnto them. About the latter watch of the night, *Gedeon* led forth his armie, and diuided them into three bands, and in euery band he put a hundred men: all of theſe bare in their hands emptic pots, in which were hidden burning torches, in ſuch ſort as the enemy might not diſcouer them when they ſallied out: moreover they bare rams hornes in their right hands, which they vſed in ſteed of trumpets. The aduerſe armie tooke vp much ground (by

reaſon

A reaſon that they had a great number of Camels, and were diſtributed by nations) yet notwithstanding were all of them comprehended in one incloſure.

The Hebrewes hauing had inſtructions from their captaine what they ought to doe, at ſuch time as they approached neere vnto their enemies, & the ſigne of the battell was giuen, they founded their hornes, and brake their pots, & with their flaming lights brake into the enemies camp; crying victorie, victorie, by the aſſiſtance of God, and the ſtrength of *Gedeon*. Hereupon ſuch a trouble & feare ſurpriſed the enemy, as they lay aſleepe (for this accident fell out in the night time, and God diſpoſed all things to this iſſue) that few of them fell by the Hebrewes ſword, but they themſelues ſlew one another in great numbers (by reaſon that they were different in language.)

B For conſuſedly encountering one another, they maſſacred all thoſe that encountered them, ſuppoſing them to be enemies. When the rumour of this ſlaughter, & *Gedeon*'s victorie came vnto the eares of the reſt of the *Israelites*, they armed themſelues, and purſued & ouertooke the enemy (being intangled & circumuſed in certaine places made vnpaſſable thorow many running brooks) ſo that being inuiroed on euery ſide, they were all of them put to the ſword, amongſt which were their two kings *Oreb* and *Zeb*. The reſt of the chieftaines trouping onward with their ſouldiers to the number of eightene thouſand or thereabouts, encamped not far from the *Israelites*: But *Gedeon* was no waies aſtoniſhed hereat, but purſuing them valiantly with his whole armie, & charging them deſperately, he diſcomfited all the reſt of the enemies, & led away captiues thoſe chieftaines which remained, namely *Zeeb* & *Ezabon*. There died in this battell of the Madianites and Arabians their allies to the number almoſt of fix ſcore thouſand: beſides that the Hebrews tooke

C an inſtimable prey of gold, ſiluer, apparel, Camels & other horſes. But *Gedeon* returning into his country, *Ephraim* ſlue the reſt of the kings of the Madianites: naithes the tribe of *Ephraim* being diſpleaſed with his happy execution, reſolued to make warre againſt him, accusing him for that he had not made them priuy of his ſtratageme intended againſt the enemy. But *Gedeon* being a temperate man, & endowed with all kind of vertue, gaue them this moſt anſwere, that it was not he that by his owne direction had ſet vpon the enemy, but that it was Gods onely handie worke: notwithstanding that the victorie was no leſſe theirs, then his or thoſe his followers that achieued the enterpriſe. And with theſe his words appeaſing their wrath, he no leſſe profited the Hebrews thereby, then by his valiant actions, by reaſon that he deliuered them from a ciuil war, whereinto they had fallen, if his diſcretion had not prevented it. This tribe was puniſhed for this D outrage offered to ſo noble a perſonage, as we will declare hereafter in his place. *Gedeon* laboring to diſmiſſe himſelfe of the government, was forced to continue the ſame, and ruled the *Israelites* for the ſpace of fortie yeares, doing iuſtice to euery one that required the ſame at his hands, and deciding their controuerſies (ſo irreuoicable and certaine was that eſteemed which hee had decreed.) Finally he died when he was very olde, and was buried in the country of *Ephraim*.

CHAP. IX.

How ſome of GEDDONS ſucceſſours made warre with the nations round about them.

E *Gedeon* had ſeuentic lawfull ſonnes begotten on diuers lawfull wiues: he had likewiſe one Hedio & Ruſtard by his concubine *Druma*, which hee called *Abimelech*, who after the deſeaſe of his father, retired himſelfe to *Sichem* (where his mother was borne) there (aſſiſted with money by his mothers kined, & backed by the who were men reſolute & addreſſed to al facinorous actions) he returned to his fathers houſe, where he ſlue all his brethren (except *Joſhan*, who by good hap ſaued himſelfe by flight) now when as *Abimelech* had once obtained the tyranny, he ruled all things according to his luſt, and neglected the ordinances and preſcript of lawe, hating all thoſe that in any ſort were maintainers of equitie. One day therefore whileſt there was a ſolemne feaſt held at *Sichem* (whereunto the whole people were vſually wont to reſort) *Joſhan* his brother (who as we ſaid, ſaued himſelfe by flight) climbing the mountaine of *Garizim*, which alluſed vnderneath the Citie of *Sichem*, with a loud voice (which might eaſily be ouerheard by the people, and in a generall ſilence of the whole multitude) hee beſought them that they would heare him in a few words, and when as they incontinently liſtned with a greater and more reuerend ſilence; hee told them in times paſt the trees were accuſtomed articulately to ſpeake after the manner of men, and that (in a certaine aſſembly wherein they were to conſult of their government) they beſought the fig tree to accept the ſoueraignie ouer them, which when ſhee reſuſed, a king

The yeare of the world 2654. before Chriſts Nativity, 1210.

The Madianites & their confederates kill one another.

The *Israelites* purſue their enemies, and kill *Oreb* and *Zeb*.

Gedeon taketh *Zeeb* and *Ezabon*. One hundred and twentie thouſand Madianites with their confederates ſlaine.

The yeare of the world, 2292. before Chriſts Nativity, 1270. *Gedeon* raigned 40 yeares.

Joſhan by an alluſion vnderneath the Citie of *Sichem* beſought the trees in their ingratitude towards *Gedeon*. The counſaile of the trees in choiſe of a king.

The year of the world 2694. before Christs Nativity, 1270.

The Siche-
mites banish
Abimelech.

Abimelechs
practise a-
gainst the Si-
chemites.

Gaal put to
flight by Abi-
melech. is ba-
nished out of
Sichem.

Sichem taken
and sacked
and raled to
the ground.

The Siche-
mites flying
are burned
vpon a rocke.

and pleaded in his owne behalfe that he was contented with that honour which he reaped by the means of the fruit which he bare, & sought not further. The trees surceased not to seeke an other prince, resolving with themselves to ascribe that honour to the Vine, which in as many words as „the Fig tree refused the same: and no lesse did the Olive tree: At last they preferred their humble „prostration of election to the great Bramble (whose wood is good for firing) hee answered if „you doe vnfaignedly require me for your king, repose your selues vnder my shadow; but if you in- „tend treasons against me, there shall a fire issue from mee and consume you. These things, said „than, I report vnto you not to moue you to laughter, but for that you (hauing receiued manie „benefits at the hands of Gedeon) suffer *Abimelech*, who in spirit differeth nothing from the fire, to „vsurpe the Princedome after the slaughter of my brethren. When he had spoken after this man- ner hee departed, and for three yeeres space liued hidden amongst the mountaines, flying the power of *Abimelech*. Neither did there many daies ouerpasse, but that the Sichemites (being moued with compassion and iust reuenge in respect of the murder which was committed vpon the sonnes of Gedeon) banished *Abimelech* out of their Citie, and the whole tribe. Whereupon hee resolved to do some mischief to both the Citie and Citizens: and for that their vintage was at hand, & they durst not gather the fruit, fearing lest they should receiue some iniury at the hands of *Abimelech*. By good happe about that time a certaine Prince called *Gaal* retired thither with a troupe of souldiours & his kinred: him did the Sichemites beseech that he would grant them a conuoy, whilst they had gathered in their haruest: which request of theirs being accepted by *Gaal*, they issued out with their forces, being seconded by him and his, and securely brought in their fruits, and feasting one with another in companies, they were so bold as to scoffe at *Abimelech*, and the chieft of his followers: and the chieft of those straungers among them that came into their city to their assistance, surprised by Ambuscado diuers of *Abimelech*, people and slew them. But *Zebel* one of the Sichemits & *Abimelech*s host signified vnto him by a messenger, how *Gaal* incited the people against him, inuiting him to lie in wait for him neere about the Citie, promising him that he would bring *Gaal* thither, to the end that hee might easily reuenge him of that iniurie which his enemy had offered him. Which done, he promised to worke so wisely that he would reconcile him to the peoples fauour againe: & when as *Abimelech* had chosen a place fit to lie in ambush, & *Gaal* with *Zebel* too carelessly liued and walked in the suburbs, at length hee sodainly espying certaine armed men, cried out to *Zebel*, that hee had discovered the enemy, whereunto *Zebel* replied that they were the shadowes of rocks: but *Gaal* drawing more neere vnto them and perceiuing apparantly who they were, answered *Zebel*, that they were no shadowes, but ambushes of men. Whereunto *Zebel* replied, Dost thou not object cowardise to *Abimelech*, why therefore shewest thou not thy great valour in fighting with him? *Gaal* confusedly amazed, assailed the souldiours of *Abimelech*, in which conflict certaine of his followers were slaine, and he himselfe fled into the Citie (giuing example vnto the rest to follow him). Hereupon *Zebel* laboured that *Gaal* might be expelled out of the Citie, accusing him of his cowardly encounter with the souldiours of *Abimelech*. Now when as the same *Abimelech* had afterwards gotten certaine intelligence, that the Sichemites would issue anew gather to their vintage, hee laid an ambush neere vnto the Citie. And no sooner were they issued, but that the third part of his troopes surprised and seized the gates to cut them off from their returne, that thought to reenter; the rest ranne after those that were scattered here and there: so that there was a great slaughter on euery side, and the Citie was ruined euen vnto the verie foundations (for they could not withstand the siege) and they sowed salt vpon the ruines thereof. Thus perished all they that were in the Citie of Sichem. But they that escaped thorow the country, and had auoided the danger, assembled and fortified themselves vpon a strong rocke, and there incamped and began to defence the same. But as soone as *Abimelech* had notice of their intention, hee hastened thither with his forces, and inuironed the place with fagots of dry wood (carying them thither in his owne person, and encouraging thereby those of his armie to doe the like) so that the rocke was incontinently compassed with wood. Whereunto hee set fire round about, & in an instant it flamed and burned vehemently, so as none of them were saved, but all of them perished with their wiues and children, to the number of fiftene hundred men, besides many other of the weaker sort. This calamitie hapned to the Sichemites (in so grieuous a measure that there is not any griefe sufficient to deplore it) were it not that that so horrible misfortune fell vpon them, by reason of their ingratitude they had shewed to so vpright a iudge, and so gracious a benefactor. *Abimelech* alaid the courage of the Israelites by this encounter and conquest of the Sichemites, and gaue sufficient testimonie that hee aspired more higher, and that he would neuer terminate

The year of the world 2694. before the birth of Christs 1270. Abimelech taketh Ibez.

A woman doth death Abimelech and his squier killeth him.

Hedio & Rufinus. ch. p. 12. 21. 10. Iudg 10.

The year of the world 2697. before Christs birth 1267.

Thola reigned 23 yeeres. After him Iair 22 yeeres.

The year of the world 2719. before Christs birth 1245.

The Israelites oppressed by the Ammonites and Philistines.

The year of the world 2742. before Christs birth 1222. Iephtha is created the Iudge of Israel.

The year of the world 2760. before Christs birth 1204.

Iephtha maketh a vow.

Hee ouercometh the Ammonites.

terminate his violence vntill hee had vtterly extinguished them. Hee therefore led forth his armie against the Tibeans and their Citie, which he tooke: but in that towne there was a great tower, whither all the people had retired themselves, and whilst hee prepared himselfe to besiege the same, and approached likewise neere vnto the gates, a certaine woman cast a peece of a millstone at him, and hit him on the head: which was the cause that *Abimelech* called at that time for his squier, commanding him to dispatch him, to the intent it might not be reported that hee died by the hands of a woman. His squier did according as hee had commanded him, and reuenged on *Abimelech* (by putting him to death) the cruelty hee had committed against his brethren, and the tyranny executed vpon the Sichemites; on whom all these misfortunes fell according as *Iothan* had foretold them. As soone as *Abimelech* was slaine, all the armie was disperied, and euery one returned vnto his dwelling place: and *Iair* the Galeadite of the tribe of *Manasses* tooke vpon him the gouernment. Amongst other conditions of this man, these were of the greatest note, that he was rich, and had thirtie worthie sonnes, all expert vpon horse backe, and exercised the magistracie in the countrey of Galaad: hee (after hee had gouerned the people for the space of twentie yeeres) died, when he was very olde, and was honourably intombed in Chamon a Citie of Galaad. From this time forward the policie and estate of the Hebrewes grew more and more disordered, and the lawes began to be neglected: Whence it came to passe that the Ammonites and Philistines (setting light by them) destroyed all their countrey with a great armie, during which time they occupied all the land on this side Iordan, and so much were they heartened, as that they pressed further, and possessed the better part on the other side of the riuer, and conquered the same. Whereupon the Hebrewes being brought to more moderation by these their aduersities, had their recourse vnto God by prayers and sacrifices, requiring him that it might please him to moderate his wrath, and that hauing regard and respect to their supplication, he would be pleased to stay his heavy hand ouer them. This submission of theirs preuailed with God, who inclined himselfe to assist them. Whilst therefore the Ammonites led their armie into Galaad, they of the countrey arose to meete and fight with them, being disurnished of a gouernour to conduct them. Now there was a certaine man called *Iephtha*, of great estimation, as well for the verue of his ancestors, as his owne particular valour (the rather for that he had been trained and maintained in warlike seruice.) To him they sent a messenger, requiring him that he would assist them, promising him, that he should continue in the gouernment during the terme of his life. But he was nothing mollified with this their request, but reprochfully objected against them, that they had abandoned him at that time, when as his brothers had done him open wrong: for (by reason he was not their brother by the same mother, but a stranger, begotten on a woman which their father had entertained for his paramour, they had driuen him out of their family, setting light by him, by reason of his base birth) yet notwithstanding hee had liued in Galaad, receiuing all those into wages which came vnto him, of what place soeuer they were. But after they had besought him, and sworne vnto him that he should continue in the gouernment, hee became their generall in warre, and speedily (providing and foreseeing what soeuer was necessary, he incamped himselfe neere vnto Maïpha, and sent Embassadors to the Ammonites, accusing them for inuading a countrey that belonged not vnto them. They contrariwise blamed the Israelites, for that they were fled like fugitiues from Egypt, and commanded that the Israelites should depart out of Amorrhæa (which was their auncient patrimonie.) *Iephtha* answered that they had no reason to accuse their ancestors, in respect of Amorrhæa: but rather that they ought to giue them thanks, for that they had permitted them to enioy the countrey of Ammon, by reason it was in *Moses* power to haue commanded the same. In a word, they were resolved not to forsake the countrey which God had both giuen and purchased for them, and which they had held in their possession for the space of three hundred yeeres, alledging that hee would defend the same against them by dint of sword: with these words dismissed he the Embassadors of the Ammonites. Then besought he God that it might please him to grant him victorie: and hee made a vow, that if hee returned vnto his house whole and in safetie, he would offer a vp in sacrifice, that of his which he should first meete withall in his returne: whereupon encountering the enemy he defeated him, and pursued him, killing those that fled continually till he came to the Citie of Maniathen. Then entering the countrey of the Ammonites; hee destroyed diuers Cities, and led away a great prey, and deliuered and ransomed diuers slaues of that nation, who had endured that seruitude for the space of eightene yeeres. But as he returned homeward, he fell into such an inconuenient, as was no waies aueritable to his noble actions. For his onely daughter (of the age of eightene yeeres) came out to meete him: whereupon resolving and melting

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Ieptha sacrific-
eth his
daughter.The Ephrai-
mites are in-
censed against
Ieptha.
Iud. 12.Almost fortie
thousand of
the Ephrai-
mites slaine.
Ieptha dieth.
Aslan was for
seuen yeares
space the
Iudge in Irael
Elon reigned
ten yeares.The yeare of the
world, 2773. be-
fore Christs Na-
tiuitie, 1191.
Abdon Iudge.

melting himselfe into teares, he began to check her for that so hastily she had issued forth to meet him, by reason he had consecrated the first thing hee met withall to God. But this accident was no waies displeasing vnto the Damzell, but that she willingly died; both for the victory of her father, and the deliuerance of her brethren: shee therefore be sought her father that it would please him to grant her two moneths before shee should be sacrificed, to the end she might lament her youth with her companions: and that after that terme, her father might acquit himselfe of that vowe which hee had made. *Ieptha* granted her the terme and time she had limited, which being expired, hee sacrificed his daughter for a burnt offering: which oblation of his was neither comforted to the law, nor agreeable vnto God (by reason he examined not in his vnderstanding before he committed the act, how it would be taken by those that should heare the report thereof.)

The tribe of *Ephraim* hearing of his victories, would haue sent out men of warre against him (by reason hee had not communicated his enterprise against the Ammonites with them, but had onely reserved the prey, and vsurped the honour of the execution to himselfe) whereunto he answered first of all, that being of his kinred, they could not be ignorant that both hee and his were assailed by warre; and had besides that also bene required to giue them their assistance, whereunto they had answered very faintly, and being requested would not be present. Secondly, he told them that that which they vnderooke was both vnlawfull and most wicked, in that not daring to confront or assaile the enemy, they made no bones to set vpon and assault their owne brothers and familiars, threatening them that if they gouerned not themselves, he would (by the assistance of God) be reuenged on them. But these words of his were both neglected & despised, so that he was forced to arme himselfe against them, and with an host of men sent from *Galaad*, he made a great slaughter, partly in pursuing those that fled, partly also in preventing their passage who fled vnto Iordan: and the number of those that were slaine amounted to fortie thousand or thereabouts. But after that *Ieptha* had gouerned fixe yeares he deceased, and was buried in Sebei, in the place where he was borne, and in the countrey of *Galaad*. After his decease, *Aslan* tooke vpon him the gouernment. He was of the tribe of *Iuda*, of the citie of *Bethleem*, and had sixtie children, thirtie males and thirtie females, which he left all aliue and married: he died when hee was very old, without performing any thing worthie either recitall or memorie, during the space of his seuen yeers gouernment: he was buried in his countrey. *Elon* a Zabulonite his successor dis- fered nothing from him in the same, and during the terme of ten yeeres wheroin he gouerned, he achieued nothing that was worthy commendation. *Abdon* the sonne of *Elon* (of the tribe of *Ephraim* of the Citie of *Pharathon*) was declared soueraigne Iudge after *Elon*, and is renowned onely for his felicitie in his children (by reason that the estate was in peace and securitie, and that hee exploited nothing worthy glory) hee had fortie sonnes, who had thirtie other children, and hee rode accompanied with thirtie seuentie, who were all of them expert on horsebacke. Hee left them all aliue, and died when he was very old, and was magnifically buried in *Pharathon*.

CHAP. X.

Of *Sampsons* valour, and how many mischiefs hee did vnto the *Philistines*.

The Iraelites
are overcome
by the Pale-
stines.Hedio & Ruf-
sinus. chap. 13.
al. 10.The yeare of the
world, 2783. be-
fore Christs birth
1181.
The Angell
foretelleth
Sampsons
birth.

After his death, the *Philistines* had the vpper hand ouer the *Israelites*, and exacted tribute from them for the space of fortie yeares. From that misery were they ransomed after this manner: *Manoach* (an excellent man, and one of the chiefe of the tribe of *Dan*, recounted without exception for the onely esteemed Prince amongst them) had a wife most famous for her beautie, and excellent amongst all other of that time; yet had hee no children by her; whereat he was very sore displeased: and for this cause he made his continuall prayers vnto God (departing with his wife to his countrey *farme*) beseeching him that it might please his maiestic, to graunt him some lawfull heire and successour (now the place whither they resorted was situate in a broad Plaine.) Furthermore he loued his wife so exceedingly, that hee almost doted on her, and for this occasion he was extremely ielous of her. Whilest thus the woman liued solitarily by her selfe, an Angell of God appeared vnto her in a vision, promising her a goodly, faire and puissant sonne, who denounced vnto her the pleasant message of the birth of her child, which God by his prouidence would bestow vpon her, who should be goodly and admirable in his forces, and vnder whom also (as soone as he should attaine to mans estate) the *Philistines* should endure many ouerthrowes: exhorting her not to cut his haire, commanding likewise

OF THE IEWES. THE V. BOOKE

A likewise that he should taste no other drink but water (because that God had so commanded it:) and after he had finished these sayings, he departed according to the pleasure of God. As soone as her husband returned home againe, she told him all that which the Angell had said vnto her, who was amazed at the beauty and greatnesse of the young messenger, who appeared vnto her after so strange a manner, as *Manoach* was almost spent with ielousie and suspition (which such a passion is wont to engender.) But shee desirous to mitigate his discontent, and that distrust which he had vainely and vnadvisedly conceiued; besought God that it might please him once more to send his Angell vnto her, to the intent that her husband might see him. Whilest therefore they liued in this sort out of towne, the Angell presented himselfe againe (thorow the grace of God) and appeared vnto the woman (being apart from her husband.) But she besought him to abide vntill such time as she had called her husband: which when she had obtained, she wrote and fetcht *Manoach*, who notwithstanding was not deliuered of his suspition: but required him that he would relate againe vnto him all that which he had signified to his wife. The Angell answered him, that it sufficed that she only knew it: whereupon he asked him what he was, to the end that when his sonne should bee borne, hee might both giue him presents, and present him thanks. The Angell answered, that he had no need thereof, by reason that he had not brought that good newes of the birth of his sonne for any necessity that he had: *Manoach* besought him to stay and receiue some token of kindnesse: but he would not consent. Finally, being instantly pressed to abide and receiue some gift: *Manoach* killed a kid, and commaunded his wife to roste the same. And when as all things were in readinesse, the Angell commaunded them to lay the bread and flesh vpon a rock without dishes: which being done, he touched the flesh with a wand which he bare in his hand, and sodainly a flaming fire consumed both the bread, and flesh; and the Angell was seene to ascend vp into heauen in the smoake as it were in a chariot. *Manoach* was affraid least some inconuenient should happen vnto him, by reason that they had in that sort seen God: but his wife recomfirmed him, by reason that God had appeared vnto them for their profit sake. Anon after she became big with childe, and obserued all that which had been commaunded her, and when the infant was borne he called his name *Sampson* (which is as much to say, as strong) who presently endowed with an excellent beauty both of mind and body, vsing his haire vnshorne, and sobriety in his diet, he seemed to make shew in himselfe of some propheticall and more then humane forwardnesse.

The Angell ap-
peareth once
more vnto
Manoach.*Sampsons*
birth.
Iudg. 14.

D It happened one day that there was a solemnity celebrated in *Thamna* a Citie of the *Philistines*, whether *Sampson* resorted with his father and mother, and was surprised with the loue of one of the damels of that place, requiring his father and mother that this mayden might be giuen him in marriage: which they refused to doe, alleaging that she was not of the same linage that he was of, and that God would prouide him of a match to the good and profit of those of his nation: but in the end he preuailed so much, that he espoused the maiden. Now as he ordinarily walked to her parents, it hapned one day, that being disarmed, he met with a Lyon vpon the way, whom he grasped and strangled with his hands; and hauing slaine him, he cast the body of the beast into a wood nor farre distant from the highway. Another day, and at another time, returning in like sort to the damzell, he found a swarme of Bees which went & made their E hony and habitation in the breast of the same beast, and he tooke three hony combs which hee carried with other presents vnto his betrothed. After this he invited the *Thamnites* to the celebration of his marriage, who (for that they suspected his forces) vnder colour to doe him honour, chose out thirty of their strongest and valiantest young men, whom in words they assigned for his companions, but in effect appointed for his guardians; to the end hee might not attempt any commotion at such time as he had drunke deeply: and there was nothing intended but sport, according as it is the custome in other such like occasions. To whom *Sampson* sayd, I wil propose a question vnto you, which if any one of you can resolute, I wil giue each of you a fine linnen shirt, & other vestments in reward of your prudence. They being very desirous both to be reputed wise, as also to gaine the reward which was proposed, willed him to propound his question: which hee did in these termes. He that deuoureth all, and that of himselfe is vnpleasant to be fed vpon, hath brought forth a most pleasant kinde of meate. They travelled for the space of three dayes to find out the sense thereof, but they could not: and therefore they required *Sampsons* best beloved, that shee would found the secrets thereof, and disclose the same vnto them; which if shee failed to performe, they threatened to burn her to death. *Sampson* at the first (notwithstanding all her flatteries and sollicitations) denied to tell it her: at last she vrged him so instantly, and shed so many teares (telling him that if hee did not expound the question vnto her, that

Sampson tear-
eth a lion in
pieces with
his hands.*Sampson* mar-
rieth one of
the daughters
of the Pale-
stines.*Sampson* pro-
poundeth a
riddle to the
Thamnites.

The year of the
world, 2760, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1204.

Ieptha sacrific-
eth his
daughter.

The Ephrai-
mites are in-
censed against
Ieptha.
Jud. 12.

Almost fortie
thousand of the Ephrai-
mites slaine.
Ieptha dieth.
Aslan was for
seuen yeates
space the
Iudge in Israell
Elon raigned
ten yeares.

The year of the
world, 2773, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1191.
Abdon Iudge.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

melting himselfe into teares, he began to check her for that so hastily she had issued forth to meet him, by reason he had consecrated the first thing hee met withall to God. But this accident was no waies displeasing vnto the Damsell, but that she willingly died; both for the victory of her father, and the deliuerance of her brethren: shee therefore besought her father that it would please him to grant her two moneths before shee should be sacrificed, to the end the might lament her youth with her companions: and that after that terme, her father might acquit himselfe of that vow which hee had made. *Ieptha* granted her the terme and time he had limited, which being expired, hee sacrificed his daughter for a burnt offering: which oblation of his was neither conformable to the law, nor agreeable vnto God (by reason he examined not in his vnderstanding before he committed the act, how it would be taken by those that should heare the report thereof).

The tribe of *Ephraim* hearing of his victories, would haue sent out men of warre against him (by reason hee had not communicated his enterprise against the Ammonites with them, but had onely reserved the prey, and vsurped the honour of the execution to himselfe) whereunto he answered first of all, that being of his kinned, they could not be ignorant that both hee, and his were assailed by warre; and had besides that also bene required to giue them their assistance, whereunto they had answered very faintly, and being requested would not be present. Secondly, he told them that that which they vnderooke was both vnlawfull and most wicked, in that not daring to confront or assaile the enimie, they made no bones to set vpon and assault their owne brothers and familiars, threatening them that if they gouerned not themselves, he would (by the assistance of God) be reuenged on them. But these words of his were both neglected & despised, so that he was forced to arme himselfe against them, and with an host of men sent from *Galaad*, he made a great slaughter, partly in pursuing those that fled, partly also in preventing their passage who fled vnto Iordan: and the number of those that were slaine amounted to fortie thousand or thereabouts. But after that *Ieptha* had gouerned fixe yeares hee decessed, and was buried in Sebei, in the place where he was borne, and in the countrey of *Galaad*. After his decess, *Aslan* tooke vpon him the gouernment. He was of the tribe of *Iuda*, of the cite of *Bethleem*, and had sixtie children, thirtie males and thirtie females, which he left all aliue and married: he died when hee was very old, without performing any thing worthe either recitall or memorie, during the space of his seuen yeers gouernment: he was buried in his countrey. *Elon* a *Zabulonite* his successor deferred nothing from him in the same, and during the terme of ten yeeres wherein he gouerned, hee archieued nothing that was worthy commendation. *Abdon* the sonne of *Elon* (of the tribe of *Ephraim* of the cite of *Pharathon*) was declared soueraigne Iudge after *Elon*, and is renowned onely for his felicitie in his children (by reason that the estate was in peace and securitie, and that hee exploited nothing worthy glory) hee had fortie sonnes, who had thirtie other children, and hee rode accompanied with thre seuentie, who were all of them expert on horsebacke. Hee left them all aliue, and died when he was very old, and was magnifically buried in *Pharathon*.

CHAP. X.

Of *SAMPSONS* valour, and how many mischiefs hee did vnto the *Philistines*.

The Israelites
are overcome
by the Pale-
stines.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus. Chap. 13.
al. 10.

The year of the
world, 2783, be-
fore Christs birth
1181.
The Angell
foretelleth
Sampsons
birth.

After his death, the *Philistines* had the vpper hand ouer the *Israelites*, and exacted tribute from them for the space of fortie yeares. From that misery were they ransomed after this manner: *Manoach* (an excellent man, and one of the chiefeft of the tribe of *Dan*, recounted without exception for the onely esteemed Prince amongst them) had a wife most famous for her beautie, and excellent amongst all other of that time; yet had hee no children by her; whereat he was very sore displeased: and for this cause he made his continuall prayers vnto God (departing with his wife to his countrey farme) beseeching him that it might please his maiestie, to grant him some lawfull heire and successeur (now the place which they resorted was situate in a broad Plaine.) Furthermore hee loued his wife so exceedingly, that hee almost doted on her, and for this occasion hee was extremely ielous of her. Whilest thus the woman liued solitarily by herselfe, an Angell of God appeared vnto her in a vision, promising her a goodly, faire and puissant sonne, who denounced vnto her the pleasant message of the birth of her child, which God by his prouidence would bestow vpon her, who should be goodly and admirable in his forces, and vnder whom also (as soone as he should attaine to mans estate) the *Philistines* should endure many ouerthrowes: exhorting her not to cut his haire, commaunding likewise

OF THE IEWES. THE V. BOOKE.

The year of the
world, 2783, be-
fore Christs birth
1181.

The Angell ap-
peareth once
more vnto
Manoach.

Sampsons
birth.
Jud. 14.

Sampson tea-
reth a lion in
pieces with
his hands.

Sampson mar-
rieth one of
the daughters
of the Pale-
stines.

Sampson pro-
poundeth a
riddle to the
Thamaites.

A likewise that he should taste no other drink but water (because that God had so commanded it:) and after he had finished these sayings, he departed according to the pleasure of God. As soone as her husband returned home againe, he told him all that which the Angell had said vnto her, who was amazed at the beauty and greatnesse of the young messenger, who appeared vnto her after so strange a manner, as *Manoach* was almost spent with ielousie and suspition (which such a passion is woont to engender.) But shee desirous to mitigate his discontent, and that distrust which he had vainely and vnadvisedly conceiued; besought God that it might please him once more to send his Angell vnto her, to the intent that her husband might see him. Whilest therefore they liued in this sort out of towne, the Angell presented himselfe againe (thorow the grace of God) and appeared vnto the woman (being apart from her husband.) But she besought him to abide vntill such time as he had called her husband: which when she had obtained, she went and fetcht *Manoach*, who notwithstanding was not deliuered of his suspition: but required him that he would relate againe vnto him all that which he had signified to his wife. The Angell answered him, that it sufficed that the only knew it: whereupon he asked him what he was, to the end that when his sonne should bee borne, hee might both giue him presents, and present him thanks. The Angell answered, that he had no need thereof, by reason that he had not brought that good newes of the birth of his sonne for any necessity that he had: *Manoach* besought him to stay and receiue some token of kindnesse: but he would not consent. Finally, being instantly pressed to abide and receiue some gift: *Manoach* killed a kid, and commanded his wife to roste the same. And when as all things were in readinesse, the Angell commaunded them to lay the bread and flesh vpon a rock without dishes: which being done, he touched the flesh with a wand which he bare in his hand, and sodainly a flaming fire consumed both the bread, and flesh; and the Angell was seene to ascend vp into heauen in the smoake as it were in a chariot. *Manoach* was affraid lest some inconuenient should happen vnto him, by reason that they had in that sort seen God: but his wife recomforted him, by reason that God had appeared vnto them for their profit sake. Anon after she became big with childe, and observed all that which had been commaunded her, and when the infant was borne she called his name *Sampson* (which is as much to say, as strong) who presently endowed with an excellent beauty both of mind and body, vsing his haire vnshorne, and sobriety in his diet, he seemed to make shew in himselfe of some propheticall and more then humane forwardnesse.

D It happened one day that there was a solemnity celebrated in *Thamna* a Citie of the *Philistines*, whether *Sampson* resorted with his father and mother, and was surprised with the loue of one of the damels of that place, requiring his father and mother that this mayden might be giuen him in mariage: which they refused to doe, alleaging that she was not of the same lineage that he was of, and that God would prouide him of a match to the good and profit of those of his nation: but in the end hee preuailed so much, that he espoused the maiden. Now as he ordinarily walked to her parents, it hapned one day, that being disarmed, he met with a *Lyon* vpon the way, whom he grasped and strangled with his hands; and hauing slaine him, he cast the body of the beast into a wood nor farre distant from the high way. Another day, and at another time, returning in like sort to the damsell, he found a swarme of Bees which went & made their honny and habitation in the breast of the same beast, and he tooke three honny combs which hee carried with other presents vnto his betrothed. After this hee inuited the *Thamnites* to the celebration of his mariage, who (for that they suspected his forces) vnder colour to doe him honour, chose out thirty of their strongest and valiantest young men, whom in words they assigned for his companions, but in effect appointed for his guardians; to the end hee might not attempt any commotion at such time as he had drunke deeply: and there was nothing intended but sport, according as it is the custome in other such like occasions. To whom *Sampson* sayd, I wil propose a question vnto you, which if any one of you can resolute, I wil giue each of you a fine linnen shirt, & other vestments in reward of your prudence. They being very desirous both to be reputed wise, as also to gaine the reward which was proposed, willed him to propound his question: which hee did in these termes. Hee that deuoueth all, and that of himselfe is vnpleasant to be fed vpon, hath brought forth a most pleasant kinde of meate. They trauelled for the space of three dayes to find out the sense thereof, but they could not: and therefore they required *Sampson* best beloued, that hee would sound the secrets thereof, and disclose the same vnto them; which if hee failed to performe, they threatened to burn her to death. *Sampson* at the first (notwithstanding all her flatteries and sollicitations) denied to tell it her: at last the vrged him so instantly, and shed so many teares (telling him that if hee did not expound the question vnto her,

The years of the
world, 2791. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1173.
Sam sons
wife discour-
geth the rid-
dle to the
Thamnites.

Sampson kil-
leth certaine
Ascalonites
& his wife
marieth wit
an other.
Judg. 15

Sampson bu
neth the Pal
Rines fruit.

**Sampson is
delivered to
the Philistines**

Sampson with
the law-bone
of an Ass kil-
leth a thou-
sand men.

Sampson by
his prayers
causeth a foun-
taine to brea-
ke out of a rock

Sampson be-
reth away the
gates of Gaza

that he would take it for a certaine signe that he hated her: that at last he told her what had hapned with the Lion which he had slaine, and how in him hee had the three hony combes which hee brought vnto her: and (suspectlesse of either fraud or guile) he deciphered the whole storie vnto her, and the afterwards reported the same to those that had besought her in that behalfe. When as therefore the seuenth day was come wherein the question was to bee decided, they assembled themselues together about sunne set, and said: There is nothing more irksome to meeete withall then a Lyon, neither any thing more pleasant to taste, then hony: Whereunto *Sampson* replied, that there was not any thing more fraudulent then a woman, for shee it is that hath reported say words vnto you. Notwithstanding all this, he deliuered that which he had promised them out of that bootie, which he had taken from certaine Alcalonites, whom he encountered vpon the way. From that time forward hee forsooke this marriage, and the woman (the more to despise him) married one of his friends, who had in his behalfe first solicited the marriage. *Sampson* (being the more incensed by this iniurie) resolved to reuenge himselfe both on her, and the whole nation: For which cause in the sommer season (when the corne was ready to be reape) hee tooke three hundred foxes, to whose tayles he fastned flaming torches, and droue them into the Philistines fields of corne, consuming by this means all their haruest hope. The Philistines vnderstanding that *Sampson* had done this, and conceiuing the reason that induced him to execute this action, sent their garrison to Thamna, and burnt this woman aliuie with all her kindred, as the authors of that losse that had hapned vnto them. After that *Sampson* had slaine diuers Philistines in the countrey, he went and dwelt at Etam (which is a strong rocke in the tribe of Iuda.) For which cause the Philistines assailed that tribe, who certified them that there was no reason why they should suffer for those offences which were committed by *Sampson*, and that in especiall, because they paid them tribute. The Philistines replied, that except they would not be maintainers of this act of iniustice, they should deliuer *Sampson* vnto them. They therefore (desirous that the Philistines should haue no cause of quarrell against them) came vnto the rocke to the number of three thousand men, or therabouts, and blamed *Sampson* for those actions which hee desired to commit against the Philistines (a people that might endanger all the nation of the Hebrewes) alleaging further that they came to the end to take, surprise and deliuer him into the Philistines hands, praying him to submit himselfe voluntary to that their resolution. *Sampson* made them sweare that they would doe him no further iniury, but deliuer him onely vnto their enemies, and that done he descended from the rocke, surrendering himselfe to the hands of those of Iuda, who bound him with two cables, and led him away to deliuer him to the Philistines. Now being arrived in a certaine place, which before that time had no name, and at this present is called the Maxilla, that is to say a iawe (by reason of the valour which *Sampson* shewed in that place) and approaching neere the Philistines campe; shouting and reioicing in their presence, by reason that they had faithfully executed that which they willed them) *Sampson* brake his bonds, and catching vp the iawe of an Asse which hee found at his feete, and marching forth against the Philistines, he slewe and beate downe to the number almost of two thousand of them, putting all the rest to flight and confusion. *Sampson* (becoming more elate after this execution then he ought to haue been, and confessing not that it was done by the assistance of God, but attributing the same to his owne vertue) gloried, that with the iawe of an Asse hee had partly slaine, and partly constrained the enemies both to feare and flie. But being seiled with an exceeding thirst, hee acknowledged and confessed that mans force is of no force, and protested that all ought to be ascribed to God, whom he besought that he would not be displeased with that which he had spoken, but that it might be remitted, and himselfe deliuered from the present danger. Whereupon God heard his prayers, and caused a pleasant and abundant fountaine to issue and spring from the soote of a rocke: for which cause *Sampson* called the place Maxilla or Iaw, which name continueth euen vnto this day. After this battaile *Sampson* set light by the Philistines, and went to Gaza where he sojourned in an Inne. The gouernours of the Citie vnderstanding of his arrivall, set men to keepe the gates, to the end hee might not depart without their knowledge. But *Sampson* (being no waies ignorant of that which they intended against him) arose about midnight and caried away the gates, with the hinges and lockes and all the furniture of the same, and laying them on his shoulders, caried and cast them on the mountaine Hebron. Not long after that hee transgressed the ordinance of his fathers, and corrupted his domestical manner of liuing, conforming himselfe to the fashions of the Gentiles, which was the source and offspring of all his ruine. For he was surprised and intangled with the loue of one that was called *Dalila* (which was a common strumpet amongst the Philistines.) To her resorted the gouernours of the

The year of the
world, 2791. be-
fore Christ's
birth, 1171.
Darius the
trumpet sou-
ndeth Sampson
to finde out
wherein his
strength con-
sisted and is
deluded.

Sampson discovereth to.

The yeare of the
world, 2811. be-
fore Christs na-
tivitye. 2153.

Sampson with
three thou-
sand palestinis
is flaine.
Sampson ru-
led 20. years.

A Philistines, and by promises wrought so much with her, that they wrought her to worke out of him wherein his force consisted, & what the cause was that he might not be apprehended by his enemies. She (conversing with him in drinking and keeping him company) tolde him that she maruailed at his actions, and by subtil insinuations practiced to vnderstand the manner and cause that made him so excellent in vertue. But *Sampson* (that as yet was subtil, staid and well gouerned) in countercheck of her craft answered her: that if he were tyed with seuen vine branches that were young and pliant, hee should become the most feeblest amongst men. Whereupon for that time she contented her selfe; and hauing giuen notice thereof to the gouernours of the Philistines, she had in her house certaine men of warre: then when he was drunke and asleepe, she bound him as strongly fast as might be possible; and sodainly waking him tolde him that certaine soldiers were at hand to assaile him: but *Sampson* brake the bonds of the vine branches, and addressed himselfe to repulse the assaults of those that lay in waight to offend him. The woman, frustrate of that hope which she expected, not long time after that (getting a fit opportunitie, in that *Sampson* conuersed continually) began grieuouly to complaine against him, for that distrusting her loue and constancie, hee had concealed that from her which thee most of all desired to know, as if she had been insufficient to conceale that which might any waies concerne the fortune and safety of her beloued: But he deceiued her the second time, and saide vnto her, that if he were tyed with seuen cordes, he should lose his force. Which when shee had done, and found a contrary issue to her expectation, the third time *Sampson* tolde her, that if she pleighted his haire with a fillet, he should be weakned: and hauing experimented that also, shee found that it was false. Finally (for that a great misfortune attended vpon him) shee besought him so much, that at last hee condescended to gratifie her, and spake to her after this manner. God hath care ouer mee, and I am by his especiall providence bred and brought vp: for this cause I nourish this haire, for that God hath commanded me not to cut the same, because my force shal endure and augment as long as these lockes shall endure and grow. Which when shee vnderstood, she shaued off his haire and betraied him to his enemies, whose forces at that time he was too feeble to resist, who plucked out his eies, and led him away bound: but in space of time his haire grewe againe, and at such time as the Philistines celebrated a publike feast (wherin the Princes and Peeres banquetted and entertained one another in one place, which was a house, the couer whereof was sustained with two pillars) *Sampson* was sent for, and brought to the feast, to the end they might mocke at him in the midst of their feasts and drunkenesse. But he taking it more grieuouly then all other the euils which hee indured, that he might not reuenge himselfe on those that thus iniuriouly did iniure him: hee wrought so much with the boy that led him, that he approached and tooke hold of the foresaid pillars, telling him that he had great neede to repose himselfe, considering the trauell that he had sustained. As soone therefore as hee got holde on them, he shooke them in such a sort, as they were ouerturned, and the house fell vpon those that were therein, who died to the number of three thousand men, with these also died *Sampson*, who finished his daies in this sort, after he had commanded ouer Israel for the space of twenty yeares. He was a man of great vertue, force and magnanimitie: and especially in that which concerneth his end, he merith to be admired at, because that euen vnto his latter houre he was animated against the Philistines. And whereas he was allured and besotted by a woman, it ought to be attributed to humane nature, which is so weake that it cannot resist sinne: otherwise in all other things, we ought to yeeld testimony of his vertue. His kinsfolke tooke his body and buried it in Sarasa his country, by his parents.

How the sonnes of ELI the high Priest were slaine in battell by the Palestines.

F After the decease of *Sampson*, *Eli* the high Priest tooke vpon him the gouernment ouer the Israelites. During his time there was a great famine, and *Elimelech* vnable to endure the miserie thereof, came from Bethleem a Citie of the tribe of *Iuda* to inhabite in the country of Moab, bringing with him *Naomi* his wife, and *Chelion* and *Maalon* his sons, whom he had by her. Now when as his affairs had fallen out with as fortunate successe as might be desired, he married his sonnes to certaine daughters of the Moabites, *Chelion* vnto *Orpha*, and *Maalon* to *Ruth*. Some ten yeares after, *Elimelech* and his sonnes dyed, the one after the other. By which mishappe *Naomi* being cast into great sorrowe and destitute of their companie, whose deare familiaritie she had preferred before the loue of her country: changing her resolution

Ruth 1.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 14
A famine in
the dayes of
Eli.

L 2

(accor-

Naomi after
the decease of
her husband
& son, depar-
teth with Ruth
into her owne
country.
Ruth goeth in-
to Bethleem.
Ruth, 2.
Boos friend to
Naomi and
Ruth.

Ruth, 3.

Ruth by her
mother in law
persuasion li-
eth at Boos
feete.

Ruth, 4

Boos exhor-
teth his kins-
man to marry
Ruth.

(according to those occurrences that had happened her) shee determined to returne vnto her friends, by reason she had receiued intelligence that her countrey at that time was in good estate. But her daughters in law could no waies endure to be separated from her, and will shee still shee, they would needs accompany her: but shee wishing them a more happy mariage then that which they enioyed with her sonnes, and in all other things prosperitie, and protesting vnto them that there was no ability in her to doe them good; shee besought them that they would stay in that place, and not (desiring to follow their wretched mother in lawe in an vncertaine estate) to lose the certaine pleasure and peaceable fruition of their countrey. These her perswasions tooke effect with *Orpha*: but *Ruth* (resolued in no sort to forsake her) attended on her mother in law (as an assured and future companion of whatsoeuer fortune should fall vpon her.) Now when as both of them were arrived in Bethleem, *Boos* (*Abimelechs* kinsman) entertained them in his house: and whereas the Citizens called her by the name of *Naomis*, she said vnto them, that it was more seemely for them to call her *Mara* (for *Naomi* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth good hap, and *Mara* is as much to say as bitterness.) Whereas then it was harvest time, *Ruth* by the permission of her mother, went out into the fields to glean, and gather corne for her sustenance: and it fortuned that she met by good hap in the fields with *Boos*, who came thither likewise not long after; who beholding her, inquired and questioned with the chiefe reaper as touching the woman. Now had he a little before that time vnderstood by her, her whole estate; which he declared vnto his master, who gaue her thanks for the good affection which she bare vnto her mother in lawe, and of the care she had of her deceased sonne, whom *Ruth* had married, wishing her in effect all good fortune: and not suffering her to gleane, he permitted her to reape and to gather all that which the might, commanding his master-reaper that hee should no waies let her from taking whatsoeuer she pleased: giuing order likewise that when the reapers should take their refection, they should giue her both meate and drinke. Now when as *Ruth* had receiued graine at their hands, shee refused it for her mother in lawe, and came home at night and brought her the sheaves. In like manner *Naomi* had reserved a portion of certaine victualls for her, which in way of honour her neighbours had sent her. Vpon her returne *Ruth* reported vnto her all those words that *Boos* had said vnto her: and *Naomi* gaue her to vnderstand that *Boos* was of her kin, & that it might be that he was moued by deuotion towards God to haue care of her. Some other daies after, *Ruth* issued againe with *Boos* handmaids to gather her gleanings. And certaine daies after (and about that time that they threshed barley) *Boos* came and slept on the floore: which *K* when *Naomi* vnderstood, shee bethought her selfe of some subtil practice, whereby shee might make *Ruth* lie with him (presuming that it would be a very good fortune for the young woman if they might growe in acquaintance together) for which cause she sent her to sleepe at his feete. *Ruth* (that made it a conscience to contradict her mother in lawe in whatsoeuer shee commaunded her) repaired thither, and vpon her first arriuall *Boos* perceiued nothing (because he was fast asleepe:) but when he awaked about midnight, and felt that there was some body that lay fast by him, hee demanded what she was: whereupon shee told him her name; requesting him as her master, that he would permit her to repose in that place for that time. But early in the morning before the seruants began to fall to their worke, hee commaunded her to arise, and to take as much barley with her as she could beare, to the end the might returne vnto her mother in lawe, before that any man might perceiue that shee had slept in that place (because it is wisdom to auoide slander, especially at such time when there is occasion offered for a man to speake ill.) Touching the rest (sayd he) the matter standeth thus: Thou hast a kinsman (sayd hee) that is more neere thee in blood then I am; thou must enquire of him, if it be his pleasure to take thee to his wife: and if he saith that he liketh thee, thou then must necessarily submit vnto him: but if hee refuse thee, I will take thee for my wife according as the lawe intendeth. Now when shee had reported these newes vnto her mother in lawe, shee gathered courage and conceived hope that *Boos* would take care of her. Therupon *Boos* came into the City about noone-daies, and called a counsell of the elders, and sent for *Ruth* and his kinsman, to whome in person hee spake thus: Dost thou possesse the heritage of *Abimelech* and his successors? Who when he had publicly declared that he was seised thereof in right of proximity, according to the ordinance of the lawe: *Boos* replied. Thou must not (saith he) onely obserue the lawes in part; but thou must precisely execute them according as they are. For, behold here a young woman, whom it behooueth thee to marry according to the lawe, if thou wilt be inheritor of his possessions. But hee surrendred vnto *Boos*, not onely the possessions, but also the woman; by reason that *Boos* was allied also to those that were dead, and especially for that the said kinsman had already both wife & children.

Boos

A *Boos* therefore (knowing first of all taken witness of all the counsell) called for the woman, and quilled her to draw neere vnto her kinsman, and to vnloose his shoe, and strike him on the face (according as the lawe had ordained) which done, *Boos* espoused *Ruth*, by whom (about a yeare after) shee had a sonne, which *Naomi* brought vp; and by the aduice of the women shee called his name *Obed* (because shee had nourished him in her age: for *Obed* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth a thing by *Obed* begate *Iesse*, and *Iesse* begate *Dauid*, who was king, and whoso leste the seede to his successors for one and twentie generations of men. I haue bene enforced to declare these things as touching *Ruth*, because I haue an intent to declare the power of God, by whome it is possible to rayle men from obscuritie to the highest tippe and title of dignitie, as hee hath chosen *Dauid*, who descended from these of whome I haue spoken.

Boos beget-
teth *Obed* Da-
uid's grandfa-
ther vpon *Ruth*.
1. King. 2.

B The affaires of the Hebrewes were at this time in very poore estate; and they armed themselves anew against the Philistines vpon this occasion. The high Priest *Eli* had two sonnes, *Ophni* and *Phinees*. They against all right and law (offering outrages to men; and vrging impieties against God) suffered no sinne to ouerslip them which they committed not: for they tooke presents (partly in way of honour, partly raiused by force and rapine.) And as touching those women that came vnto the Tabernacle in way of deuotion, they abused them, and raiusing some against their wils, and corrupting some other by presents; they so lewdly liued, that their life seemed to be a true and licentious tyranny: for this cause their father was sore displeased with them, but the people were so much the more ouerbardened with griefe, because as yet they perceiued not that Gods punishment should so sodainly fall vpon them. But incontinently after that God had declared to *Eli* and the Prophet *Samuel* (who about that time was very young) what mishap should fall vpon *Eli*'s children, hee mourned ouer them, as if they had been already dead. (But I wil first of all declare somewhat vnto you as concerning the Prophet *Samuel*, and afterwards wil I speake of the children of *Eli*, & what inconuenient fell vpon all the Hebrew nation.) *Elcana* was a Leuite of base condition, living in Ramatha a part of Ephraim: he had married two wiues, the one called *Anna*, the other *Phenanna*: by *Phenanna* he had children; yet notwithstanding loued hee *Anna* very intirely, although shee were barren. Now as *Elcana* with his wiues repaired to Silo, where the Tabernacle of God was resident (as we haue before declared) to the intent to offer sacrifice in that place: whilst I say, during the festiuall he distributed the portion of his meat to his wiues and children. *Anna* (beholding the children of his other wife sitting round about their mother) began to weep and lament with her selfe, because she was without issue and alone. And after that by her griefe shee had overcome all that consolation which her husband could giue her, she went vnto the Tabernacle to beseech God that it might please him to giue her a sonne, and make her a mother; promising that her first begotten sonne should be dedicated vnto the seruice of God; and should lead a particular life farre differing from that of other liuing men. And for that she employed long time in making her prayers, the high Priest *Eli*; who sate before the Tabernacle, commaunded her to depart from thence, supposing that shee had tasted too much wine: but after that shee had tolde him that shee drunk nothing but water, and that (being oppressed with griefe) shee was come into the Tabernacle to beseech God that it might please him to graunt her children; hee exhorted her to be of good courage, promising that God had heard her prayers: whereupon shee returned to her husband replenished with good hope, and took her repast with ioy and gladnes. When as then they returned to their owne house, she began to wax bigge with childe, and at last she bare a little young sonne, whom shee called *Samuel* (that is to say, Requested at Gods hands.) Afterwards they returned to offer sacrifice and giue thanks vnto God for the birth of the child, which God had giuen them, and to bring their tenths; wherupon the woman (remembering her of the vow shee had made in his behalfe) deliuered him into the hands of *Eli*; and consecrated him vnto God to bee his Prophet. For which cause they suffered his haire to growe, and hee dranke nothing but water, and *Samuel* was nourished and brought vp in the Temple: *Elcana* had by *Anna* other sonnes and three daughters. But as touching *Samuel* (incontinently after he attained to the age of twelue yeares) he prophesied. On a certaine night therefore whilst he slept, God called him by his name: and he supposing that the high Priest had wakened him, came vnto him: but he told him that he had not called him. This notwithstanding, God continued to call him three times: whereat *Eli* being sore amazed, he said vnto him, *Samuel*, I neither now at this present, nor before this time haue spokē vnto thee, but it is God that calleth thee, answere him therefore, and say here I am. Now it chanced that he heard the voice of God once more; and he required him that it might please him to speake, and he would answere, not

Ophni and
Phinees the
wicked sons
of *Eli* the
high Priest.
Hedo; 8. Ruth.
1. King. 2.

Anna the wife
of *Elcana* re-
quireth a son
at Gods hand.
The year of the
world, 2818. be-
fore Christs na-
tivity, 1146.

Anna bare
Samuel to *El-
cana* her hus-
band.

L 2

failing

failling any waies to doe him seruice in that wherein he should command him. Wherunto God G answered saying: Since (saith he) thou art here, know that so great a calamity shall fall vpon the Israelites, that there is not any tongue that may expresse the same, or man that may belieue it. The sonnes of Eli shall die, and the Priesthood shall be transported into the family of Eleazar: For, Eli hath more loued his children then my seruice, and more then was expedient for them. Eli enforced the Prophet by imprecations to declare vnto him that, which he had heard. But Samuel (for feare he should discomfort him) would not disclose the same vnto him, which made him the more assured of the intended and imminent death of his sonnes. And because that which Samuel prophesied in effect proued true, his reputation increased dayly more and more.

In that time the Philistines (leading out their armie against the Israelites) incamped neere H vnto the City of Ampec, and for that the Hebrewes were negligent to withstand them, they passed further into the countries therabout: so that in fighting with their enemies, the Philistines at last got the vpper hand, and slew the Hebrewes, and had them in chace for the space of foure miles, pursuing the rest of those that fled euen vnto their owne rents. Wherupon the Hebrewes grew ielous and affraid of their whole estate: and therefore sent they to the counsell of the Elders and the high Priest, praying them to bring the Arke of God with them, to the end that (hauing it in presence with them) they might strike the battell and ouercome their enemies. But they bethoght them not, that he that had pronounced the sentence of their calamitie against the, was greater then the Arke which was made for him. The Ark then was brought, and the sonnes of Eli attended it, whom their father had expressly commanded, that if it so fell out that the Arke I were taken, they should neuer more come before his presence, except they would die. Now Phinees executed the office of the high Priest, by the permission of his father, by reason he was very aged.

The Hebrewes (because of the presence of the Arke) conceived very great hope and assurance, that they should haue the vpper hand of their enemies. The Philistines likewise were sore amazed, fearing the presence of the same: but the issues were not answerable according to the one or the others expectation. For when they ioyned battell, the victory which the Hebrewes hoped should be theirs, fel vnto the Philistines; & the losse which the Philistines feared, fel vpon the Hebrewes, who at last perceived that they had reposed their confidence on the Arke all in vaine. For as soone as their enemies, and they fought pell mell with them, they turned their backs, and lost about thirty thousand men, amongst whom the sonnes of the high Priest were slaine, and the Arke was taken and carried away by the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

Eli vnderstanding of the losse of his sonnes, fell from his seate and dyed.

AS soone as the newes of this ouerthrow was brought into Silo, and that it was certainly knowne that the Arke was taken (for a young Beniamite, who was at the execution, L was come to bring tidings thereof) all the Citie was filled with sorrow: and Eli the high Priest (who sat in one of the gates on a high throne) vnderstanding the lamentation, and iudging that some disaster had befallen his people; sent to seeke out this young messenger, by whom hee was aduertised of that which had hapned. This accident of his sonnes and the army he bare with great moderation, because that before that time he had vnderstood by God what should happen (for those aduersities which are least suspected do more grievously oppress vs, at such time as they happen:) But when he knew that the Arke was surprisid, and in the enemies hands, by reason that it hapned beyond his expectation, he was in such sort attainted with griefe, that he suffered himselfe to fall from his throne vpon the ground, where he died: he liued ninety and eight yeares in all, and had spent forty of them in the government of the people.

The same day died the wife of Phinees the sonne of Eli, who had no more power to liue when she vnderstood of the misfortune of her husband: for she was with child at such time as the message of this his death was brought vnto her, and she brought forth a sonne in the seauenth month, which liued and was called Ichabod (which signifieth ignominie) by reason of the infamy receiued at that time by the army.

Eli was the first that gouerned among the successors of Ishamar, one of the sonnes of Aaron: for

Eli vnderstandeth of the losse of his sonnes, and the surprisall of the Arke.

Eli hearing of the losse of the Arke died.

Phinees wife bare Ichabod and died.

A for before that time the house of Eleazar was possessed of the Priesthood (the sonne receiuing it from his father) Eli transferred it to Phinees, after him Abiezar his sonne occupied the place, & left it to his sonne Bori, whose sonne called Ozai receiued it, after whom Eli (of whom we speake at this present) tooke the same, whose posteritie remained that dignitie till the time of the raigne of Salomon: for at that time the posteritie of Eleazar were reinstalled.

THE SIXTH BOOKE

OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 6. Booke.

- 1 How the Palestines compelled by pestilence and famine, sent the Arke of God backe againe vnto the Hebrewes.
- 2 The victorie of the Hebrewes vnder the conduct of Samuel.
- 3 How Samuel when his strength failed him thorow age committed the administration of the affaires to his sonnes.
- 4 How the people being offended with the manners of Samuels sonnes, required a King that might rule ouer them.
- 5 Saul by Gods commandement was annointed King.
- 6 Sauls victorie against the Ammonites.
- 7 The Palestines assailing the Hebrewes, are ouercome by them in battell.
- 8 The victorie of Saul against the Amalechites.
- 9 Samuel translateth the Royall dignitie vnto Dauid.
- 10 The expedition of the Palestines against the Hebrewes.
- 11 Dauids single fight with Goliath, and the slaughter of the Palestines that succeeded.
- 12 Saul admiring Dauids fortitude, giueth him his daughter in marriage.
- 13 How the King sought Dauids death.
- 14 How Dauid oftentimes hardly escaped from the kings treasons, yet hauing him twice in his power how he would not hurt him.
- 15 The Hebrewes are ouercome in a great battell by the Palestines, wherein Saul the king, and his sonnes fighting valiantly are slaine.

CHAP. I.

How the Palestines compelled by pestilence and famine, sent backe the Arke of conemant vnto the Hebrewes.

After that the Philistines had gotten the victorie ouer the Hebrewes, and taken the sacred Arke (as we haue before this declared) they brought it with other their spoiles vnto the Citie of Azot, and placed it in manner of a trophee in the Temple of Dagon their Idoll. But on the next day after (when ereely in the morning they came and entred into the Temple to adore their God) they found him fallen from that base or pillar that sustained him, and lay along vpon the ground, his face vpward before the Arke; whereat being moued, they tooke and fastned him in his former place: and when as they came verie oftentimes thither, and alwaies found him prostrate, and adoring before the Arke, a great feare and perturbation inuaded the whole people. At length a grievous plague, not onely raunged in the Citie of Azot, but also seized on all the inhabitants of the country. For the people being sodainly taken with the flixe, died in great torment, and some of them vomited vp their bowels, being corrupted and corroded with the disease. Besides this, the whole land swarmed with mice, who destroying all things, neither spared the corne, nor any other fruit. The Azotians being thus oppressed with these calamities, & viable any longer to indure the same, vnderstood that the Arke was

The year of the world 2850. before Christ's Nativity. 1114. The genealogy & progeny of Eli the high priest.

1 King. 5. Hebio & Rafinus. chap. 1. The sacred Arke is carried into the Temple of Dagon. They of Azot are horribly plagued for taking away the Arke. Mice deuoured the fruit of the country of Azot.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

1 King. 6.

Consultation
about the
Arke.The conclu-
sion of the
counsaile as
touching the
sacred Arke.

was the cause thereof, and that neither the victorie, neither the surprisall of the same, had any G waies procured either their good or profit. They therefore sent vnto the Ascalonites, requiring them that they would receive the Arke into their Citie, who (willingly condescending to their embassage and demand) received the Arke, and were presently plagued with the same sicknesses and mishaps which the Azotians had suffered. For together with the Arke, the calamities also were translated, for which cause it was likewise sent from this place into another, with whom it remained but a little while; for the inhabitants of that place being afflicted by the same grievances which the other endured, sent it to their neighbour Cities, so that after this sort the Arke was conuayed to five Cities of the Palestines: (exacting as it were by those plagues a tribute in euerie one of them of violated religion) who wearied with so many evils, and made examples vnto others not to entertaine the Arke, which so grievously recompensed those that required the same; perceived that there was no other waie left them but to finde out some good meanes to rid themselves of the same. When as therefore the Princes of the five Cities, of *Geth, Accaron, Ascalon, Gaza, and Azot*, were assembled, they consulted amongst themselves what were best to be done, and first of all they resolved to send backe the Arke vnto those to whom it appertained, whoe captiuitie God did reuenge in that with it many plagues entred into the same Region, and ceased not to waste both their men and their countrey. There were some that said that this resolution was vnseemly to be executed, denying that these things should be imputed to the captiuitie of the Arke (whose power if it were so great as they intended, or if God had any waies care of the same; hee would neuer haue permitted it to haue fallen into the hands of men of a contrarie religion) perswading them to digest these misfortunes with an equall mind, and so to thinke that all these things were nothing else but the effects of nature, which in certaine periods of times is wont to ingenerate in mens bodies, in the earth, and in plants (and in other things subiect to her power) these kinds of alterations and mutations. But the counsell of those men, that had approved their vnderstanding and wisdom in times past, was preferred before their opinion. For the assistants supposed that in this deliberation, as also their opinion and counsell was most conuenient. They therefore aduised that the Arke should be sent backe and not retained, and that the five Cities should dedicate five golden statues in testimonie of their gratitude, because they had bene preserued by his fauour from that plague, from which by humane remedies it was impossible to escape: they annexed also so many golden mice vnto them; like vnto those that spoiled their countrey. All these locked in a chest and laid vpon the Arke, they K commanded that a new Cart should be built, and that they should yoke and tie to the same certaine kine that had new calued, locking vp their calues from them, least they should be an impediment to their dammes, & (to the intent that thorow the desire to see their young) they should haste the faster. That done, that driving the chariot and them, they should leaue them in a place that had three waies, and suffer them to draw that way that them listeth: and if they tooke the way of the Hebrews, and should trauell towards their countrey, they then should assure themselves that it was the Arke which was the cause of their evils; but if they drew another way, let them (said they) be driuen backe againe, being most assured that the Arke hath no such vertue in it. This counsell was approved by euery one of the assembly, and presently effected: so hauing prepared all those things whereof we haue spoken, they brought the chariot into a high way L that extended three waies, and leauing it in that place they returned backe againe.

CHAP. II.

The victorie of the Hebrewes vnder the conduct of SAMUEL.

The year of the
world 2851. be-
fore Christs birth
1113.
The sacred
Arke cometh
to Bethsana.
The gratulation
of the Beth
sanaites vpon
the arrival of
the Arke.

NOW when the kine entred and kept the right beaten way, & trauielled therein no other waies then if some men had led them, the gouernours of the Philistines followed after the, desirous to vnderstand whicher they would trauel, & in what place they would rest both themselves & the chariot. There is a borough in the tribe of Iuda called Bethsana, M towards which they drew: and although they had a very fair Plaine before them, yet would they not trauell any further, but rested the chariot in that place. The inhabitants came vnto this spectacle, and greatly reioyced thereat: for although it was sommer time (wherein euery one busied himself in gathering in the fruits of the field) yet so it was, that when they perceiued the Arke, they were so transported with the pleasure that they had, that they laid aside the work which they had in hand, and ran presently vnto the chariot. Then taking downe the Arke and the Cofer (wherein the

The year of the
world 2851. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1113.Rufinus writeth
that God
strooke 70. of
the greatest,
and 3000. of
the common
sort, as it is,
2. Kin. 6. 1. Kin. 7.The Arke is
transferred
into Cariathiarim.Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2.
The punishment
of the
Israelites.Samuels ora-
tion to the
people.

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A the statues of gold and golden rats were) they laid them vpon a certaine rocke in the field, and after they had solemnly sacrificed and royally feasted together, they offered vp both the chariot and kine for a burnt offering vnto God: Which when the Princes of the Palestines perceiued, they returned backe againe into their owne countrey. But Gods indignation and displeasure was whetted against the Bethsanaites: so that leuentic of them were slain, by reason they had touched the Arke, & with prophane hands (not being Priests) attempted to sustaine it. For which cause the inhabitants thereabouts lamented their losse, and mourned for that their countymen were extinguished by no fatall death, but by a punishment and plague sent from God, lamenting in particular euerie one of their alliance. And supposing that they were vnworthy that the Arke should remaine with them, they sent messengers to the gouernours and the rest of the Hebrewes, to let them vnderstand that they had recovered the Arke out of the hands of the Philistines; who being made priue to euerie accident, placed the same in Cariathiarim a Citie bordering vpon the Bethsanaites. In that place there dwelt a man of the race of the Leuites called *Aminadab* (who had the honour and reputation of a good man, and was renowned for his good and godly life), to his house directed they the Arke, as to a place agreeable vnto God, because there dwelled in the same a man of so much vertue. His sonnes had the charge of the Arke, and continued in that seruice for the space of twenty yeares, during which time it remained in Cariathiarim, after it had onely remained 4. moneths with the Philistines. During the time that the Arke was in the Citie of Cariathiarim, all the people conuerted themselves vnto God with prayers and sacrifices, shewing great deuotion and forwardnesse in his seruice. The Prophet C *Samuel* perceiuing this their readines in courage, and supposing hee had got a fit occasion to exhort them vnto libertie, and those profits which consequently follow the same; and applying his speech vnto the opportunitie, time, & affaires, spake vnto the such words as founded to this effect. Yee men of Israel, since at this present the Philistines cease not to molest you, and God beginneth to shew himselfe merciful and fauourable vnto you: it behooueth you, not only to be touched with a desire to recover your liberty, but also to endeavour your selues to purchase the same in effect. Beware therefore least thorow your owne manners you make your selues vnworthy thereof, and let each one of you endeavour to follow iustice, and expelling all sinne out of your mindes, conuert your selues in all puritie vnto God, and perseuere constantly in his seruice. For in doing these things, you shall shortly obtaine all felicitie, and especially purchase vnto your selues a new libertie, and an assured victorie against your enemies; which neither by armes, neither by the strength of your bodies, neither by the multitude of your armies, you were able to obtaine: for God hath not proposed rewards for these things, but for vertue and iustice; who (trust me) will not deceiue your expectation, nor faile in the execution of his promises. When hee had spoken after this manner, all the people testified their consent in good words, shewing the pleasure they had conceiued by his discourse; promising together that which should be well liking and agreeable vnto God. Whereupon *Samuel* assembled them the second time in the citie of Maspha (which word signifieth conspicuous) there erected they an altar and sacrificed vnto God, and after they had fasted for a daies space, they publicly addressed them to call vpon the name of God. The Philistines in the mean space, who were assembled together in the same place, E had an inkling of that which the Hebrewes did, and being certified of this assembly came with a great multitude and many forces, intending to intrap the Hebrewes, who neither expected or were prepared for them. This sodaine attempt of theirs fore dismaied and troubled the Hebrewes: and saits of so that they repairing and running vnto *Samuel*, told him that their hearts failed them thorow feare, and their minds were troubled thorow the remembrance of those precedent losses which they had received: For which cause they ought to hold themselves in quiet, for feare least the enemy should enforce his power against them. Whilest (said they) thou hast led vs hither to pray, sacrifice, & offer vp our vowes vnto God, they are encamped neer vnto vs, being ready to surpris vs that are naked and disarmed: we haue no other hope therefore of our securitie, but that proceed from thee and God; who being moued by thy prayer, may giue vs meanes to escape from their hands. *Samuel* in way of answer wised them to be of good cheere, promising them that God would yeeld them some testimonie of his assistance; whereupon sacrificing a sucking kid for the people, he besought God that it might please him to stretch forth his right hand for them in this battell against the Philistines, and that he would not permit them to fall this second time into the enemies hands. To these prayers of his, God listened with intencie cares, and accepted their humble hearts and durifull obseruance, smiling vpon their offering, and promising them both force, and victorie. But before the sacrifice was wholly consumed with flame, and the ceremonies

The year of the
world 2851. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1113.
The prayers
supplications
of the
Israelites
in Maspha.What things
in warfare are
to be opposed
against the
enemies.
Samuel com-
mended the
people.
Samuels sacri-
fice & pray-
er.

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The year of the world, 2871, before Christ's Nativity, 1093. The sacrifice deuoured by celestial flame a token of Gods assistance. A horrible earthquake among the enemies.

Samuels victorie ouer the enemy.

Samuel reco-uereth those lands which the Israelites had lost.

remories performed; the enemies arranged their battels in the Israelites sight, supposing that the day was alreadie theirs, in that they had intercepted the Iewes who were vnprepared for the fight (who were not onely disappointed, but also assembled in that place to no such end.) But the matter fell out farre contrarie to that which they expected (and had they beene foretold the same, they had scarcely beleueed it.) For first of all by Gods commaundement the earth trembled vnder their feete, and with vncertaine pace they knocked their heads the one against the other; some likewise were sodainly swallowed vp by the earthquake: at length astonished by often flashes, and hauing both their eyes and hands halfe blasted and burned by the fierie lightnings that fell (so that they could not wield nor mannage their weapons) they reposed all their hope and confidence in flight. But *Samuel*, seeing them in this sort dismayed, sodainly set vpon them, and killing many of them, he ceased not to pursue the rest as farre as a place called *Corraus*, where hee fixed and erected a stone or trophée, as a mark both of his owne victorie, and the enemies flight, and called the same the strong rocke; as a witnesse of the force that God had giuen him against the Philistines: who after they had receiued this ouerthrow, sallied not out any more against the Israelites. But remembring themselves of their feare and those accidents that fell vpon them, they remained in peace, offering no further inuasion: for the confidence which the Philistines had before that time conceiued and gotten against the Hebrewes, translated it selfe and remained with the Hebrewes euer after this victorie. And *Samuel* led forth his armie against them, and slew a great number of them, and for euer abased their pride, taking from them that country which before times they by conquest had cut off from the inheritance of the Iewes, which country extendeth it selfe from the frontire of Geth, to the Citie of Accaron: and the rest of the Chanaanites at that time had peace with the Israelites.

CHAP. III.

SAMUEL weakened by reason of his olde age cannot any longer gouerne the estate, and committeth it to the administration of his sonnes.

Samuel prescribeth lawes and disposeth the kingdom feat in seuerall cities.

Hedio & Rufinus. cha. 3. 1. King. 8. Samuel committeth the government & care of the commonweale to his two sons Ioel and Abia.

Now when the Prophet *Samuel* had reduced and brought the people to a good forme of government, he assigned them a Citie whither they might appeale, and decide those differents that might fall out amongst them: and as touching himselfe, hee tra-uailed twice euerie year from citie to citie, to administer iustice vnto them, and continued the maintenance of this policie for a long time. But as soone as hee perceiued himselfe to be ouerburdened with yeares, and vnapt to execute his ordinary offices, he referred the government and superintendence of the people to his sonnes, the elder of whom was called *Ioel* and the yonger *Abia*; and he commanded that the one of them should make his seate of iustice in Bethel, and that the other should giue audience at Bersabe, diuiding the people, and attributing each part to his particular fudge. In these was there a manifest example and infallible testimonie, that children are not alwaies borne like vnto their fathers: but that sometimes of euill parents there are good children bred, as contrariwise at that time of a good father there were euill sonnes begotten. For forsaking the instructions of their father, they followed a quite contrarie course; and oppressed iustice thorow corruptions and rewards; and, swallowed vp and surfeited in delights and pleasures, they both contemned the will of God, and the instructions of their father, who had no other care, then that the people should study to liue well, and vprightly.

CHAP. IIII.

How the people being displeased with the manners and government of the sonnes of SAMUEL demanded a King.

The Israelites report vnto Samuel the lewd behaviour of his sons, and beseech him to nominate a king that may reigne ouer them.

When as therefore the people perceiued, that the sonnes of the Prophet had committed so many outrages against their lawes and policie, they were verie sore displeased; and had recourse vnto their father where hee dwelled in the Citie of Ramatha; where reckoning vp vnto him the misdeameanors of his sonnes, and how thorow the multitude of his yeares, hee was vnfit according to his accustomed manner to administer the affaires of the common weale, they earnestly intreated and besought him, that hee would nominate and elect some King ouer them, who might both command their nation and Empire, and exact due punishment

ment on the Palestines; for their many and too oftentimes offered iniuries. This resolution of the people grievously tormented *Samuels* minde, who by reason of his innated and vpright iustice misliked of the kingly authoritie, as a stile and state too imperious: for he greatly delighted himselfe in the Aristocracie or government of the elders, deeming no estate more conduible, or available for the securitie and prosperitie of the people, then that was. And so did this matter distemper and distract this man, as by reason of his care he could neither tast food, nor entertaine sleep: but all the night long tossed and tumbled in his bed, during those times complotting and imagining many things in his mind. Whilest these his indispositions continued, God appeared vnto him and comforted him, willing him not to bee aggrieved at that which the people had required: but that he should suppose that this iniurie, not onely concerned him, but God himselfe, whom they disclaimed also for their king and sole gouernour ouer them. The effect whereof they had complotted, from the day that they departed out of Aegypt: but ere it be long (said he) they shall repent themselves, yet shall not their repentance vndoe that which shall be done; and it shall appeare by those counsailes they haue taken, that they haue bin contemners & ingratefull toward me by their owne confession, and towards thee also which hast bene their Prophet. I will therefore that thou choole them a king, and such a one as I shal nominate vnto thee, after thou hast aduertised them what euils they shall endure (at such time as they shall haue a King) & hast publickly declared vnto them, what inconuenients follow the change which so vehemently and vnpolitely they pursue. When *Samuel* vnderstood these sayings, he assembled the people about the break of day, and protested publickly vnto them, that he would establish them a King. But saith hee, before I shall effect that which you request, I must expose and declare vnto you what estate you shall liue in, being vnder the subiection of royaltie; and how many and grievous euils you shall be oppressed withall, by those Kings that shall gouerne you. Know therefore first of all, that they will take your children from you, & make some of them coachmen, & other some their horsemen and archers of their guard, others their posts and tribunes and centurions; some likewise their handicraftsmen, and armorers, and charior-makers, and smiths, and forgers of other sorts of weapons, besides husbandmen of his fields, and plowes, and diggers of his vineyards: neither is there any thing which they shal not be compelled to do after the maner of bondslaves, that are bought with money. They shall take your daughters also, and make them their perfumers, cooks and bakers; & they shall employ them in all seruile offices, whereunto their chambermaides are to be imployed either by stripes or torture. They shall take from you your substance, & giue it to their Eunuchs, and guard. They shall take your flocks, and distribute them amongst their seruants: In a word, you & all yours shall serue one king, and shal be of no better reckoning then the slaves of his household. When you shall endure these paines, then shall you call to remembrance all these things which I haue told you, and with repentance you shall beseech God, that he will haue mercie vpon you, and giue you a speedy deliuerance from the seruitude of your kings: but he shall not respect your prayers, but neglecting and repelling them, shall suffer you to beare the penaltie of your euill counsaile. Although these future inconueniences were foretold them, yet did the people neglect and set light by them: and not suffering that sinister opinion which before that time they had conceived in their minds, to be alred or frustrated in them, they insisted with al obstinacy, requiring (without any care of future mishaps) that they might haue a king created ouer them, because (as they said) it was very necessarie that they should haue a king that might wage warre with them, to reuenge them on their enemies, and repress their aduersaries forces, and that there was no absurditie in it, but that they might be gouerned in the same sort as their neighbours were. *Samuel* perceiuing that his perswasions could preuaile nothing at all with them, and that they could not be diuerted from that resolution wherein they persisted, he spake thus: Go your waies for this time euerie one of you vnto your houses, and I will cause you to bee assembled when the cause requireth, and when God shall haue informed me what king he will giue you.

CHAP. V.

SAMUEL by the commandement of God is declared King.

Here was a certaine man of the tribe of *Beniamin*, noble in birth, and commendable in manners called *Cis*, who had a young sonne faire in face, great in body, hauing a spirit and iudgement farre more excellent then were the lineaments and perfections of his body, whose name was *Saul*. This *Cis* hauing faire Asses, wherein hee tooke more pleasure then

The year of the world, 2871, before Christ's Nativity, 1093. Hedio, & Rufinus. chap. 4. Samuel is discontented at the row the people demand. Samuel is comforted by God.

God commaundeth Samuel to create a king.

Samuel exposteth vnto the Israelites those inconueniences they shall suffer vnder a king.

The people obstinately perseuereth in craving a king.

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The year of the
world, 2830, be-
fore Christ. 26-
bisite, 1084.
Saul seeketh
the Asles that
were lost.

in any other kinde of cattell, had lost certaine of them which were strayed from the rest of his G. flocke: whereupon he sent his son accompanied with a seruant to search & seeke them out; who hauing trauesed and trauelled in quest of them thorow al his fathers tribe, iourneied thorow the rest of the tribes, without any hope or inkling of them: for which cause hee determined to retorne home againe, for feare least his father should conceiue some care and griefe in his absence. Whilest then hee arriued neere vnto the Citie of Ramatha, the seruant that followed him, certifi- ed him that there dwelt a Prophet in that place, to whose foresight the knowledge of the truth was subiect, towards whom hee counsailed him to adresse himselfe, with assurance and confi- dence, that by him hee should vnderstand what was become of his Asles. *Saul* replied, that hee had no meanes left to recompence the Prophet, by reason they had consumed all the money they had brought forth with them in their iourney. His seruant told him that he had as yet the fourth part of a sicke, which they might giue him: but they were both of them deceived, in that they were ignorant that the Prophet was not to be bribed. When as therefore they drew neere vnto the gates of the Citie, they met with certain maidens that went out to fetch water, of whom they demanded where the Prophet dwelt: who gaue them directions, telling them that they were to make haste before that he were set downe to supper, by reason he at that time entertain- ed diuers guests, and he himselfe was first wont to sit downe at the upper end of the table. *Samuel* had inuited this company, by reason that all the day long hee had instantly besought God, that hee would declare vnto him, who it was that should be established king, and God also gaue him to vnderstand that hee would informe him the next day after, and that about the same houre hee would send a young man vnto him of the tribe of *Beniamin*. For this cause *Samuel* sat in his house expecting the asignation: which being come, hee came downe vnder pretence to go to supper, and in the way he met with *Saul*. At that verie instant God signified vnto *Samuel*, that it was he whom he should elect Prince and gouernour ouer the people.

Saul asketh
where the Pro-
phet dwelleth.

God certifi-
eth Samuel
whom he
should create
king.

Saul cometh
vnto Samuel.
Samuel certi-
fieth Saul how
he shall enioy
the kingdom.
Samuel con-
ducteth Saul
vnto the ban-
quet.

1 King. 10.
Samuel an-
ointed Saul
king.

Samuel in way
of confirmati-
on telleth Saul
what shall be-
fortune him
in his iourney

Saul addressing himselfe vnto *Samuel*, besought him that he would shew him the Prophets lod- ging, by reason that hee was a stranger and knew it not. *Samuel* told him that himselfe was the man to whom hee spake, and led him to the banquet; assuring him that his Asles (in search of whom he had trauelled so long) were in safetie, and that all mens goods were at his commaund. *Saul* answered: My Lord, I am too base to hope or expect so much; and further, my familie is the least of all the families: you therefore iest and mocke at me, in speaking of such things as sur- passe my condition. The Prophet tooke him by the hand, and brought both him and his ser- uant to the table, and placed him aboue all those that were inuited, who were to the number of seuentie. *Samuel* commanded that the royall portion should be set before *Saul*: and when the houre of bed time came, all the rest arose and departed to their houses, but *Saul* and his seruant lodged that night with the Prophet: and as soone as it was day, *Samuel* awaked *Saul*, and depart- ing with him out of towne, he commanded him to send his seruant before, and to remaine him- selfe with him behind, because he had certaine things to impart vnto him in priuate. Hereupon *Saul* sent away his seruant, and *Samuel* taking a cruet with oyle, poured the same vpon the yong mans head, and embracing him said: Be thou king elected by God against the Philistines, and for the defence of the Hebrewes. Thou shalt haue this signe which I now shall informe thee of, of thy future honour. When thou shalt bee parted from hence, thou shalt overtake three men in the way, who trauell to Bethel to adore and sacrifice vnto God: the first of which, thou shalt see bearing three loaves, the second shall beare a goat, and the third shall follow carrying a glasse of wine. These shall embrace thee and caresse thee: they shall giue thee two loaves, and thou shalt receiue them. And from thence shalt thou depart vnto that monument that beareth the name of Rachel, where thou shalt meete with a messenger, that shall certifie thee that the Asles are found. From thence comming vnto Gabatha, thou shalt finde the Prophets assembled in their congregation, and being rauished by the spirit of God, thou shalt prophecy amongst them: so that whosoeuer shall behold thee, shall be rauished in admiration, and shall say: VVhence cometh it to passe, that the sonne of *Cis* hath attained to so good fortune? and when thou hast had these signes, know that God shall be with thee: salute thy father and thy kinsmen in my behalfe. Hereafter thou shalt repaire and be sent vnto me vnto Galgal, to offer sacrifices of thanksgiuing vnto God. Hauing in this manner told and foretold him that which is forespoken, hee gaue him licence to depart; and all these things hapned vnto *Saul*, according as the Prophet *Samuel* had prophesied vnto him. When *Saul* was arriued at *Abners* house, who was his vnckle (whome he loued aboue all the rest of his other familiars:) *Abner* questioned with him about his voiage, and as touching those things which had chaunced vnto him: and *Saul* had nothing from him, but

A but point by point informed him of all that which had hapned vnto him, during his being and a- board with the Prophet *Samuel*, and how he had declared vnto him the recouerie of his Asles: but as touching the royaltie, and those things that concerned the same, hee concealed them; suppo- sing that if it should be made knowne, it would not be beleueed; but that hee should reape hate thereby. For although he were both his friend and couzen, yet thought he it more secure and conuenient for him to burie the same in silence: reputing (as I suppose) in himselfe the infir- mitie of mans nature, that no man is constant in loue, but although by manifest assistance from God, felicitie fall vpon any man, yet other men do grieue & repine that any one should be prefer- red before them.

The year of the
world: 2880, be-
fore Christ.
Saul concea-
led his royall
dignitie.
The incon-
stance of
mans loue.

After this, *Samuel* assembled the people in the Citie of Maspha, where he framed his speech in B such sort, as he certified them of those things which he had receiued from God, namely that hee hauing procured their libertie, and brought their enemies in subiection vnder them; next how they were forgetfull of so many benefites, and had degraded God of his royaltie; as if they were ignorant, that the greatest good that might happen vnto men, is to be gouerned by him that is the soueraigne good; how they had determined to haue a man to their King, who according to his pleasure & appetite, or according to the vnbrided bent of his passion, would vie them like slaues made subiect vnto him, and would vsurpe vpon their goods without forbearing any thing what- soeuer; that men are not so studious to maintaine their handie workes and labours, as God, who hath an inestimable care of those whom he hath created. Notwithstanding (saith hee) since you haue thus determined, and are after this manner resolued, and that the outrage which you haue enterprised against God, preuaileth with you, set your selues all of you in order according to your tribes and families, and let each of you cast your lots. To this the people condescended, and the lot fell on the tribe of *Beniamin*, which being cast the second time, light on the familie of *Metri*, and afterwards being approved by the people, it fell to *Sauls* lot, who was the sonne of *Cis*, to haue the kingdom. The young man, who before that time knew what should happen, had slept aside, to the intent (as I suppose) that it might not seeme that he had desired this dignity, and such moderation & temperance shewed he in this matter, that although it so fell out, that di- uers cannot conceale the ioy they conceiue, if any face of felicitie smile vpon them; but manifest the same vnto all men: yet notwithstanding he not onely was void of vaine appearance (although he were to be King and Lord of so many wortheie people) but that which is more, he stole away D from the presence of those men ouer whom hee should commaund, and so handled all things that he made them seeke after him, and trauell to find him out. Whilest therefore they carefully sought, & knew not what was become of *Saul*, the Prophet praied God that he would shew them where he was, & that he would bring him into their presence: when as therefore he was enformed by God in what place he remained, *Samuel* sent out certaine messengers to conduct him thither, & as soone as he came amongst them, *Samuel* set and placed him in the midst of the people: now was hee more high then any of the companie by the shoulders; and had a kingly and goodly shape and appearance: then spake the Prophet after this manner. God hath giuen you this man to be your king, behold how he surpasseth you all, and shewes himselfe worthy to be your Prince. But as soone as the people had cried God saue the king; the Prophet, who had reduced into writ- ings all those mischiefs that should befall them, read the same vnto them in the hearing of the King, and put the booke into the Tabernacle of God for a perpetual testimonie vnto posterity of those things which in future ages should succeed, according as hee had fore-prophecied: which done, *Samuel* dismissed the people, and returned to the Citie of Ramath, which was his countrey. But *Saul* departing vnto Gabatha, diuers worthy men gaue their attendance on him, and did him the honour that appertained vnto a king. But diuers seditious and loose companions, who set him at noughts, both mocked them, and those things which they did, neither brought they any pre- sents vnto *Saul*, neither seemed they either in affection, or in word, any wayes to respect their King. A moneth after his instalment, there fell a waere betwixt him and *Naas* King of the Am- monites, which was the original of that honour which was generally attributed vnto him by the whole multitude: this *Naas* had offred diuers outrages vnto those Iewes that dwell on the other side of Iordan. For he had trauesed the riuer with a great and huge armie leuiued against them; & had overcome diuers of their Cities. For at that time hee vsed force and violence against them: & to the intent that they might not rebell, neither deliuer themselves from his subiection, he vsed this subtiltie and prevention to cut off all colour and occasion from them, of opposition. For to those that surrendered themselves, & subscribed to his mercy, & to those that were take captiues, or con- quered in the warres, hee plucked out their right eies: and this did he to that intent, that when they should

Samuels ora-
tion to the
people as con-
cerning Saul.

Lots cast tho-
uerie tribe and
familie.

Sauls modesty
& temperance
in vnder-
taking the go-
uernment.
Saul hideth
himselfe from
the presence
of the people.

Saul of a high
 stature.

Saul saluted
by the people
for their king.

Diuers attend
on Saul, other
some contemne
him.

Hedie & Raf-
simus. chap. 9.
1 King. 11.

134
The year of the
world, 2880, be-
fore Christs birth
1084.
Sauls warre a-
gainst the
Ammonites.

should defend themselves, they should haue their left sides covered with their bucklers, and by that meanes be made vnapt to enter battell. The king of the Ammonites hauing after this manner dealt with those on the other side of Iordan, heled his armie towards the Galaadites, and encamped neere vnto their chiefe Citie called Iabes, to which hee sent heralds to sommon the inhabitants to surrender the same, vnder these conditions: either to suffer their right eyes to be pulled out, or else by enduring the siege, to see the finall ouerthrow both of themselves, and of their Citie: wishing them to make choice of which they list, whether they would lose a little part of their bodie, or hazard both their fortunes and liues at once. The Galaadites, terrified with this so doubtfull and dreadfull an election, neither durst returne an hostile or peaceable answer, but asked truce for seven daies, to the end that sending their messengers to their kinsfolke, they might craue their aide: which if they could obtaine they would warre; and otherwise they promised to submit themselves vnto the enemy, vnder what condition soeuer were best pleasing vnto him. *Nahas*, that neither cared for the Galaadites, neither for their answer, granted them that time of truce which they demanded, and permitted them likewise to craue assistance at all their hands, who were their associates. Whereupon they presently sent messengers from citie to citie, and certified the Israelites of all that which *Nahas* had done vnto them, and the extremitie whereunto they were reduced. The Israelites hauing before time vnderstood in what estate they of Iabes were, had grievously lamented & conceived great displeasure thereat; but the feare that afflicted them, suffed them to assit their friends in no other manner then by commiseration: yet as soone as their messengers arriued in the Citie where *Saul* was, and that they had recounted vnto him the daungers wherewith the Iabesites were oppressed; the people were as in times past moued with compassion. For they lamented the miserie of their Parents: but as touching *Saul*, he returning from the fields into the Citie, perceiued the inhabitants drowned in their teares, & enquiring of them for what cause they were so confused and abashed, he was certified of that, which the messengers had reported: and on the instant he was rauished by a diuine motion, and sent the Embassadors backe againe to those that sent them, promising that within three daies he would come and succour them, and that hee would haue the vpper hand of the enemy before sunnerise, to the end that the rising sunne might beholde them victorious, and deliuered from all feare. Meane while he commaunded some of them to make stay with him, to the intent they might guide and direct him in his way.

Naas king of
the Ammonites
offereth vnto
conditions of
peace to the
Galaadites.
The Embassa-
dours of the
Galaadites to
the Israelites.

Saul promi-
teth assistance
to the Iabe-
sites.

CHAP. VI.

The combate and victorie of Saul against the Ammonites.

Saul desirous to incite the people to issue out and make warre vpon the Ammonites, to the intent vnder a penaltie he might assemble them with more readines, he houghed his owne oxen, and threatened all those whom he met withall to doe the like vnto theirs, except the next day they presented themselves with their armes vpon the banke of Iordan to follow the King, and the Prophet *Samuel*, and march vnto the place whither by them they should be conducted.

Sauls serious
exhortation
and command
to warre.

1. Reg. 12.

Ten Scheenior
cables length
of Nilus so
called by the
cords that
drew the ships
vp Nilus, make
37 Italian
miles.
Saul kills the
Ammonites,
& *Nahas* their
king.
Saul made his
name famous
amongst the
Hebrewes.
Saul is praised
by the people.

The feare of this penaltie published among the tribes, made them gather to head about the same time, so that all the assemblies of the people were mustered in the Citie of Bala. In this suruey besides those of the tribe of *Iuda*, there were numbred seven hundred thousand men, and of the tribe of *Iuda* in particular, there were seuentie thousand. Hauing therefore passed Iordan and marched some ten cables length of Nilus (which is about some three leagues) all the night time, before the sunne rose, he attained the place whither he intended to conduct them, and diuiding his armie into three parts, he assailed the enemy on euery side, that suspected no such encounter and fighting valiantly against them, he slew diuers, and amongst the rest *Nahas* King of the Ammonites. This victorie made *Sauls* name famous amongst all the Hebrewes, so that he was wonderfully praised and honoured for his valour: so that if before that time any one had contemned him, at that time they chaunged their opinions and honoured him, and accounted him the worst of them all. For he was not satisfied to redeeme and deliuer those of *Iabes*, but hee entered the Countrey of the Ammonites also, and foraged the same with his armie, and vtterly ouerthrew them: and after he had obtained a great bootie and prey, both he and his victoriously and magnifically returned to their dwelling places. The people highly pleased with this noble action atchieued by *Saul*, reioyced because they had chosen them so noble a King, and exclaimed against those that said, that it would be discommodious and vnprofitable for their common

A common-weale, saying, Where are now these murmurers, let them be put to death: with other such like words, that a people beset with some good successe, is wont to speake and enforce against them: that let light by the authors & inducers of the same. *Saul* received great content and comfort thorow this good liking and allowance of the people: yet notwithstanding hee swore that no one of their tribe should be put to death that day, because it would not seeme conuenient nor agreeable, that the victorie which was given them by God, should be mixed with the blood of their brethren, but rather that it was more decent and comely that the time should be spent in feast and iollitie. Hereupon *Samuel* told them, that it behooued them to confirme the kingdome to *Saul* by a second election: and to that end, they assembled together in the Citie of Galgal, according as he had commaunded them: and there in the sight of all the people *Samuel* annointed *Saul* the second time with the consecrated oyle, and proclaimed him king anew. Thus was the Aristocracie and gouernment of the better sort amongst the Hebrewes, turned into a Monarchie. For vnder *Moses* and his disciple *Iesus*, who gouerned the Emphyre, and armie at that time, the nobilitie and elected worthe men ruled the State. After whose death for the space of 18. whole yeares, the people was without gouernment, the common-weale not long after reasumed her pristie policie; and the gouernment was given vnto him, which was esteemed the most valiant in warre, and the most vpriight in doing of iustice. All which time for this cause hath been called the time of the Iudges.

After this the Prophet *Samuel* assembled the people, and spake vnto them after this manner: I coniure you by that great God that hath given life to those two brothers (I meane *Moses* and *Aaron*) and that hath deliuered your forefathers from the Egyptians, & their tyranny, that with our any affection either of feare or shame, or instigation of any other passion, you truly testifie whether I haue comitted any sinister or wicked act, either for profit sake, or for avarice, or fauour: Reproue me, if I haue taken away any mans calfe, or sheepe, or any other thing whatsoever, but that which I might lawfully take for my reliefe and sustenance, and at such hands as willingly offered me the same; or if I haue drawne any mans beasts to my vse, or vied his cattell to my profit and his hinderance: in these and such like, if I haue offended any man, let him now accuse mee in the presence of the King. All of them cried out with one voyce, that no such default had beene committed by him, but that he had gouerned their nation in holinesse and iustice. After that the people had thus publicly testified in the behalfe of *Samuel*, hee said vnto them: Since you haue liberally & freely protested, that you haue no cause of wrong to vrge or enforce against me, heare I pray you, that wherewith I can iustly accuse you of. You haue grievously offended agaynst the maiestie of God, in that you haue required a King at his hands: you should haue rather remembered, that your old father *Jacob* accompanied onely with his 70. sons came into Egypt, constrained thereunto by famine, and that in that countrey diuers thousands of persons issued from his loynes, whom the Egyptians kept in captiuitie, offering them extreame outrages: And when as your fathers called vpon God, how he wonderfully deliuered them from the necessities wherin they were, without giuing them any king, contenting themselves with two brothers *Moses* and *Aaron*, who brought and conducted you into this countrey which you possesse at this present. And although you participated these benefites by the hands of God, yet notwithstanding you haue not forborne both to forget religion, and neglect pietie. This notwithstanding, at such time as you haue beene conquered by your enemies, he hath set you free, gracing you first of all with the ouerthrow of the Assyrians & their forces: secondly, giuing you victorie ouer the Ammonites, & Moabites: and finally ouer the Philistines. Now these great exploits were performed by you, nor vnder the conduct of a king, but by thy direction of *Iepha* and *Gideon*: what folly therefore hath bewitched you to make you flie from God, and to seeke to liue vnder the subiection of a King? But I haue named such a one vnto you, whom God hath chosen to be your gouernour. Notwithstanding, to the intent that I may giue you a manifest testimony, that gods wrath is whetted against you, because you haue desired to haue a king; I will strue to expresse it vnto you, by visible signes done by God himselfe, I will therefore require of God, that he will make you see in this place, and in the heart of sommer such a storme, that there is not any one of you, that hath euer scene the like thereof: Scarce had he spoken the words, but that sodainly there fell great store of lightning, thunder and haile, in approbation of that which the Prophet had said: so that amazed and transported with feare, all of them confessed that they had offended. They notwithstanding professed that their error was of ignorance, nor of obstinacie, and besought the Prophet that with a good and fatherly affection, hee would beseech God to appease his wrath towards them, and forgiue them their offences at that present; which to their other grievous negligences they had annexed

The year of the
world, 2880, be-
fore Christs
birth, 1084.
Sauls lenitie
against his
aduersaries.

Sauls once
more annoin-
ted king by
Samuel.
The distinct
gouernments
of the He-
brewes.

Samuels iustifi-
cation of
himselfe in
the presence
of the people.

Samuel expo-
sulateth with
the people,
and obiecteth
their stonies &
ingratitude.

A huge tem-
pest falleth vpon
Samuels
prayer.

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The year of the world, 1880. be-
fore Christs birth,
1084.

An exhortatio
to the confi-
deration of
Gods iustice
& benefits be-
stowed on the
Israelites.

annexed and wherby they had transgressed his holy will. All which *Samuel* promised them to do, and besought God that it would please him to pardon them the error which they had committed in that behalf, and that it would please him to be appeased by his prayers. Besides this, he exhorted them to live vprightly, and to keepe in their continuall remembrance what euils had hapned vnto them, for that they had forsaken the way of vertue; and what wonders God had done, and what lawes he had giuen by *Moses*, all which they ought to meditate on, if they desired to be in safetie, and liue happily with their king. But if they should contemne the same, hee foretold them that both themselves & their kings should be grievously punished. *Samuel* hauing prophesied these things vnto the Hebrewes, dismissed them to their owne dwellings, after he had confirmed the kingdome to *Saul* the second time.

CHAP. VII.

The Palestines, assailing the Iebrewes, are overcome in battell.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 6.
Saul elected
two thousand
for his owne
guard & one
thousand for
Jonathan.
Saul overc-
meth the Phi-
listines.

The Philistines
prepare to in-
vade the Is-
raelites.

The Israelites
dismayed at the
report of the
army of the
Philistines.

Saul sacrific-
eth contrary
to God & the
Prophets di-
rection.
Samuel accu-
seth Saul.

BVt when the king had mustered his men, and chosen out three thousand of the choicest soldiers, he appointed two thousand of the for the gard of his person, & with them went & dwelt at Bethel. There he gaue in charge to his son *Jonathan*, & sent them into Gaba to attend and guard him there, who, folowed by them, valiantly ouercame a garrison of the Philistines nere vnto Gebal. For the Philistines of Gaba hauing gotten the vpper hand ouer the Iewes, had taken their armes from them, and seiled and fortified both with men and munition in the strongest Cities of their country; prohibiting them to beare armes, and in generall from the vse of any yron: by reason of which inhibition, if their husbandmen had at any time need of any yron worke, as of plough-shares, mattocks, or any such other instrument fit for manuring or tillage of their landes, they were inforced to fetch it, and get it forged amongst the Philistines.

Now when the Philistines had gotten some intelligence that their garrison was after this manner defeated, they were wonderfully moued, and supposing amongst themselves that the iniurie and outrage was in no sort to be suffered, they armed themselves against the Iewes, and went out embattailed with three hundred thousand footmen, thirtie thousand chariots, and six thousand horse, encamping with their whole host nere vnto the Citie of Machmas. Which when *Saul* the king of the Hebrewes vnderstood, he marched toward the Citie of Galgal: and as hee traualled thorow the country, he animated and encouraged the people to recouer their libertie, proclaiming warre against the Philistines: whose forces he so little feared, as he mocked thereat, saying, that they deserved not to be feared for their multitudes, nor any daunger which might accrew by their encounter. But when *Sauls* souldiers were certified of the true number of their enemies, they were wholly discomfited, so that some of them hid themselves in denes and places vnder the earth, others fled on the other side of Iordan into the country of the Gadites and Rubenines. But *Saul* sent for the Prophet, resolving to consult with him vpon the estate of the war, who gaue him answer, that he should attend in the same place where he was, and that he should prepare beafts for sacrifice, because that within seven dayes he would come vnto him and sacrifice on the seventh day: which done, he might encounter the enemy. According to this direction of the Prophet he expected, yet obserued he not intirely all that which *Samuel* had inioyned him. For when he perceived that he was somewhat slacke in comming, and that his soldiers waxed wearie, he tooke the beafts that were prepared for the sacrifice, and offered a burnt offering: but afterwards vnderstanding that *Samuel* was arriued, he went out to meete him, and doe him honour. *Samuel* told him, that he had done amisse, by reason he had neglected that which was commaunded him, presuming before his arriuall (who was sent thither by the conduct and will of God) to offer prayers and sacrifices for the people: in which action of his, he both discovered his rashnesse, and disorder in sacrificing. *Saul* excused himselfe, alledging that he had staid during the terme of seven dayes which were appointed him: vrging further, that necessitie, and the depart of his souldiours, together with the feare of the aduersie armie which were in Machmas, and the intelligence hee had receyued that *Samuel* was gone to Galgal, had induced him to offer sacrifice: *Samuel* replied, saying, Thou hadst done more aduisedly, if thou hadst obeyed, and not contemned God by thine ouerhaste, whose minister and Prophet I am: for by thine obedience thou mightest both haue gotten an assurance and continuance of thy kingdome to thy selfe, and succession to thy posteritie. This said, being displeased with that which had hapned, he returned back

A to his owne house, and *Saul* with six hundred souldiers (onely accompanied with his sonne *Jonathan*) came vnto the Citie of Gabeon. The greater part of these men were disarmed, by reason that the country was intirely destitute of iron, and workemen that were expert and skilfull in forging & making armour: for the Philistines permitted them not to haue any, as we haue declared a litle before. These diuiding their armie into three battels, inuaded the country of the Hebrews by so many wayes, destroying and forraging all things, both in the sight of king *Saul*, and of his sonne, who neither could inhibit their incursions, nor by reason of their multitudes make head against them. Both he therefore and his sonne, and *Achias* the high Priest, sate them downe vpon a hillocke, and seeing the country spoyled round about them, they were much dismaied. But *Sauls* sonne conspired and concluded with his esquire and harnesse-bearer, to enter secretly into the enemies campe, and raise an vprore and alarm in the same; who willingly promising and offering him his seruice to aduenture with him in all occasions and places, with the hazard of his life: they both of them descended from the mountaine, and marched directly towards the enemies campe, who had pitched their tents on a hie pointed rocke, which extended it selfe in length with three angles, and was each way begirt with a banke, as it were a wall and fortification against the incursion of their enemies. For which cause they kept their watch somewhat too carelessly, because the place was fortified by nature: so that no man might ascend, or assaile them, but with disaduantage. When as therefore they had gotten nere vnto the campe, *Jonathan* encouraged his companion, and animated him to assaile the enemy after this manner. If (saith he) they espie vs, & will vs to ascend, let vs take this summons of theirs for an assured token of victorie: but if they hold their peace, and call vs not, let vs returne backe againe.

C As therefore they approached the enemies host about the beginning and brie of day, the Philistines said the one vnto the other: The Hebrewes creep out of their caues and dens. Then cried they out to *Jonathan*, and his harnesse bearer, saying: Come hither, come hither vnto vs, to the end wee may plague you according to your audacious enterprife. *Sauls* sonne quickly taking hold of these their words, and esteeming them for an ominous and assured token of victorie, departed with his esquire from the place where they were first discovered, answering them that he would shortly visit them. So withdrawing himselfe on the other side of the rock, which by reason of the situation thereof was left vnguarded, ouercomming the difficultie of the place with great labour, at last they attained the place where the enemy was, whom they found asleepe, and assailing them slue twentie of them, and filled the whole armie with terror and amazednesse: so that casting away their weapons they fled amain: some other being ignorant which were either their friends or foes, inuaded one another as enemies. For imagining with themselves that onely two Hebrewes durst neuer ascend and enter their campe, they addrest themselves to their mutual murder and slaughter: so that some of them were slaine, others fled to escape the sword, and fell headlong down the rocks. But when as the kings espials had told him what confusion and disorder was befallen in the campe of the Philistines, *Saul* demanded whether any of his company were ablent: and hearing that his sonne and his harnesse-bearer were missing, he commanded the high Priest, that attired in his pontificall ornaments, hee should prophecy that which should succede: who assuring him that he should obtaine the victorie ouer his enemies, hee sallied out

D and assaulted the Philistines, and ran vpon them, who were thus confused and disordered, and whetted the one against the other. To him there flocked in great multitudes such, as before times were fled into dens and places vnder ground, as soone as they heard that the victorie inclined on *Sauls* side: so that gathering together to the number of ten thousand Hebrewes, he pursued his scattered enemies thorow all the country. But afterward, a great inconuenient hapned vnto *Saul*, proceeding from the ioy hee had conceiued by this victorie (for commonly such as are blessed by such good fortunes, are not masters of their owne affections and reasons) or rather proceeding from his ignorance. For intending to satiate himselfe with reuenge for all those iniuries he had receiued from the Philistines, he published an imprecation or curse amongst the Hebrewes against any one whomsoever, that intermitting the chase and slaughter should take shewance before night, purposing vntill darke night neither to giue ouer pursuit or slaughter. This execration thus published by *Saul*, it chaunced that his sonne that had not as yet heard of the imprecation of his father, nor the general ratification and allowance of the same by the people, falling into a certaine groue belonging to the tribe of Ephraim, wherein were many swarmes of Bees, he by chance light vpon an honie combe, and pressing the honie thereout, afterwards did eat the same. Afterwards hauing intelligence that his father had vnder a grievous penaltie of execration, forbidden any man to taste any sort of meate before sunne set, he gaue ouer eating further:

Jonathan say-
eth a certaine
number in the
enemies campe,
the rest inuade
one another,
and are put to
flight.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 7.
Saul hearing
that there was
a tumult in
the Palestines
campe, sallied
out vpon the.

Sauls edict
vnwittingly
broken by
Jonathan.

ther: yet said he, that his father had done amisse therein in publishing that prohibition, by rea-
son that if they had receiued sustenance, they might with greater force and forwardesse pursue
the enimie that fled, and ouertake and slaughter them in greater number. Killing therefore ma-
ny thousands of the Palestines partie, about the euening they began to ransacke and spoile the
campe of the Philistines, and bore away from thence great spoyles, and a wonderfull number of
cattell, part of which were slaine and eaten with the blood, contrarie to law. Which when the
Scribes had certified and signified to the king, how the people had offended against God, by
slaughtering the beasts, and eating the flesh of them, before it was either washt or purified from
the blood: *Saul* commanded that a great stone should be rowled into the midst of the place, and
commanded the people to kill and sacrifice their beasts vpon the same: and that they should for-
beare to eate the flesh with the blood, because it was not agreeable vnto God. All which was
performed according as the king had commanded; and *Saul* erected an Altar in that place, on
which he offered a burnt sacrifice vnto God. This was the first Altar that he erected. But *Saul* be-
ing desirous incontinently to assaile the enemies campe, and sacke all that was therein before the
day spring, whilst his men of warre diligently followed him, and shewed great forwardnes in the
execution of his command: the king asked counsell of the high Priest *Achitob*, whether God
would giue him the victorie, and permit those that should enter the enemies campe, to returne
from thence with victorie. The high Priest certified him that God returned him no answer:
which when he vnderstood, it is not without cause, said he, that God is thus silent, who hereto-
fore was wont to giue a willing answer in that which we ought to doe: but there must needs be
some hidden sinne in vs, that breeding an offence in him, procureth him to be silent. But I sweare I
by the same God, that although mine owne sonne *Jonathan* hath committed that sinne, to the end
I may appease God, I will with no lesse seueritie execute him, then any one stranger that is nei-
ther by alliance nor affinitie tied vnto me. Now when the people cried out and encouraged him
to the performance of that he had spoken, he presently assembled them in one place, and he stan-
ding with his sonne apart, began by casting lots to find out him that was faultie. Now when the
lot fell vpon *Jonathan*, he asked him what he had committed, and what crime in his owne consci-
ence he was guiltie of. To whom he answered, I know no other thing, but that yesterday being
in pursuit of the enimie, and ignorant of thine edict, I tasted of a lionie combe: but *Saul* swore
that he would slay him, setting more by his oath, then either by kined, nature, or affection. He
nothing astonished with his present perill, with a generous and dreadlesse minde, presented him-
selfe with this reple: O father (said he) I intreat no fauour at thy hands: for I will willingly sub-
mit to that death, which may discharge thee of thy vow, the more contentedly because I haue
seene so famous a victorie: For I shall die thorowly contented to see the insolencie of the Pale-
stines ouermasted by the power of the Hebrewes. This valour and courage of the yong man
moued the whole multitude to remorse and commiseration: so that they swore all of them that
they would not suffer that *Jonathan*, who was the author of so famous a victorie, should be slaine:
and therefore rescued they the yong man from his displeased father, and made vowes vnto God
to the end he might pardon him that fault. *Saul* after he had slaine about sixtie thousand of his
enemies, returned with victorie to his owne home, and reigned afterwards very happily, & ouer-
came by force the Ammonites, Philistines, Moabites, Idumeans, Amalechites, and king *Oba* that
dwelt neere about him. He had three sonnes, *Jonathan*, *Iosuah*, and *Melchi*, and two daughters,
Merob, and *Michal*. The generall of his armie was *Abner*, the sonne of his vnckle called *Ner*: for
Ner and *Cis Sauls* father, were brothers and sonnes of *Abiel*. He was verie rich both in horse and
chariots, and against whatsoever enimie he marched forth, he alwayes returned with victorie: so
that he reduced the affaires of the Hebrews to a happy estate, and so much increased their power,
that they were feared by all those nations that neighboured vpon them. But the chiefeft of the
youth, that either preuailed in strength, or exceeded in beautie, he chose to be of his guard.

CHAP. VIII.

Sauls victorie against the Amalechites.

BVt *Samuel* comming vnto *Saul*, told him that hee was sent vnto him by God, to admo-
nish him how he had chosen him about the rest, and preferred him to the kingdom:
and for that cause that it behooued him to be obedient vnto him in all things, because he
ruled the people; but God both kings, kingdomes, and all things. Thus therefore (said hee)
doth

A doth God command thee. Since the Amalechites offered many iniuries vnto the Hebrewes in
the desert, whilst in their departure out of Egypt, they travelled into that region which they
now inhabite; it behooueth thee to punish them by a most iust warre: and hauing overcome
them, that thou utterly extinguisht their memorie, without regard either of sex or yeares; and
this reuenge shalt thou execute vpon them, in repayment of those iniuries they in times past offered
to our forefathers. Neither shalt thou spare either beast or horse, or flocke, to apply them to
thy profit or particular vse: but thou shalt consecrate all vnto God, and according as *Moses* com-
manded it, deface the name of the Amalechites from off the earth. All these things did *Saul*
promise to performe, and supposing obedience consisted in this, not only in the acting, but also
the speedie execution of that which was enioyned him, hee presently assembled all his forces to-
gether, and mustering his souldiers at Galgal, he found about fortie thousand, besides the tribe of
Iuda, which of it selfe afforded and allowed thirtie thousand chosen men: with these did *Saul*
enter the country of the Amalechites, and laid diuers ambushes neere vnto a riuer, not only
to assaile them with open and hostile warre, but also to enclose and surpriseth them at vnwares, and
kill them amidst their hie wayes: Hee charged them therefore, and put them to flight, and dis-
comfited their whole armie, pursuing them that fled. Which execution of his, hauing that an-
swerable successe (according as God had promised him before) he marched onwards, and besie-
ged the Cities of the Amalechites, and ouercame some of them by batterie, some by mines and
countermures raised on the outside: othertome by famine and thirst, and diuers other waies. And
in those Cities which he ouercame, hee neither spared women nor children, neither supposing
their murder to be cruell, neither inhumane: first, for that he executed it vpon his enimie; next
for that he did nothing but according to Gods commandement, towards whom his disobedi-
ence might redound to his vtter overthrow. He tooke *Agag* prisoner also, who was the King
of the Amalechites, whose beautie and personage seemed vnto him so well proportioned and
perfect, that he wondered thereat, and thought him worthie to be kept alivie; and that not by Gods
commandement, but ouercome by his owne affection, vsurping vpon an vngraunted priuledge
of mercie to his owne prejudice: For God so hated the Amalechites, that hee spared not their
infants, who ought in naturall compulsion to haue bene more pitied then the rest. But *Saul*
kept alivie the king of his enemies, and the author of all the Hebrewes euils, setting more by his
beautie the Gods commandement. This sinne of his the people presently imitated: for they spa-
red both horse and other kind of cattell, and made prey of them, notwithstanding that God had
charged them to reserve nothing. They caried away with them all other moueables and riches,
and onely consumed those things which were of smallest vawle by fire. This victorie had *Saul*
ouer those people that dwell betwixt Pelusium, which is a Citie on the borders of Egypt, vnto
the red sea. But he meddled not with the Sichemites, which inhabite in the midst of the Madi-
nites, whom before the battell he had commanded to retire themselves, lest they should par-
take the calamities of the Amalechites: for in that they were allied vnto them, by reason of *Ra-
guel*, *Moses* father in law; the Hebrewes had cause to procure their safetie. *Saul* hauing obtained
this victorie, & reioicing at his good successe, returned to his owne home, as full of content, as if
he had pretermitted nothing of that, which God had commanded him by the Prophet *Samuel*,
before his war with the Amalechites, but as if he had precisely obserued all that which was en-
ioyned him. But God was sore displeased, both for that the king of the Amalechites was pre-
served, and for that the people had made prey of their cattell: for both these actions of theirs
were expressly against Gods permission. For it was not to be tolerated, no not in a mortall King;
that they should neglect and contemne his lawes and decrees, by whose onely means they were
furthered and fauoured in their victorie. For which cause God told the Prophet *Samuel*, that he
repented him in that he had chosen *Saul* for their king, considering that hee infringed his com-
mandements, and gouerned himselfe according to his owne appetites. When *Samuel* heard
these words, he was sore troubled, and besought God all the night long, that hee would appeale
his wrath and displeasure conceiued against *Saul*: but notwithstanding all the importunities, and
praiers which the Prophet made for him, God would in no sort be reconciled, because it was
inconuenient that the sinnes, which were committed by *Saul*, should be remitted by *Samuels*
submission and intercession. For sinne neuer more augmenteth and increaseth, then when such
as are offended are too remisse in their punishments: for whilst they would be reputed both for
good and mercifull, they themselves both vnwares, and vnwitting, become the authors of sinne.
When as therefore God had denied the Prophet his request, and it manifestly appeared that no
praiers or supplication might appease him; as soone as it was day, *Samuel* repaired to *Saul*, who

The year of the
world, 2883. be-
fore Christ's birth,
1081.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITYES
at that time remained in Galgal. Now as soone as the king appeerciued him, hee ranne vnto him G
, and embraced him, saying: I giue God thanks for the victorie; and all those things which hee
commanded me, I haue performed. But *Samuel* replied and said: How commeth it then to passe,
that I heare this bleating of sheepe, and bellowing of beasts thorow the army? *Saul* answered, that
the people had reserved that cattell for sacrifices; and that besides them, all the nation of the A-
the people had reserved that cattell for sacrifices; and that besides them, all the nation of the A-
one remaining, but that he onely had reserved the King, whom he would cause to bee presen-
ted before him, to the end they might consult together what should be done with him. Hereun-
to the Prophet answered: that God tooke no pleasure in sacrifices, but such as were good and
iust, and such (said he) are they that are according to his will and commandement; since no acti-
on may be reputed good, but in respect of the reference it hath to Gods will: for God refuseth H
not him that sacrificeth not, but him that disobeyeth him. For he willingly accepteth not those
sacrifices that are offered vnto him by those that submit not themselves vnto him, and offer not
vnto him the true and onely offerings, yea though they present diuers and many great sacrifices,
and bring him sundrie Jewels of gold and silver, but reiecteth such things, and respecteth them
not as pledges of pietie, but testimonies of wickednesse: But hee taketh pleasure in those onely
that observe that which hee hath pronounced and commanded, making choise rather to die, then
and any wayes to infringe the same: not seeking that sacrifices should be offered vnto him; but if they
be offered, although of small and no valew, yet are they more acceptable vnto him in pouertie
and obedience, then all those which the richest hand, or strongest fortune can afford him any
waies. Know thou therefore (said he) that thou hast incurd Gods displeasure, in that thou hast I
contemned and neglected his commandements: for how canst thou thinke that he will regard
thy sacrifices with a gracious eye, which hee himselfe hath adiudged to vtter perdition and
ruine? except thou thinke that to offer such things vnto GOD, bee in effect no lesse then to
seeker out death: Bee assured therefore of the losse both of thy kingdome, and power, which
hath in such sort transported thee, that thou hast contemned God, who bestowed the same vpon
thee. But *Saul* confessed that hee had sinned and done amisse, in that he had not obeyed the
words of the Prophet; yet alledged hee that he was compelled to doe the same, in that he durst
not restraîne the souldier, who was wher and kindled vpon the prey: but (said hee) bee fauoura-
ble and mercifull vnto me, for hereafter I will take heede least I fall into the like sinne: and hee
besought him that he would stay with him so long whilest he might offer a peace offering in his
behalf. But he that foresaw and knew that God would bee moued by no sacrifice, began to
depart.

Samuel chi-
deth Saul

The cōtempt
of God wher-
in it consistes.

A pleasing and
acceptable sa-
crifice vnto
God.

Samuel telleth
Saul of Gods
displeasure &
the losse of his
kingdome.
Saul cōfesseth
his sinne. and
craveth pardō:
which not-
withstanding
is denied him.

CHAP. IX.

Samuel *proclaimed* David *King*.

Saul striving
to stay Samuel
renteth his
garment.

**Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 10.**
**The king of
the Amale-
chites is slain
by Samuels
commaund.**
1. Reg. 16.
**God sendeth
Samuel to
Bethleem to
annoint Da-
uid king.**

BUt *Saul* willing to retain *Samuel*, tooke hold of his garment, and for that the Prophet hastily withdrew himselfe, he tore away a part thereof, by reason that *Samuel* violently withdrew himselfe from him. To whom the Prophet said, that in like sort his kingdome should be rent from him, and that another who was more honest and upright, should take possession thereof: for God continued in his determination intended against him, because that to change & varie opinion is humane passion and not diuine puissance. *Saul* answered, that he had grievously sinned, but it was impossible for him to recall that which was done: he notwithstanding besought him, that in the presence of the people he would as yet doe him honor, at such time as he should walke with him, & cast himself before the presence of God: which *Samuel* condescended vnto, and went with him to adore God. After this, *Agag* the king of the Amalechites was brought before *Samuel*, who heard him lament and complaine that death was verie bitter and tedious; to whom he answered in this manner following. As thou hast caused diuers mothers amongst the Hebrews to weepe and lament the losse of their children; so shalt thou cause thy mothers sorrow and torment for thy death: which said, he presently commanded that he should be put to death in Galgal: as for himselfe he returned backe againe to the citie of Ramath. But the king perceiuing in himselfe into how many mischiefs he had fallen by his offences committed against God, departed to his chiefe citie called Gaba (which name signifieth a hillock) & from that day forwards he neuer more came into the prophet *Samuels* presence, who was heartily sorie for his fall: But God commanded him to giue ouer his care, & that taking with him the sacred oyle he should repaire to the citie of Bethleem to *Iesse* the son of *Obed*, and that there he should

The year of the
world, 2883, be-
fore Christ's birth
1081.

A should annoynt one of his sons for king according as he had commanded him:& when as the Prophet said that he was afraid, least *Saul* getting notice thereof, should either by treason or open force seek to slay him, being encouraged & assured in his attempt, he came to the forenamed town. In that place was he saluted with great concourse of people, & each of the inquired of him to what intent he repaired thither: who answered them that he came to offer sacrifice vnto God. Now when the oblations were performed, he invited *Iesse* and his sonnes to banquet with him; and beholding the eldest of them to be faire and well proportioned, hee coniectured by his stature and seemeliness, that it should bee he that was to be elected king; but in this matter he attained not the scope of Gods prouidence. For demanding whether he should annoynt that yong man whom in admiration he thought so worthe of the kingdom: it was answered him that men saw not in such manner as God doth. For thou (said he) beholding the beautie of the yong man, supposest him worthe of the kingdom: but I prize not royaltie and government of estate, by the beauties of the bodie, but by the vertues of the soule: and him require I that is perfectly furnished herewith, and hath his mind beautified with pietie, iustice, obedience and fortitude. Vpon these words *Samuel* commanded *Iesse* to bring all his other sonnes into his presence, who presented him with five others, the eldest of which was called *Eliab*, the second *Aminadab*, the third *Sala*, the fourth *Nathaneel*, the fift *Rael*, and the sixt *Asam*. Now when the Prophet beheld these likewise no lesse beautifull men then was the eldest, he asked of God which of them hee should choose for king; hee answered him that he should choose neither of them: for which cause he enquired of *Iesse* whether he had any other sons besides them: who told him that he had one which

C was called *Dauid*, who had the care and custodie of his flockes. Him did the Prophet sodainly command him to send for, alledging that it was impossible for them to sit downe to the banquet, except he were present. Now when *Dauid* was arrived according as his father had commanded him, *Samuel* seeing him faire in colour, quicke in eye, and otherwaies answerable to his naturall ornaments: This is he (said he in priuate to himselfe) who is accepted & elected by God to be our king. This said, hee sat downe at the table, and made the yong man sit about him, and both *Iesse* his father, and his other brethren. Afterwards taking the cruets of oyle in the presence of the said *Dauid*, he annointed him, and told him in his eare, how God had chosen him to bee king, and exhorted him to studie iustice, and to bee obedient to that which should be commaunded him, assuring him by that meanes, that his kingdom should be of long continuance, his familie and stock should be famous and renowned, & that he should ouercome the Philistines, and conquer those nations against whom he should fight, & obtaine glorious renowne in his life time, and leaue the same to his successors as an inheritance. *Samuel* hauing made this exhortation departed from him, and the spirit of God abandoned *Saul*, and entered into *Dauid*, so as he began to propheticke, by meanes of a diuine spirit wherewith he was seised: whereas on the other side, *Saul* was tormented with strange passions of the euill spirit, whereby he fell into strange suffocations, and stranglings: so as his Physicians could not inuent any remedie for him, but gaue counsell that search should be made, if a man might be found that were expert and cunning in singing & playing on the harpe, to the end that when the euill spirit should assault & trouble him, he might stand at his head, and both with voice and instrument sing sacred hymnes before him.

E And when as the king had giuen present and speedy command, that such a one should be sought after, one of those that were assistant told him that hee had seene in Bethleem a sonne of *Iesses*, a yong man of excellent feature, and besides his other good parts and bringing vp, verie cunning both in song and playing on the Harpe: and besides that, addrest enough and toward in feates of armes. He therefore sent messengers to *Iesse* to command him to withdraw *Dauid* from the folds, and to send him vnto him, because that hauing heard report of his beautie and valour, he was desirous to see him. This command of his did *Iesse* obey, & sent his sonne with presents vnto *Saul* the king, who greatly reioiced vpon his arriuall, and made him his pentioner, and honoured him diuerse wayes. For he was refreshed by him, and was his onely Physition against the vexation of euill spirits, at such time as they seised and possessed him: for by reciting and singing Psalmes vpon his Harpe, he restored the king to his right mind: he therefore requested *Iesse* that he would suffer him to liue with him, and attend vpon him, because hee was so much delighted with his presence, whereunto he condescended, permitting him to dwell with the king.

1, God respecteth not the
v beauties of
1, the bodie, but
e the perfection
of the mind.

d Iesses so nnes
 being goodly
 in personage,
 d were not to be
 preferred to
 the souerainry

ce Samuel an-
the nointeth Da-
uid king.

IN Gods spirit
e, forsaking Satan,
descendeth on
- David, who
ue beginneth to
prophecie.

10 Saul maketh
11 he Dauid one of
12 his pencio-
13 ners or guard.

A second expedition of the Paleſtines againſt the Hebrewes.

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world 2883; be-
fore Chriſts birth
1081.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 11.
1. Reg. 17.
An other ex-
pedition of
the Paleſtines
againſt the
Hebrewes.
Goliath a man
of prodigious
ſtature a-
mongſt the
Paleſtines.

Goliath chal-
lengeth a ſingle
combate at
the Hebrewes
hands.

Saul ſendeth
David backe
again to his
father.

David defi-
reth to fight
with Goliath.

David redee-
med a lambe
from the
pawes of a lion
and ſlue him.
David killed
a beare.

NOr long time after this, the Philiftines aſſembled themſelves, and gathered together great companies of men of warre, with whom they aſſailed the Iſraelites, and ſubdued all that which is betwene Sucoth and Azeca, where they incamped. *Saul* on the other ſide led forth his army againſt them, & incamping himſelf vpon a certaine mountain, he constrained the Philiftines to diſlodge from their firſt campe, and intrench themſelves vpon an other mountaine right ouer againſt that where hee pitched his tents. The campe being thus ſeparated the one from the other, there was a valley that extended itſelfe betwene both the armies: Into this there deſcended a certaine man called *Goliath*, a Gittite, of huge ſtature, being foure cubites and a ſpan length in height, hauing his limmes couered with huge and mightie armour for his cures which he bare on his back weighed ſue thouſand ſicles; his helmet and pauldrons were of braſſe, made fit to couer his maſie mebers; his ſpear which he bare in his hand was no light lance, but he bare it on his ſhoulder, & the head therof weighed 600. ſicles, and after him there followed diuers men bearing armes. Now when he came betwixt both the armies, he ſtood vp and cried with a loud voice, addreſſing his ſpeech to *Saul*, & the Hebrewes, in theſe rearmes: Hebrewes, what neede you to hazard the doubtfull fortune of warre? Single me out an aduerſarie, and let vs determine by our two hazards on whoſe ſide the victorie and conqueſt ſhall fall: ſo that whoſe ſouer ſouldier ſhall be ouercome, let his partie be adiudged ſubiection to their ſides who haue the victorie: for it were better that ſome one among you, then the whole armie ſhould be brought in hazard. When he had ſpoken thus, he returned backe to his owne campe. The next day he came forth againe and vſed the ſame wordes, and thus for fortie dayes ſpace ceaſed he not to deſie the Hebrewes in ſuch like wordes, and vnder the ſame conditions: ſo that both *Saul* and all his armie were diſpleaſed, and kept themſelves alwayes readie and arraunged in battell; although the fight was begonne on neither ſide. During the time that *Saul* addreſſed himſelfe to this expedition, he ſent *David* backe againe to *Jeſſe* his father (contenting himſelfe with his other three brothers, who at that time ſerued vnder his royall ſtandard) where hee intended his intermitted care of keeping his flockes: But whileſt the war was rather protracted then performed, whether his father had ſent him to carie victuals to his brothers, and to know how their affaires went in the armie, and whileſt that *David* deuſed with his brothers, as touching thoſe things which his father had committed to his charge, he heard the Philiftine blaſpheming and railing vpon the Hebrew armie, and waſt herewith ſo greatly moued, that turning himſelfe vnto his brothers, he told them that he was readie and addreſſed to fight hand to hand againſt that enemy. But *Eliab* the elder brother reproved him for ſo ſpeaking, telling him that he was more hardie then became his age, and that he knew not what concerned thoſe matters, willing him to retune vnto his father, and intend his flockes. *David* for the reuerence he bare vnto his brother departed from thence, and meeting with certaine ſouldiers, ſaid vnto them, that he had a will to encounter that proud challenger: which they preſently ſignified vnto *Saul*, who incontinently ſent to ſeeke him out. Now when he came before his preſence, he asked him what he intended to doe: O king (ſaid he) let not thy courage be abated, nor thy feare ouermaſter thee. For I am hee that will abate the pride of the enemy, and encounter and enter combate with him: and how great and high ſouer hee be, how elate and fierce ſouer he ſlew himſelfe, I will ſubdue him, and turne his terror to deriſion: and ſo much the more ſhall thy glory, and the honour of thy armie be enhanced, by how much ſo great and expert a man at armes ſhall hee ſubdued by a young man, and an vnexperienced ſouldier. *Saul* amazed at his hardineſſe, and great courage, yet notwithstanding ſuſpecting him by reaſon of his yeares; told him that he was too feeble, to encounter a man ſo expert in feates of armes: whereunto *David* made this anſwere. That which I promiſe you (my ſoueraigne) is vnder the aſſurance which I haue in God, which heretofore I haue prooued, and the ſuccow which at other times I haue receiued at his hands. For while I fed my fathers flockes, I redeemed a lambe that was rauſhed out of my fold, out of the lions lawes; and catching the wilde beaſt by the taile, that with open mouth aſſaulted and fought to deuour me, I bet him to the ground, and ſlue him. Neither with leſſe ſucceſſe inuaded I a Beare that ſet vpon my flocke; and as light doe I ſet by this monſter alſo: who vomiting out his ſlaunderous raylings both againſt God, and men, ſhall neither eſcape the diuine arme of iuſtice which he ſo wickedly prouoketh, neither ſlie from my hands, who am prepared to encounter him.

So

A So much preuailed this forward readineſſe in the young man, that the king beſeeching Gods aſſiſtance to ſecond his courage, furniſhed him with a royall armour, a ſword and a helmet, and ſent him forth to the battell. But *David* feeling the weight of his armour, and ſeeming rather to be loaded then defended with the ſame, ſaid vnto him: Let theſe armes (O King) ſerue to in- cloſe and defence thy bodie, who art able to beare them, and ſuffer me I beſeech thee, who am thy ſervant, to fight according to mine owne fantaſie. He therefore laid by his armour, and tooke a ſtaffe in his hand, and ſue ſtones which he gathered on the bankes of the torrent, which hee put in his ſcrip, his ſling he bore in his right hand: and being thus armed, he marched forward to encounter his enemy. Now when the Barbarian ſaw him thus furniſhed, he ſo much contemned him, that in way of ſcorne he asked him whether hee thought him to beea dogge, that hee thus came forth to fight with him, with weapons ſit to ſcarre dogges. Nay (ſaid *David*) I eſteeme thee worſer then a dogge: which ſo much peruerſed *Goliaths* patience, that he curſed the name of his God, thundring out threats, that he would caſt out his carcaſſe to be deuoured by the beaſts of the field, and the birds of the aire. But *David* anſwered, Thou commeſt againſt me with thy ſword, thy iavelin, and cures: but contrariwiſe, I march out againſt thee vnder the warrantie and protection of God, who ſhall deſtroy thee by my hand, and with thee thy whole armie, for this day will I take thy head from thy ſhoulders, and caſt the reſt of thy bodie to the dogs whom thou reſembleſt, and all men ſhall know that God is the Prince of the Hebrewes, and that our armes and forces are the cares that it pleaſeth him to haue of vs, and that all other furniture of warre is vnprofitable, except it be aſſiſted by God. The waight of the Philiftines armes hindred him from marching readily: ſo that he marched foote by foote towards *David*, contemning him, and truſting that he ſhould kill him eaſily, both for that he was diſarmed, as alſo becauſe hee was young, and tender in yeares.

CHAP. XI.

The ſingle combate betwixt David and Goliath, and the ſlaughter of the Philiftines that followed after.

David ſet forward to make head againſt his enemy, being aſſiſted by a companion whom he ſaw not, which was God; drawing therefore one of the ſtones, which hee had gathered on the bankes of the torrent, out of his ſcrip, and hauing fitted it in his ſling, hee forced it againſt *Goliath*, and gaue him ſuch a ſtroke on the forehead, that hee peared him to the verie braine: ſo that *Goliath* fell downe ſodainly dead, and he running vpon him as hee lay ſprawling on the earth, cut off his head with his owne ſworde: for he himſelfe had none. As ſoone as he was ſtrooken downe, diſcomfiture and flight ſeized all the armie of the Philiftines: for ſeeing the moſt eſteemed warrior amongſt them ouerthrowne and ſlaine, they began to ſuſpect the generall iſſue of their warre, and reſolued to retire from thence; ſo tooke they their flight in diſorder and confuſion, ſuppoſing by that meanes to deliuer themſelves out of dangers. But *Saul* and the whole armie of the Hebrewes ſallied out againſt them, with great ſhouts and cries; and in the purſuit made a great ſlaughter of them, and draue them to the borders of Geth and the gates of Aſcalon. In this battell there died on the Philiftines ſide about thirtie thouſand, and the reſt that were hurt and wounded, were twiſe as many. *Saul* returning backe into his campe pillaged and burnt their tents: but *David* bore *Goliaths* head into his pavilion, and hung his ſworde in the tabernacle, and conſecrated the ſame vnto God. But *Saul* afterward conceiued a priuie hatred againſt *David*, vpon this occaſion which enſueth: For where as hee returned triumphant like a conquerour with the armie, and the women and maidens ſinging and dauncing to their cymbals and timbrels, in way of honour came out to meeete him: The women ſung, that *Saul* had ſlaine diuers thouſands of the Philiftines; and the virgins anſwered, that *David* had ſlain diuerſen thouſands. Which when *Saul* vnderſtood, and ſaw that the leſſer reſtimonie of thouſands was referred to him, and that the ten thouſands were attributed to *David*, he ſuppoſed that after ſo glorious a renowne, there wanted nothing for *David*, except to be king. For which cauſe he began to feare and ſuſpect him: ſo that by reaſon of the feare he had of him, hee thought that he was too neere his owne perſon, and therefore from being one of the chiefeſt in authoritie about him, which was to be one of his chiefeſt commaunders and guard, hee made him captaine ouer a thouſand, rather reſpectiug his owne ſecuritie, then the others honour; to the intent that being often charged by incurſions of the enemy, hee might by ſome diſaſter be deprived of his life. But *David* hauing in all places the aſſiſtance of almighty God, returned alwayes with

The year of the
world 2883; be-
fore Chriſts
birth, 1081.
David laying
aſide thoſe
armes where-
with he was
furniſhed to
fight with
Goliath, marcheth
forward with
his ſling a-
gainſt the
enemy.

David draw-
ing neere his
enemy is
contemned.

Dauids talke
with Goliath
before the
combate.

Dauids victo-
rie againſt
Goliath.
The Paleſtine
ſie & are diſ-
comfited.

Thirtie thou-
ſand of the
Paleſtines
ſlaine.

1. Kim. 18.
Saul priuily
hateth David.

Saul from one
of his chiefe
nobles maketh
David a tri-
bune, to the
end that being
often drawne
out by the e-
nemy he
might be ſlain.

144
The year of the
world, 2882, be-
fore Christ's birth
1081.
Sauls daugh-
ter in loue
with Dauid.
Saul subtilly
objecteth Da-
uid to slaugh-
ter vnder a co-
lorable con-
dition of slaugh-
tering the Pa-
leſtines.
Saul vnder co-
uenant of 600
Philiftines
heads promi-
ſeth Dauid his
daughter.

with good ſucceſſe and happie iſſue: ſo that for the excellencie of his valour, the people intirely
loued him: and *Sauls* daughter alſo, that was about that time marriageable, began to bee in-
mourled with him, and ſo great and apparant was her affection towards *Dauid*, as the certaine
notice thereof came vnto her fathers cares, who was fore diſpleaſed therewith; yet hoping by
that meanes the ſooner to intrap him, hee gaue eare thereto with ſome ſhew of allowance, and
told them who diſcouered their loues vnto him, that he would willingly giue him his daughter
to wife, vnder pretence that the enioying of her might bee the meanes of his vtter ouerthrow.
For ſaid he I am content to giue him my daughter in marriage, vnder that condition, that hee
bring me fix hundred enemies heads; and hee deſirous to get ſo high and famous a reward,
and in like ſort to obtaine honor, by an act both ſo dangerous and admirable, will vndertake the
execution thereof, and ſhall be ſlaine by the hands of the Philiftines, and that intention which I H
haue conceived againſt him, ſhall ſucceed according to mine owne hearts deſire: for I ſhall bee
deliuered of him, in ſending him out of the world, not by my meanes, but other mens handes.
Further, he charged his Courtiers to ſound and ſeeke out *Dauids* reſolution, and how hee was af-
fectioned towards marriage: who beganne to deuiliſh with him, telling him that the king bare
him a moſt intire fauor, and that the people admired him, and how they would procure him the
marriage of the kings daughter. Whereunto *Dauid* replied: Thinke you it to be a ſmall matter
to be ſon in law vnto the king? for my ſelfe I eſteeme or herwiſe, conſidering in eſpeciall mine own
baſe condition, who haue neither reputation nor any honourable qualitie. When *Sauls* ſeruants
had related vnto him what anſwere *Dauid* had made them: Tell him ſaid he that I neither want
goods nor preſents (for that were to expoſe my daughter to ſale, and not to match her with a
husband.) I ſeeke for a ſonne in law that hath valour, and that is adorned with all vertue; ſuch as
is maniſeſt and apparant in thee: and my deſire is, that for the dower of my daughter, thou giue
me neither gold nor ſilver, nor any other valuable wealth out of thy fathers houſe; but the pu-
niſhment of the Philiftines, and fix hundred of their heads, which ſhall be the moſt deſired and
accepted dower thou canſt preſent me with. My daughter alſo requeſteth aboue all the dowers,
that may accrew vnto her by order of law, to be married to ſuch a man that is ſo ennobled and fa-
mous by the ouerthrow of his enemies.

When theſe words were reported vnto *Dauid*, he was verie ioyfull, thinking that *Saul* ſpoke
ſincerely of this affinitie: and without delay, or taking counſaile or deliberation, whether the
thing were eaſie or impoſſible for him to execute, hee incontinently departed with his com-
panie to go and find out the enemy, and execute the condition, vnder which the marriage was
promiſed him. For it was God that made all things eaſie and poſſible to *Dauid*: for after he had
ſlaine diuerſe of them, and cut off fix hundred of their heads, he returned and preſented them to
the king, and in conſideration thereof, required the performance of his marriage.

CHAP. XII.

Saul admiring Dauids fortitude giueth him his daughter to wife.

1. Reg. 19.
Saul marieth
Michol to
Dauid.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 12.
Saul reſolueth
to kill Dauid.
Jonathan loues
Dauid, and
ſheweth him
his fathers de-
termination.
and counſel-
leth him to
haue care of
his ſafety, and
ſtand on his
guard.

But *Saul* that could not ſlie from his promiſe: (for ſeaſe leaſt it ſhould be a great diſho-
nour for him to be found alie, or to haue promiſed *Dauid* his daughter vnder colour,
either to murder him, or to draw him to the execution of things that were impoſſible)
deliuered his daughter *Michol* vnto him. But his intention was not to continue long in that mind.
For perceiving that *Dauid* was gracious in Gods ſight, and in good reputation amongst the
people, he was afraid of him: and being vnable to conſeale his feare: hee had conceived, to bee
deprived of two things of ſuch conſequence, as were his kingdom and life, hee reſolved to kill
Dauid; giuing commiſion to his ſonne *Jonathan*, and diuerſe other of his ſeruants to execute the
ſame. But *Jonathan* amazed to ſee this change in his father, who in ſtead of the ſingular good liking
he had of *Dauid* in times paſt, ſought to hurt *Dauid*, not in any ſlight ſort, but by indangering his
life: and on the other ſide being ſingularly affected towards him, and reſpecting of his vertue,
he communicated the ſecret and deliberation of his father with him, counſelling him to haue
care of himſelfe, and to ſlie vpon the next morrow, and that in the meane while he would goe and
ſalute his father, and as ſoone as the occaſion preſented it ſelfe, hee would ſpeake and conferre
with him, to know the cauſe of his conceived diſpleaſure againſt him, to the intent hee might pa-
cifie the ſame: ſuppoſing it to bee a matter vnreaſonable, that he ſhould bee deprived of life to
whome the people were ſo much indebted, and who in particular was his eſteemed and loued
friend:

A friend: yea in reſpect of his former merits, although he were found guiltye of many hainous of-
fences, yet ought he to obtaine a deſerued pardon. I will tell thee afterwards ſaid he) what my
fathers reſolution is. *Dauid* gaue credit to his holeſome counſaile, and retired himſelfe from the
preſence of the king.

CHAP. XIII.

How the King practiſed to murder Dauid.

The next day after, *Jonathan* came vnto *Saul*, and finding him merrie and well diſpoſed, *Jonathan* re-
kneweth vp vnto his father the good de-
ſerts of *Dauid*, praying him to pacifie his diſpleaſure
againſt him.
Hee began to ſpeak vnto him to this effect, as concerning *Dauid*. In what fault (O Father)
either great or ſmall haue you found *Dauid* guiltye, that you haue ordained & com-
manded him to be done to death? who is ſuch a man as for the conſeruation of your own perſon, hath
been very profitable, & beſides that hath preiudiced the eſtate of the Philiftines, & inhaunced the
honour of the people of the Hebrews, and hath deliuered them from that diſgrace and mockery,
wherewith they haue bene curbed for the ſpace of forty yeares: ſo that he onely hath dared, and
oppoſed himſelfe againſt the proud deſies of the enemy, and ſince that time hath brought ſo ma-
ny of the Philiftines heads as was commanded him, in recompence whereof hee hath had my fi-
ſter to wife: ſo that his death ſhould be a great diſpleaſure vnto vs, not onely by reaſon of the ver-
tue wherewith he is endowed, but alſo thorow occaſion of his alliance with vs in bloud and con-
ſanguinitie. For by his death your daughter ſhall partake part of the iniurie, by reaſon that ſhe
ſhall ſuffer the incommoditie of widowhood, before ſhe hath taſted the fruits and commodities
of marriage. Weigh theſe things, and pacifie your diſpleaſure, and do no wrong vnto ſuch a man,
who firſt of all hath bene the author of your ſo good and great fortunes, as is the conſeruation
of your perſon at ſuch time, as you were poſſeſſed and tormented with euill ſpirits: and hath
brought to paſſe that your furies are alayed: and ſecondly, hath reuenged you of your enemies.
For it is a thing vnworthy either your maieſtie or the name of a man, to forget good deſerts. *Jonathan* cer-
tifeth *Dauid* how he hath pacified his
Dauid: for his iuſt perſwaſions and arguments were more ſtronger, then the choler and feare of
the king. *Jonathan* ſent to ſeeke out *Dauid*, and told him theſe good and happy tidings from his father.
D father, and brought him vnto him, where he liued and remained in ſort as he did before time.

CHAP. XIII.

*How hardly Dauid eſcaped the ambuſhes that were often laid for him by the king, yet hauing
him twice at aduantage and in his power, would not murder him.*

About the ſame time, whileſt the Philiftines led forth their armie anew againſt the He-
brewes, *Saul* ſent out *Dauid* againſt them accompanied with his forces, who encount-
ering them ſlew a great number of them, & returned vnto the king with a great victory.
But *Saul* entertained him not, both as he deſerued, and the happy exploit atchieued by him did
merit; but deſpited and enuied his good actions & honorable deſerts, as if *Dauids* happy ſucceſſe
had bin *Sauls* diſaduantage and preiudice. But at ſuch time as the euill ſpirit returned anew and
both leiſed and vexed him, hee lodged him in his owne chamber where he lay, and hauing at that
time a lute in his hand, he commanded him to play on his harp & to ſing hymnes. Now whi-
leſt *Dauid* executed that his commandement, *Saul* ſtretching out his arme threw his dart at him:
but *Dauid* foreſeeing it, auoided the ſtroke, and fled into his owne houſe, where he ſoourned all
the day long. Now when the night was come, the king ſent out certaine of his ſeruants to watch
his houſe for ſeaſe leaſt he ſhould eſcape, to the end that the next day being drawn and appea-
ring in iudgement, he might be condemned and put to death. But *Michol*, *Dauids* wife and *Sauls*
daughter, hauing intelligence of her fathers intention, ran vnto her husband, telling him in how
great perill both he & ſhe were, who without his preſence neither could nor would liue any lon-
ger. Beware ſaid ſhe) leaſt the ſunne finde thee in this place, for hee ſhall no more behold thee
here hereafter. Flee therefore whileſt the preſent night offereth thee opportunitie, which
God doth lengthen for thy ſiſter ſake: for bee assured that if thou bee ſurprized in this place,
my father will make thee die a miſerable death. This ſaid, ſhe let him downe by a window, and
ſo ſaued him; and incontinently after, ſhee prepared his bed, and trimmed it as if hee lay ſicke
therein,

The name of the world 2883, before Christ's time 1081. Michol persuaded the king's servants that David is sicke.

Michol excuseth her selfe for deliuering David.

David expressed to Samuel how the king was affected towards him.

Saul sent armed souldiers to apprehend David, who began to prophesie, and he himselfe likewise comming thither prophesied.

David complained vnto Jonathan of his fathers injuries. Jonathan excuseth his father.

David desired Jonathan to sound his father how he was affected towards him.

therein, and vnder the couering thereof, she hid the liuer of a new slaughtered Kid: and when G her father had sent the next morning to apprehend David, she answered that hee had bene sicke all the night long: then discovering the bed that was covered, she gaue them to vnderstand that David was laid therein, making them touch the couerlet vnder which the liuer stirred, and made them beleue that the liuer that lay there was David, who panted & breathed very hardly. Which being signified vnto Saul, hee commanded that hee should bee brought vnto him in that estate wherein he was, because he was resolved to put him to death. But when Sauls messengers were arrived and returned thither, and had discovered the bed, they perceived Michols subtiltie, and went and certified the king thereof: who reproued her very grievously for that shee had saved his aduersarie, and deceived her father. But shee defended her selfe with words full of good appearance, saying, that David had threatened to kill him, and how for that cause, and by the impulsion of feare, she was drawn and induced to aide and saue him. For which cause shee ought to be pardoned, since by constraint and not of set purpose shee had furthered his escape. For (said shee) I thinke that you seeke not so greedily after the death of your enemy, as to preferre the same before the safetie and securitie of your daughter. On these perswasions Saul pardoned his daughter.

David deliuered from this perill came vnto the Prophet Samuel to Ramatha, and tolde him what ambushes the king had laid for him, & how hardly he had escaped death by the stroke of his lauelin; whereas in all things that concerned Saul, hee had alwaies shewed himselfe obedient; againe how hee had neuer ceased to warre vpon his enemies, and had by Gods assistance bene fortunate in all things, which was the cause that Saul was so displeased with him. The Prophet, informed of Sauls iniustice, forsooke the Citie of Ramath, and led David to a certaine place called Galbath where he remained with him. But as soone as Saul was informed that David was retired and accompanied with the Prophet, he sent out certaine souldiers to lay hands on him; and bring him vnto him: who repairing to Samuel, and finding the congregation of the Prophets, were seised with the spirit of God and began to prophesie. Which when Saul understood, hee sent out others, who had the like encounter with the first. For which cause he sent out others, and seeing the third company prophesie likewise, he was in the end so much despised, that hee came thither in his owne person. And when he drew neere the place before that Samuel saw him, hee made him prophesie; so that Saul comming towards him, was seised by abundance of the spirit: so that hee was rauished out of himselfe, and hauing depoyled himselfe of his raiment, hee lay K prostrate all the day and the night long in the presence both of Samuel and David. David departed from thence, and went vnto Jonathan, to whom he complained of those ambushes which his father had laid to intrap him, in telling him that notwithstanding hee had neuer committed either iniurie or fault against his father, yet did he earnestly pursue him to put him to death. Jonathan perswaded him that he should neither rashly suspect these things, nor bee ouer-credulous in those reports which perhaps might be brought vnto him, but that he should trust him onely; who was assured that his father intended no euill against him: For if he had, he would haue told him, who is neuer wont to act any thing without his counsell. But David swore vnto him that it was so, and besought him that he would beleue his vnfaigned assertions, whereby hee might the more easily procure his securitie, least contemning his words, & supposing them to bee fained and frivolous, L he should by his death be ascertained of the sight and truth thereof: For hee assured him that his father for that cause did not communicate his counsailes with him, because hee was assured of the loue and friendship that was betwene them. Jonathan sore aggrieved, that David was so perswaded, and Sauls intention was such, asked him what hee desired at his hands, or where he might shew him friendship. David said vnto him, I know that thou wilt further me in what thou maiest, and refuse mee in nothing. Now to morrow is the first day of the month, in which I was accustomed to dine at the kings table, and if thou thinkest good I will depart out of the Citie into the field; where I will lie hidden: if he aske for me, thou shalt say I am gone into the country of Bethleem where my tribe solemnizeth a feast; thou shalt certify him also that thou hast giuen me leave. And if he say God speed him, which is an ordinary wish that friends vse to such as go about: M ney, know that he hath no hidden rancor, nor secret malice conceived against me, but if hee answer otherwise, it shall be an assured testimonie that hee complotteth some mischief against me, and this shalt thou ascertaine me of, as both becommeth my present calamitie, and our mutual friendship, which by vowed oath thou being my Lord, hast plighted with me who am thy seruant. And if thou thinke me vnworthy of this fauour & iniurious towards thy father, without expecting the sentence of his iustice, kill me now at this present with thine owne sword. These his last words he

grievously

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Jonathan confirmeth his friendship towards David with an oath.

Jonathan giueth David certain signes whereby he should know whether his father were displeased with him.

Saul questioned about Davids absence. Jonathan by his answer affaileth to know his fathers mind.

Saul discouereth his hainous hate against David.

Jonathan excuseth David to his father is almost slaine with a lauelin by him. Jonathan flieth from the banquet.

Jonathan and David meete in the field. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 12. Reg. 22.

A grievously strooke Jonathan to the heart, that he promised him to accomplish his request, assisting him to certify him if he any waies could perceiue that his father was affected towards him; and to the intent hee might the better be beleued, he caused him to walke forth with him into the cleare and open ayre, and there swore vnto him that hee would not pretermitt any thing that might tend to the conseruation of David. For (said he) that God that stilleth and moderateth all things in this wide spread vniuersie, and who before I speake, knoweth my mind: he I say, shall beare witnesse of that accord which shall be ratified betwene thee and me, that I will not cease to sound my father till such time as I know and haue conceived his intention, and that I haue entred into his secrets to know what sickness his soule is seized with; and that when as I shall apprehend the same, I will not conceale it from thee, but giue thee notice thereof, be it that hee be appeared or displeased against thee. The same God knoweth how incessantly I beseech him to be assistant vnto thee, as also he is at this present: and that hee abandon thee neuer, but make thee Lord ouer thine enemies, yea though it were my father, or my selfe. Onely remember mee in this point, that after my death (if I chance to die before thee) thou take care of my children, and be as favorable towards them, as I am affected to theeward at this present. After hee had sworn this oath, hee dismissed David; willing him to conceale himselfe in a certaine place of the Plaine, where he ordinarily exercised himselfe: For that as soone as he understood his fathers mind, hee would returne thither with his Page, and if (said he) hauing shot three shafts at the marke, I shall command my Page to gather them, and bring them backe againe to me, for that they are right before him, know thou that thou art to expect no euill from my father: but if thou hearest mee speake to the contrarie, thinke thou that my father is incensed and misaffected towards thee; yet howsoeuer it happen, I will doe my best, that nothing shall befall thee otherwaies then we expect and wish. Be thou therefore mindfull of these things at such times as thou shalt obtaine thy happy daies, and be thou fauorable vnto my children. David being confirmed by Jonathans promises, retired himselfe to the appointed place. The next day after, which was the solemnitie of the new moone, after the king was purified according to the custome, he fate downe to take his repast: Now when his sonne Jonathan was set on his right side, and Abner the General of his Armie on the left, Saul perceived Davids place was void, and spake not a word, supposing that hee was absent from that company by reason he was not purified since hee had the companie of his wife: but seeing the second day of the new Moone that he was absent likewise, he asked his sonne D Jonathan why Iesses sonne both the day before, and at that instant, was not present at that feast; who answered him that he was gone into his countrie (prosecuting the storie, according as it had bene concluded betwene them) alluding that his tribe celebrated a feast, and that he had permitted him to assit the same. Further (said he) he inuited me to the banquet, and if it stand with your pleasure, I will assit the feast: for you know how entirely I loue the man. At this time knew Jonathan the displeasure his father had conceived against David, and perceived most apparantly how hainously he was affected: for Saul could not conceale his choler, but began to raile vpon his sonne, calling him rebell and his enemy, and companion and confederate with David, telling him that hee shewed reuerence neither to him, nor to his mother, since hee was so minded: and that hee would not beleue, but that as long as David liued, their royall estate should be alwaies in continuall disturbance: He commanded him therefore to bring him before him, to the end that he might do iustice vpon him. Jonathan replied, What euill hath David committed, for which hee should be punished? Hereupon Saul not onely expressed his choler in words and disgraces, but taking hold of a lauelin, he assaulted him and would haue slaine him: but he missed his purpose, by reason he was retained by his friends. At that time did Jonathan clearely discouer the hatred that Saul bare towards David, and how instantly & furiously he sought his ruine, since welny for Davids sake he had slaine his owne & eldest son. Then did Jonathan withdraw himselfe from the banquet, seeing with how little profit he had pleaded, and so much was hee grieved that he ceased not to weepe, & the rather since welny his father had vnkindly slaine him: And seeing that David was adiudged to die, hee passed all the night long without sleepe, and about the day F spring hee departed out of the Citie to the appointed field, making a shew that he walked out to take his exercise; but indeed it was to discouer vnto his friend the intent which his father had, according as it was couenanted betwene them. After that Jonathan had done that which he had promised, and sent backe his Page into the Citie, he came vnto David both to see and speak with him in priuate: who as soone as he perceived him, cast himselfe prostrate at Jonathans feet, calling him the conseruer and maintainer of his life. But Jonathan lifted him vp from the earth; so that both of them embracing one another, and intermixing their mutuall kisses for a long time

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lamented

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lamented their yeares with warme teares, and their vnfortunate friendship with bitter sighes; G they bewailed likewise their future separation no lesse grievous vnto them, then death it selfe. Finally, scarcely giuing any truce to their abundant teares, and exhorting one another to haue in perpetuall remembrance their plighted faiths and promises, they departed the one from the other.

David com-
meth to Na-
ban or Nobto
Achimelech
the high
Priest.

David recei-
uing Goliath
sword blith to
Geth, to Achis
king of the
Philistines.

David coun-
terfeits mad-
nes, to escape
the furie of
Achis.
1. Reg. 22.

David repai-
ring to the
king of the
Moabites, com-
mitteth his
father and mo-
ther to his
protection.
David com-
meth to Saron.
Saul feareth
David.

Sauls oration
to his cap-
taines, friends
and ellates, a-
gainst David.

David flying from the king and the war which he made against him, rettyred himselfe to the citie of Nob to Achimelech the priest: who seeing David come alone vnto him without either friend or seruant, was amazed; and desired to know the cause why he thus wandred without any attendance. David told him that the king had sent him about some secret execution, which might not be communicated vnto him, although he were desirous to know it: and as touching my seruants (said he) I haue commanded them to attend mee in this place. He further required him, H that he would giue him such things as were necessarie for his voyage that he had to make, where- in he might performe the part of a friend, in succouring him at such time as he had neede of him. Which when he had condescended vnto, he requested him to giue him some armes, either sword or iauelin (now in this place was there present one of Sauls seruants that was called Doeg, a Syrian by nation, and the pastor of the kings mules.) The Priest answered him, that he had no such thing by him except it were Goliaths sword, which he himselfe had hanged in the Tabernacle and dedicated vnto God, at such time as he slew the Philistine. David hauing gotten it, fled out of the countrey of the Hebrewes, and went vnto Geth, a countrey of the Philistines, wherein Achis was king. There being knowne by the kings seruants, hee was discouered and nored to bee that David, that had slaine many thousand Philistines. David fearing to bee put to death by him, I and suspecting least hee should fall into the same daunger which hee had escaped by flying from Saul, counterfeited himselfe to be foolish and mad: so that the some frothed and issued out of his mouth; and counterfeited in all things so cunningly, that he made the king of Geth beleue most stedfastly that hee was beforsed and frenzie in his sicknesse. For which cause the king was wroth with his seruants in that they had brought him a mad man, and commanded them with all expedition that might bee, to driue him out of his countrey. Hauing in this sort escaped out of the countrey of the Geths, he transported himselfe into the tribe of Iuda, and being in the caue of Adullam, hee sent vnto his brothers to let them vnderstand that he was there, who came vnto him with all their linage: and diuers others that either were in need or stood in feare of Saul, re- sorted vnto him, saying, that they were ready to performe whatsoever hee should comānd them: K all which amounted to the number of foure hundredth or thereabouts. David therefore being thus assured, by reason of the succours and forces that came vnto him, dislodged from thence & went to the king of the Moabites, beseeching him that hee would bee pleased to entertaine his father and mother in that countrey, vntill such time as hee vnderstood what should bee the issue or end of his affaires. The king vouchsafed him this fauour, and did them great honour all the time they were in his countrey. And as touching David, he hauing receiued instructions by the com- mandement of the Prophet to abandon the desert, and to sojourne in the tribe of Iuda: he obeyed him; so that comming to Saron, hee made his abode in that place. But when Saul had vnder- stood that David had bene seene with a number of men, hee fell into an extraordinary feare and trouble of minde: for knowing both the vnderstanding and courage of the man, he thought L inwardly with himselfe that hee would attempt no action that was not great, and such a one as might not onely endanger his kingdome, or at leastwise breed him much difficultie & labor. For which cause, assembling his friends and captaines, and those of his tribe in Gaba where he kept his royall court, there sitting in a place called Aror, where all his honourable and ciuill ma- gistrates, with the rest of his captaines and souldiers enuironed him round about, hee spake vnto them after this manner. Beloued friends, I know that you can beare witnesse of my boun- tie, and how I haue aduanced some of you to honours, signiories and possessions, and haue pre- ferred you to the chiefe dignities and prerogatiues amongst the people. Now would I know of you whether you hope or expect from the sonne of Iesse greater bounty and larger benefits, then I haue bestowed vpon you: I know that all of you are confederated with him, and that my sonne Jonathā likewise is of the same faction, and hath perswaded you to follow and fauour him. For I am not ignorant both of the othes and couenants that are past twixt him and David, and am wel assured that he is both a counsellor and assister vnto him in whatsoever he vndertaketh against me: yet are none of you touched with these cares; but intending your owne quiet, you expect the euent of these matters.

When the king had spoken thus, there were none of the assistants that replied: onely Doeg the

A the Syrian master of the kings mules; arose and said: That hee had seene David in the Citie of Nob; who resorted to the high Priest Achimelech, to aske counsell of him as touching his affaires; that there he had receiued those things that were needfull to furnish him in his voyage, and Goliaths sword likewise; and how he was safely conducted towards the place whither hee pretended to go. Hereupon Saul sent for the high Priest and all his kinred, and spake thus vnto him. What wrong or displeasure haue I done thee, that thou hast entertained the sonne of Iesse? and hast deli- uered him victuals and armes; to him, I say, that seeketh but the meanes to possesse himselfe of my kingdome? What answer hast thou made him: as touching those demands hee presented thee, in regard of his future fortunes? for thou hast not been ignorant that he fled from mee, and what hatred he beares against both me & my family. The high Priest denied none of these things. B but freely confessed that he had deliuered him such things as were reported, but not with an in- tent to gratifie David, but the king: for I entertained him (said he) not as thine enemy, but as thy faithfull minister and tribune, nay which is more, as thy sonne in law, and such a one as was tied vnto thee by neere alliance. For who would haue thought, that he, who was intitled to so much honour by thee, should be thine enemy: nay rather, who would not esteeme him for thy fauour- ite and neere friend? And whereas hee asked counsell of me as touching Gods will, this is not the first time, I haue answered him; but oft & many other times haue I aduised him. And where as he said, that hee was sent by thee about some hastie and secret business, should I haue refused him those supplies which he required at my hands, I might haue bin iudged rather to haue done ini- rie to thy maiestic then to him. For which cause thou art not to suspect or thinke euill of me; or if C thou hast receiued any aduersitment, that David at this time intendeth some trouble & inno- uation against thee, oughtst thou to thinke that by reason of the curtesie I haue shewed him, that I either fauor him or maintain him against thee: for what I bestowed, I employed as on thy friend; thy sonne in law and thy tribune; and whatsoever curtesie he receiued from me, it was done vnto thee. Notwithstanding all these iust allegations, yet could Saul be no waies induced to beleue them: but contrariwise, his vehement feare made him suspect the true iustifications of Achime- lech: so that he commanded certaine armed men that were about him, that they should put both him and all his family to the sword. But when they held it no lesse then sacrilege, to violate by violent death such as were men consecrated vnto God: Saul commanded Doeg the Syrian to D perpetrate the slaughter, who ioyning to himselfe certaine other sacrilegious and impious men, hee murdered Achimelech and all his race, who were in number three hundredth, thirtie and fve men. He further sent to Nob the citie of the Priests, and put all of them vnto the sword, neither sparing woman nor childe, nor hauing respect vnto any otherage, but consumed the whole Citie with fire, onely one sonne of Achimelech escaped, who was called Abiathar. All which befor- tuned according as God had foretold the high Priest Eli, saying, that by reason of the transgressi- on of his two sonnes, his posteritie should be extinguished.

This cruell and malicious act perpetrated by king Saul (in extinguishing all the race of the sacerdotall order, without compassion either of Infants, or reuerence of old age: this destru- ction of his of that Citie, which God had chosen to bee the countrey and common nuric of the Priests and Prophets, and which hee elected to be a receptacle and refuge of all that sort of men) E manifestly expresseth and declareth vnto all men, how depraued and corrupt the minds of men are. For so long as they are humble, and limited by a base and priuate estate, because they nei- ther dare nor can haue libertie to giue scope to their vnbridled natures: they seeme to bee good and iust men; and make shew of a wonderfull studie of iustice, accompanying the same with pietie, and are perswaded that God is present in all our actions: finally, that hee beholdeth all our cogitations. But no sooner haue they attained to power and empire, laying aside their former and reformed manners, and taking vpon them as it were in a stage play, both a new ha- bite and another personage, but they are deuoured in all audaciousnes and insolencie, and contempt of both diuine and humane lawes. And when as to overcome their enuie they had most need of pietie and iustice; and when as not onely all their actions, but also their wills are expo- F sed to all mens eyes: then most of all, as if either God dissembled, or feared their power, they exercise their tyrannies vpon their subiects; and whatsoever they decree, either thorow vaine feare, hatred or vnreasonable fauour, that suppose they both to be ratified by men, and allowed by God: being altogether depriued of either respect or reason of those things that are to come. For whatsoever they be that spend their many & vnexhausted labours in their seruice, those doe they first preferre: and afterwards when they haue loaden them with the burthen of dignities, they through enuie not onely depriue of those dignities, but thorow slander also doe oftentimes

N iij.

opprelle

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world, 2883. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1081.
Doeg telleth
Saul how he
saw David in
Nob with
Achimelech.
Saul reproveth
Achimelech
for furnishing
David with vi-
ctuals and ar-
mes.
Achimelechs
Apologie to
Sauls accusa-
tion of treas-
on.

The vniust
slaughter of
Achimelech
with his whole
familie.
Nob the citie
of the Priests
is burnt and al
the inhabitants
slaine.
Supl. 5. ca. 11.
1. Reg. 2. & 3.

A manifest
exemplifica-
tion of that pro-
verb, Honour
change man-
ners.

Note diligent-

The year of the world, 2883. before Christs birth 1081.

Abigail e-
scaping from
Sauls hands,
telleth Dauid
of the slau-
ter of Achime-
lech his father,
and of the
priests.

Dauid defend-
eth Cilla a-
gainst the in-
cursions of the
Philistines.
1. Reg. 23.

Saul seeketh
to besiege Da-
uid in Cilla.

Dauid admo-
nished by God
fleeeth from his
danger.
Dauid came
with his armie
to Cenn or
Ziphia, where
Jonathan com-
meth vnto
him, comfort-
eth him and
reneweth his
covenant.

The Ziphians
certifie Saul of
Dauids abode
in their coun-
trei.

Dauid hea-
ring of the
kings com-
ming, fleeth to
his himselfe.

opresse them, not considering how deservfully they oppresse, but onely giving credit without proofe to rash and scandalous detractions, executing and satiating their rage; nor on those they ought to punish, but those that may most easily be depressed and overthrowne. The manifest example hereof appeareth vnto vs in *Saul* the sonne of *Cis*: who after the gouernement of the nobilitie was extinct, and the supreme magistracie of iudges was dissimuled, being the first created king of the Hebrewes; onely for that hee suspected *Achimelech* by hee slew three hundred priests and prophets, and after he had slaine them destroyed their citie with fire; and as much as in him lay, depriued the high temple of God, nor onely of priests but sacred ministers; and after to hideous a slaughter, neither spared their countrey nor any of their offspring to be left alive. But *Abigail* *Achimelechs* sonne, who onely escaped with life amidst his slaughtered family, flying vnto *Dauid*, declared vnto him both the overthrow of his family and the death of his father. *Dauid* answered him, that hee expected no less then that which happened; for such times as hee espied *Doeg* there, who as his minde gaue him would not faile to reprove and scandaize *Achimelech* to *Saul*; yet tooke hee on him that the misfortune hapned vnto his friend by his meanes: hee therefore praised him to remaine with him, because hee could not be concealed or secured in any place better then with himselfe.

About the same time, *Dauid* vnderstanding that the Philistines made a road into the countrey of Cilla, and preied the same, determined to assault them, if after the Prophet had asked counsell of God, he should bee by the oracle animated to the performance thereof: which accordinglie falling out, hee sallied out accompanied with his friends, and serijon the Philistines, and made a great slaughter of them, and recovered a verie rich prey, and gaue convey to the Cillians, till in such times as they had safely gathered in and housed all their corne and fruit. The rumour of this his exploit was presently brought vnto *Saul*: for this noble act and happy execution was not onely not shut within the limits of the place wherein it was performed, but the renowne thereof was dispersed euery where both in other mens eares as also in the kings; and both the action and the author thereof were highly commended. *Saul* was very ioyfull to heare that *Dauid* was in Cilla, and said thus: God hath deliuered him into my hands, by inforcing him to shut vp himselfe within a citie inclosed with wals, gates, and bars: whereupon he sodainly gaue commandement that all the people should march against Cilla, and besiege the same, and surpris or kill *Dauid*.

But *Dauid* hauing intelligence hereof, and aduertised by God that if hee staid among the Cillians, they would deliuer him into the hands of *Saul*, he tooke with him his foure hundred men, and retired himselfe from the Citie into the desert, and encamped on a defended hill called Engaddi: so that the king being aduertised that he was fled from the Cillians, ceased to issue out in armes against him. From thence *Dauid* departed to a certaine place of the Ziphians, where *Jonathan Sauls* sonne met with him, and after he had embraced him, he exhorted him to be of good cheere, and to conceiue an assured hope of future good fortune, and not to giue place to his present miseries, by reason that hee should obtaine the kingdome, and should haue the whole power of the Hebrewes subiect vnto him; but that such things were not wont to happen, except they were accompanied with great traualles: and after they had once more renewed the oth of mutual and lasting amitie and faith betweene them, during all the time of their liues, calling God to witnesse with imprecations against him, that should contradict or in any sort change those conuentions; *Jonathan* left *Dauid* somewhat eased in heart, and disburdened of his conceiued feare, and that done, returned to his owne home. But the Ziphians incending to gratifie *Saul*, told him that *Dauid* was amongst them, and promised him to deliuer him prisoner into his hands, if so be hee would issue out against him: insomuch as if hee would seize all the streights of the countrey, it should bee impossible for him to flee into any other place. The king praised their forwardnesse, and promised them to require their loyalty, and to remunerate them shortly for this their good affection, and withall sent out certaine men to seeke out *Dauid*, and to beake ouer the Forrest, promising them that shortly hee would follow after them. Thus did the gouernours & princes of the Ziphians offer themselves vnto the king to search out *M* and apprehend him, expresing their affection therein, not onely in outward shew, but also with their whole power labouring what they might, that surprisng him they might deliuer him to the kings hands. But their iniust desire had as infortunate successe: who being to incur no perill by concealing him from pursuit, promised to betray into the kings hands thorow adulation and avarice, a man that was both vertuous, and wrongfully persecuted to death by his enemies. For *Dauid* being made priuie to their malice, and ascertained of the kings approche, leaving those

The year of the world, 2883. before Christs Nativity, 1081. Saul pursueth *Dauid*, and hauing circumented him, had take him, had not hee received newes that hee reuoked him.

A those narrow straights wherein they then incamped, escaped to a certaine rock, which is situate in the desert of *Simon*: Neither desired *Saul* to pursue him, for knowing by the way that he had overcome the straits, he came to the other side of the rock, & *Dauid* had surely both been taken and circumvented, had not the king been reuoked by fearfull tidings, which assured him that the Philistines had forcibly entered and spoiled his kingdome. For hee thought it more conuenient to reuenge himselfe on those his hostile & sworn enemies, & to giue succour to his country & people, being ready to be spoiled & wasted, then vnder desire to lay hands on a priuate enemy; to betray both his country and himselfe to their words; and thus was *Dauid* saved beyond all expectation, and retired himselfe to the straights of Engaddi. But after that *Saul* had repulst the Philistines, certaine newes was brought him that *Dauid* dwelt in the straights of Engaddi: whereupon he presently taking with him three thousand of the choicest men in all his armie, hee ledde them speedily to the forenamed place, and being not farre from thence, hee perceived neere vnto the high way, a deep, hollow, large, long & open caue, whereas *Dauid* with his foure hundred men might be hidden; and defended himselfe alone into the caue to disburthen this necessity of nature. This was presently discovered by one of *Dauids* followers, who told him that G.O.D. had presented him a fit opportunity to reuenge him on his enemy, & counselled him to cut off *Sauls* head, and to discharge himselfe thereby of much trouble and torment; who aiming and finding him out, onely cut off the lap of the vesture wherein *Saul* was attired; and presently therupon reported himselfe, saying, that it were a wicked deed in him to kill his Lord, whom God by election had raised to the estate of Maieftic and Empire. For (said he) although he be against toward me, yet ought I not to be iniurious towards him.

But when *Saul* was issued out of the caue, *Dauid* went but after, and cried with a loud voice; beseeching *Saul* that he would giue him audience: who turning back vnto him, he cast himselfe prostrate before his feet, and humbled him on his face according to the custome; and spake after this manner; How vawordly is it for thee, O King, that opening thy eares to scandalous backbiters, and giuing trust and credit to vaine and loose men, thou suspectest thy most tried friends, whom thou rather oughtest to iudge by their sincera and vpright actions: for words may be either false or true, but the mind may be discovered by none more apparant arguments then by ments actions: as at this present thou manifestest, whether thou hast rashly believed them, that make mee guilty before thy Maieftie of that crime, that was neuer yet so much as thought vpon, and haue to

much exasperated thee against me, that day & night thou thinkest on nothing more then my destruction. Seest thou not now how vaine thy opinion is, whereby they perswade thee, that I am an enemy of thy house, and earnestly desirous of thy death. Or with what eies thinkest thou doth God behold thy cruelty, who art quierst his death, who hauing occasion and opportunity offered him to be reuenged on thee, spareth thy life, whose life were it in thy hands were assuredly lost: for as easily might I haue cut off thy head as this lap of thy garment (and therewithall, in confirmation of his words, he shewed it him) yet did I forbear this iust reuenge, yet contrariwise art not thou afraid to exercise thy vniust tyrannies against me. But God shal beare witnesse hereof, & shall approue which of vs both are of more peaceable behaviours: *Saul* amazed to see how strangely his life had been preferred, and raiused to consider the naturall mildnesse and moderation in

Dauid, began to weep, and *Dauid* wept also: but *Saul* said that he had greater cause to lament then he. For, said he, by thy meanes haue I receiued many benefits; and thou at my hands hast been repaid with infinite iniuries. This day hast thou testified that thou remainest the ancient iustice of item him that when he hath obtained the kingdome, he would be favourable to his family. *Saul* acknowledged his malice & *Dauids* innocencie, & requested him that when he hath obtained the kingdome, he would be favourable to his family. The same time died *Samuel* the prophet, a man who by his merit was in great estimation amongst the Hebrewes, the famous testimonie of whose vertue, and the peoples obseruation towards him, was expressed in this, in that they celebrated his funeral, and set out his sepulcher with great pompe: and when they had performed his rites, they buried him in *Ramath* his Countrey, and lamented him many daies, not after the manner of a common or foraine miserie, but as if each one of them had in particular a preiudice and losse to lament for. For, hee was a man that was naturallie framed to all iustice and goodnesse, and for these his vertues most acceptable vnto God. Hee gouerned

Dauid cut off the lappe of *Sauls* garment.

Dauid vpraised *Saul* for his subtilties to seeke his death who was innocent.

Saul acknowledged his malice & *Dauids* innocencie, & requested him that when he hath obtained the kingdome, he would be favourable to his family.

Samuels death and buriall. 1. Reg. 25.

152
The year of the
world, 2883, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1088.

Nabals flocks
spoiled by Da-
uid.

Dauids em-
bassage to Na-
bal, to require
reliefe, & his
curritish answer

Dauid fallett
out against
Nabal with
400 armed
men.

Abigal Na-
bals wife, ap-
peareth Dauid
with presents.

Nabal signifi-
eth a foolc.

Dauids pro-
phcy of Na-
bal.

gouerned the people after the death of *Eli* the high Priest, first in his owne person for the space of *XII* twelue yeeres, and afterwards during the raigne of *Saul* eighteene yeeres, whose death hapned (as I said) about this time. But in those places where *Dauid* at that time remained, there was a certain *Ziphian* in a towne called *Emma*, a man very rich, and Lord of much cattell. For hee had a troupe of three thousand sheepe, and a heard of a thousand Goats. On these *Dauid* commaund his people to commit no waste, neither thorow desire, nor necessitie, nor hope of concealement, they should doe him any hurt. Charging them moreover, that they should offer no wrong vnto any man, because that to violate and take another mans goods, was both vnlawfull and wicked, and contrarie to Gods commandement. Hee instructed them in this sort, imagining with himselfe, that he should gratifie a good man, and such a one as deserued to be in like sort fauoured: but *Nabal* (for such was his name) was a rude and curritish person, leading his life in hunting. Yet had he a wife that was good, wife and faire.

To this *Nabal* *Dauid* did send tenne of his seruants about the time of his sheepe-shearing, both to salute him, as also to wish him all good, and to beseech God; that for diuers yeeres hee would graue him grace to doe the like. Meane while he requested him, that he would impart vnto him somewhat of that which was in his power, when as his shepherds could informe him, that hauing long time remained in the desert, wee haue, said they, bene so farre off from dooing your flocks any harme, as we haue rather seemed to bee their shepherds and keepers: they promised him likewise, that whatsoeuer curtesie he should shew vnto *Dauid*, he should bestow it on a mindfull and thankfull personage. Thus spake the messengers vnto *Nabal*: but hee answered them very discourteously, and rudely, demanding of them what that *Dauid* was; and being informed that he was the sonne of *Iesse*: Now, said he, these fugitiues and slaues forsaking their Maisters, liue proudly and insolently.

Dauid, hearing of this report, was grievously displeased, and commaunded foure hundred of his men to take vp their weapons & follow him, commaunding two hundred to keepe the baggage (for at that time he had fixe hundred) and in this equipage marched hee forward against *Nabal*, swearing, that that very night he would vterly exterminate & roote out all his race, and ransacke all his riches. Neither was he onely displeased for that *Nabal* was ingratefull towards them, without respect of that humanitie which they had shewed towards him, & his; but also, for that without any cause of iniurie offered, he had iniured and outraged him in words.

In the meane while, certaine shepherds that attended *Nabals* cattell, told their Mistresse their Maisters wife, that *Dauid* hauing lent vnto her husband to requite some small courtesie, had not onely obtained nothing, but also receiued insupportable iniuries, whereas till that day he had suffered his flocks to be vntouched: telling her that that insolencie of their Lord might breed them all much woe and miserie. Which when *Abigal* heard (for so was the woman called) she loaded diuers Assees with all sorts of presents (without making any motion to her husband, who was so drunke that he was insensible) and went towards *Dauid*. As therefore she descended the straights of the mountaine, *Dauid* encountered her, marching towards *Nabal*, accompanied with foure hundred men: As soone as *Abigal* perceiued him, she leaped from her Steed, & falling vpon her face, she prostrated her selfe before him, beseeching him to forget *Nabals* words, knowing that *Nabals* nature was answerable to his name. For in the Hebrew tongue *Nabal* signifieth follie: the excused herselfe likewise, saying, that she saw none of them that were sent vnto her husband. For which cause she said, I beseech thee grant me pardon, and giue God thanks, that by my meanes hee hath hindered you from polluting your hands in innocent blood: for if thou remaine pure and innocent from bloodshed, he shall exact a punishment at their handes that haue hurt thee. For those misfortunes that attend on *Nabal*, shall fall on the heads of thine enemies: onely be thou fauourable vnto me in accepting these my humble presents, and for my sake remit that wrath which thou hast iustly conceiued against my husband: for clemencie and humanitie becommeth him whom the Fates haue destinated a kingdom. *Dauid* accepting her presents, gaue her an answer after this manner. Woman, said hee, GOD of his goodnesse hath this day brought thee hither, otherwise, thou haddest not liued, or scene the next morning. For I haue sworne, that this night I would overthrow thy house, and leaue none aliue of that vngratefull mans familie, who hath so contumeliously abused both me & mine: but now God hath put thee in mind wisely to preuent and pacifie my wrath.

As touching *Nabal*, although at this present hee bee exempted by thy meanes from punishment, yet shall hee not escape, but he shall lose his life: for his manners vpon an other occasion shall be the cause of his ruine. This said, he dismissed *Abigal*: who returning to her house, and finding

ding her husband amidst his other companions, laden and ouerwhelmed in vaine, told him nothing at that time of that which had hapned: but the next day when he was sober, certifying him thereof, he lost all his forces, and his body became mortified thorow the griefe hee conceiued at her words: so that some tenne daies after and no more, he departed out of this life. Which when *Dauid* vnderstood, he said that he was deservedly punished by God, because that his owne wickednesse was the cause of his punishment, and that he was afflicted, and yet his hands who receiued the iniurie were vndistained with blood: and by this example he learnt, that no wicked man can escape Gods iudgement, and that all humane affaires are not rashly disposed, as if neglected by God, but that the good are rewarded with goodnesse, and the wicked punished according to their wickednesse. He afterwards sent messengers to his wife, and caused her to come vnto him, to the intent he might marrie her, and take her to his wife. She answered the messengers, that she thought herselfe vnworthy to lie at his feet: notwithstanding she repaired vnto him with all her furniture and meanes whatsoeuer, and was married to *Dauid*, hauing obtained that degree of honour, both in that she was modest and iust, as also for that she was beautifull. Now *Dauid* had a wife before her, whom he had married out of the Citie of *Gethla*.

As touching *Michol* the daughter of *Saul*, and other-whiles his wife, *Saul* gaue her to wife at Liffa to the sonne of *Phalti* of the Citie of *Gethla*. After this, certaine *Ziphians* comming vnto *Saul*, told him that *Dauid* was returned againe into their country, and that if it pleased him to assist them, they might easily apprehend him. Whereupon *Saul* issued with three thousand armed men, and being surprised by night, he incamped in a certaine place called *Sicelleg*.

When *Dauid* was certified that *Saul* was issued forth against him, hee sent out certaine Spies, whom he gaue in charge to bring him intelligence into what place at that time *Saul* was retired; who ascertaining him that he was at *Sicelleg*; hee watched all that night without the knowledge of any of his followers, and went into *Sauls* campe, attended onely by *Abisai* his sister *Saruais* sonne, and *Achimelech* the Chittite.

Now whilst *Saul* was asleepe, & both his generall *Abner* with all his souldiers wholly deuoured in drowsinesse, *Dauid* entred into the kings campe; and although he knew the kings pavilion, by reason of his Iauelin that stood at the dore thereof, yet slew he him not, neither permitted hee *Abisai*, who was both willing and addressed to execute the slaughter, to performe it. But this hee said, that although the king were euill, yet notwithstanding it were a strange and vndecent thing

for him, to slay him who was Godselected: for that it was Gods right to take reuenge on him, who had giuen the kingdom: and thus restrained hee the others vnbridled furie. Yet to the intent he might certifie the King, that hauing the opportunitie to slay him, hee had spared his life, hee bare away with him his Iauelin, and the pitcher of water that stood by *Saul* whilst hee slept, without the writing or knowledge of any of the campe: so much were they deuoured and overwhelmed with sleepe. He therefore departed thence in all assurance, hauing executed all that which either the time or his courage would permit him to doe. But after he had passed the riuer, and had attained the top of a mountaine, from whence hee might be easily heard, hee cried out to *Sauls* souldiers, and their generall *Abner* so strongly, that hee awaked them from their sleepe; and calling vpon *Abner* as well as the common sort of souldiers, the generall asked who it was that called him? to whom *Dauid* answered, It is I, the sonne of *Iesse*, your fugitiue: but, said he, how cometh it to passe, that thou who art so great, and in chiefe authoritie about the king, hast so small respect and guard of his person? Thy sleep is more pleasant vnto thee then thy watch for his conseruation. Assuredly this act of thine deserueth a capitall punishment, because thou neither hast discovered me, nor any others before we entred the campe, or approached the king. Seek for the kings Iauelin and his pitcher of water, and thou shalt perceiue in what great danger he hath bin, euen in the midst of you, without any notice or discouery of yours.

Saul perceiuing that it was *Dauids* voice, and conceiued how that beeing in his hands (whom he had surprisid in the depth of sleep, thorow the negligence of his guard) he had not slaine him, but pardoned him his life, although it iustly lay in his power to take his head from him: hee said, *Saul* praiseth *Dauid*, and willett him to without suspect of any euill to returne home vnto his house, because hee was periwaded, that hee loued not himselfe so much, as he was intirely affected by *Dauid*; notwithstanding that hee had courage, and pursued him, and for a long time past had chased him like a fugitiue, constraining him also by diuers afflictions and great torments of spirit, to be abandoned from his dearest parents & friends: his owne house,

yea from *Dauid* himselfe, who might haue preferred him, and who had giuen him diuers demonstrations of his good will towards him, and by whom he had been oftentimes preferred, whom notwithstanding

The year of the world, 2889, before Christ's Nativity, 1075. *Nabal* conceiued so much sorrow and feare for his immodestie against *Dauid* that he dieth Apoplectique. An example of Gods prouidence, that no sin can escape unpunished. *Dauid* marrieth *Abigal* Nabals wife. *Saul* marrieth his daughter *Michol* to an other husband. 1. Reg. 26. The *Ziphians* once more labour to betray *Dauid* in their country. *Dauid* once more attended by two, entering into *Sauls* campe, stole away his dart and his pitcher of water.

Dauid vbrai-
deth *Abner*
king *Sauls* ge-
nerall, for suffe-
ring his kings
Iauelin and
pitcher of wa-
ter to be taken
from him.

154
The year of the
world, 2880. be-
fore Christ. Na-
tivity, 1075.
David decla-
reth his inno-
cency to Saul.

1. Reg. 27.
Saul desireth
to persecute
David.
David with six
hundred men
and his two
wives went in-
to Palestine to
Achis king of
Gaza.
David requi-
reth a certain
place at the
kings hands
to make his
habitation in.
The king gi-
ueth him Si-
celeg.
David spoiled
the Sarrites &
Amalechites,
and giueth
part of the
prey to the
king, persua-
ding him that
he took it from
the Iewes that
inhabited the
South plaine.

norwithstanding he ceased not to pursue vnto the death, who contrariwise desired nothing more
then his life. Hereupon *David* willed him to send some one of his seruants to bring back his iave-
lin and pitcher of water: protesting that God should bee Iudge of both their natures, *maimes &*
atcions, who knew that that day also he had spared his enemy, whom if he had so thought good,
he might haue extinguisht.

Saul hauing this second time escaped frō *David*s hands, returned to his royall house. But *Da-
uid*, fearing least if he sojourned in that place hee should be intrapped by *Saul*, though good
to retire himselfe into the country of the Philistines and sojourn there. So that accompanied with
six hundred men which he had with him, he transported himselfe to *Achis* king of Geth; one of
their fiue Citties; who received him with all his people, and gaue him a place to dwell in: so that
he abode in Geth, hauing with him his two wiues, *Achimaas* & *Abigail*. Which when *Saul* vn-
derstood, hee made no more account to send or fallie out against him, because that two seuerall
times he had been in dangier of his life, at such time as he pursued him to intrap him. *David* held it
not conuenient to remaine in the Citie of Geth, & therefore requested the king of the Philistines,
that sith he had courteously entertained him, it might please him likewise to do him the fauour to
assigne him a certaine place in his country, where hee might make his habitation, because hee fea-
red to be chargeable to him, if so be he remained in the citie. *Achis* assigned to him a village called
Siceleg, which *David* after he obtained the kingdome, loued and honoured; holding that for his
owne demaine, as his owne children & heires did after him. But hereof will wee speak in an other
place. The time that *David* liued amongst the Philistines & in the towne of Siceleg, were foure
moneths and twentie daies; during which time, by seuerall and secret excursions against the bor-
dering Sarrites and Amalechites, he spoiled their country and returned back againe with a great
bootie of oxen and camels: yet brought he thence no bondmen, least *Achis* by their means should
haue intelligence of his enterprise. He sent likewise a part of the prey vnto the king, and when he
demanded from whom he had taken the same, he answered that he had taken it from the Iewes
that dwelt Southward and in the Plaine, perswading him that he had done no losse: so that *Achis*
conceiued an opinion, that since *David* warred against his owne nation all the time of his abode
with him, he would be a faithfull seruant vnto him. About the same time, the Philistines hauing
determined to lead forth their armie against the Israelites, sent out to their allies, requiring them
to assist them in that war, and to make their *Rendezous* at Renga, to the intent that beeing there
assembled, they might dislodge and assaile the Israelites. Amongst their other auxiliarie compa-
nies, *Achis* had requested *David* to assist him, with his six hundred souldiers: who he promised
him willingly to performe, telling him that the opportunitie was now come wherein hee might
requite his curse, and the hospitalitie hee had shewed him. *Achis* promised him that after the
victory, when as all things had succeeded according as he desired, hee would prefer *David* to the
guard of his person; thinking by the promise of this honour and trust, he might augment *David*s
forwardnesse and affection towards him.

CHAP. XV.

*The Philistines renew their warre against the Hebrewes, and obtaine the
victorie: and Saul with his sonnes, are slaine in
the battell.*

The year of the
world, 2890. be-
fore Christ. Na-
tivity, 1074.
Saul banished
all diuiners &
enchanters
out of his king-
dome.
Saul hearing
the Philistines
made head a-
gainst him, as-
ked counsell of
God.

B Ut *Saul* about this time had banished all Diuiners and Inchanters, and in generall, all
such as were tellers of fortunes, reseruing none vvithin his countrey, but the Prophets.
VVhen as therefore hee understood that the Palestines were already vp in armes, and
strongly encamped neere to the citie of Sonna, situate in the Plaine, hee marched forward and
made head against them with all his forces. And as soone as he drew neer to the mountain of Gel-
boa, he incamped right ouer against the enemy. Now when his army discovered their great for-
ces, they were much discomfited, & no sooner beheld it but were amazed. Beeing therefore fore-
troubled herewith, he sought counsell at Gods hands as touching the euent of the battell: & seeing M
he returned him no answer, his hart more and more failed him, in that hee manifestly perceiued
what sinister success would beide him, if God should not assist him in the conflict. He therefore co-
manded that they should search him out some Pythonissa or cunning enchantresse, who inuoca-
ted and raised the spirits of the dead, to the end that by her meanes he might know if his vvarre
should haue that successe which he pretended (for the Diuiners which gaue answer by the belly,
which the Greekes call *Engastrimythes*, declare their aduentures to those that aske them.) And
when

A when as by the report of a certaine familiar friend of his, hee was aduertised that there was such
a one at Endor, vntoizing to his whole armie, and laying aside his royall habites, and attended
onely by two, whom he esteemed for his most faithfull seruants, he repaired to Endor to this wo-
man, requiring her to diuine and raise vp the spirit of him whom he should name. The woman
denied, and said, that she ought not to contradict the kings edict, who had driuen out of his realme
all such sort of Soothsaiers; telling him that hee did not well, that hauing receiued no wrong at
her hands, he should thus found her, and seeke to bring her in laspe of the kings lawes, and cause
her to bee punished. But *Saul* swore vnto her, that no man should knowe thereof, and that hee
would not discover her diuination to others: briefly, that shee should incurre no danger there-
by.

B After then that by his othes and protestations he had perswaded her, that she should haue no
cause to feare, he commanded her to raise the spirit of *Samuell*. Shee not knowing what *Samuell*
was, called him from hell, and he suddenly appeared. But when he perceiued that it was an ho-
nourable man, and of diuine semblance, she was fore troubled; and being wholly discomfited
with this vision, she turned and said vnto the king: Art not thou *Saul*? for *Samuel* had certified
her no lesse. *Saul* confessed that it was he, and asked her for what cause she seemed to be so much
troubled: She answered, that she saw a man ascend that resembled God. *Saul* commanded her
to declare vnto him his shape, habite and age: and she gaue him to vnderstand that hee was a re-
uerend old man, attired in the vestment of a high priest. By these marks *Saul* knew that it was *Sa-
muell*: vvhereupon, prostrating himselfe on the earth, he adored and saluted him. The spirit of *Sa-
muell* asked him for what cause hee had troubled and raised him. To whom hee complained and
lamented that hee was enforced thereunto by necessitie: for that a grieuous host of his enemies
were at hand, and that void of counsaile he was forsaken by God, hauing from him no predicti-
on, either by prophecie or dreame: for which cause, said he, I made my recourse vnto thee, who
hast alwaies had care both of mee and my fortunes. But *Samuell*, foreseeing that the kings death
was hard at hand, answered him that it was in vaine for him to question with him, as touching
those things that should happen, since thou knowest that thou art forsaken by God. Know there-
fore, said he, that *David* shall possesse the kingdome, and that it is hee that shall establish the estate
by armes: but as concerning thy selfe, thou shalt lose both thy kingdome and thy life, because
thou hast disobeyed GOD in thy vvarre against the Amalechites, & hast not obserued his com-
maundements, according as I foretold thee at such time as I was aliue. Knowe therefore, that
thy people and host shall be discomfited by the enemy, and that both thou and thy sonnes shall
be to morrow slaine in the battell, and be with me. When *Saul* vnderstood these things, hee be-
came speechlesse, thorow the sorrow wherewith he was seased, and fell downe on the pavement,
either for that his forces failed him thorow suddaine griefe, or for his want of meat; because that
neither that night, nor the day before, he had vouchsafed his body any refectiō or sustenance.

At length, hardly recovering himselfe out of his swoon, the woman importuned him to re-
ceiue some sustenance; beseeching him to doe her that fauour in recompence of her vnexpected
diuination; which though interdicted, she had aduentured to performe for his sake (before shee
were ascertained that it was he that had forbidden them) in consideration whereof, shee prayed
him, that seeing downe at the table, hee would refresh himselfe with some sustenance; to the end
he might be the more able to return vnto his army. And although he resisted and vterly refused
to eate, in that he had no appetite, and was vterly desperate; yet so effectually importuned shee,
that finally she perswaded him to receiue some little nourishment. And whereas she had but one
casse which she bred vp in her house with some particular care (for she was but a poore woman,
and had no other riches) yet spared shee not to kill it, and dresse the flesh for *Saul* & his seruants.
Thus refected, *Saul* returned back againe into his camp. The curse of this woman deserueth
to be praised: for although she knew that the king had prohibited her art, whereby both she and her
family sufficiently maintained themselves: and although before that time shee had neuer scene
Saul; yet so it is; that without remembering her that it was he by whom her art had bin condem-
ned, shee entertained him not as a stranger, or like the man shee had neuer scene before; but had
compassiō of him and comforted him, exhorting him to eate, although hee refused it, and pre-
sented him willingly and hartily with that little which she had in her pouerty. All which she did
not vnder hope of recompence, or expected preferment (knowing well that *Saul* should shortly
lose his life) nor according to the ordinarie course of men, that naturally honour those that
haue bestowed some dignitie vpon them, and become seruiceable to those from whom they pre-
tend to draw some profit hereafter. Shee therefore ought to be imitated, and in her appeareth an
excellent

The year of the
world, 2890. be-
fore Christ. Na-
tivity, 1074.

Saul repaireth
to Endor to
aske counsaile
of a Soothsai-
esse.

Saul commaun-
deth the witch
to raise Samu-
els ghost.

Saul complain-
eth him of
his miseries
to Samuel, and
asketh his ad-
uice.

Samuels ghost
certifieth Saul
of the euent of
his battell a-
gainst the Phi-
listines.

Saul through
sudden sorrow
fell in a swoon.

The Enchan-
tresse intrea-
teth him to
refresh him
selfe, and take
some refectiō.

An example of
curse & li-
berality in the
Enchantresse.

156

The year of the
world, 3890, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1074.

Iosephus prai-
seth Saul for
a worthy and
valiant King,
in that fore-
knowing his
danger and
death, he ex-
posed himselfe
to assured pe-
rill.

1. Reg. 29.

Achis leadeh
out David
with him a-
gainst the He-
brews, and is
reproued by
the chieftaines
of the Pale-
stines for so
doeing.

Achis dismi-
seth David.

excellent example of bountie, approouing that there is nothing more woorthy praise, then to re-
lieue those that are in necessitie; neither any thing more becoming men, or whereby wee may
obtaine Gods fauour and graces, better then by it. Thus much sufficeth at this present, in respect
of this woman. But now me thinketh I shall doe well if I insert in this place, and in these my wri-
tings, another example both profitable to people and Nations, and in especiall an incitation to
noble men, and such as are borne vnto glory, to follow vertue; which also shall expresse what ho-
nour is, and exemplifie how a man may eternize his memorie, which ought to engender in the
hearts of kings of Nations, and of Gouvernours of Common-weales, a singular desire and affecti-
on to addiect themselves to noble actions, and to encourage them to entertaine dangers, yea
death it selfe; and teach them to endure all difficulties whatsoeuer, for their Countries cause. To
which intent, the historie of *Saul* the king of the Hebrewes yieldeth me matter most incident to
this purpose. For, although he knew that which should befall him, & that his death was at hand
(according as it had bene foretold him) yet resolved he not to avoid the same; neither so loued
hee his life, that for the conservation thereof, hee would deliuer vp his people into the hands of
his enemies, nor dishonour his royall dignitie: but himselfe, with his children & all his house-
hold, exposed themselves to danger; thinking it more honourable to die with them in fighting
for his subiects, and farre more expedient that his children should die like valiant men, then to
leave them alieue in incertitude of estate whereinto they might fall, supposing that he should haue
sufficient succours of his race, if he left behind him a perpetuall memorie & praise both of him
and his. For which cause (in my opinion) he was both iust, strong and prudent, and if any one
either is or hath been like vnto him, I suppose that it becōmeth all men to giue testimonie of such
a mans vertue. For I thinke that the Historians and ancient Writers, haue not worthily entituled
them with the stile of valiant men, who attaining some worthy actions, attempted warre vnder
assured hope of victorie and safetie, but they only that imitate *Saul* may deseruedly be called iust,
praise-worthy, couragious, hardie, and contemners of all dangers. For what great thing is there
in vndertaking the common hazard of warre, and tossed twixt hope and feare, to vse Fortunes fa-
uour if the fawne vpon vs? But contrariwise, I account it an assured signe of a valiant man, when
as without conceit or hope of any goodnes, and knowing his death at hand, and assured in his
cōflict, he is not affraid nor dismayd with such apprehensions, but seeketh out with an inuincible
courage his most assured hazard.

This is the praise of our *Saul*, who is an example to all true louers of glory, that if they haue
regard to leaue an honest memory to their posteritie, they should vpon the like opportunitie pro-
pose the same resolution to themselves: but in especiall Kings, who, by reason of the excellencie
of their degree, ought not onely forbear to be euill, but also strue to be excellently vertuous. I
could likewise say more of this generous argument of *Sauls* valour, but least I should seeme too
affectionate, I will returne to our former purpose.

After that the Philistines were thus encamped (according as hath been afore-spoken) and had
numbered their forces according to their nations, king *Darius*, and gouernments, king *Achis* issued
in the reuerend with his particular company, whom *Darius* followed, accompanied with his sixe
hundred souldiers: whom when the Chieftaines of the Philistines beheld, they asked the King
whence those Hebrewes came, and what their Leaders name was? Who answered them that it
was *David*, who fled from *Saul* his maister, and how he had entertained him being fledde from
him: againe, how *David*, in recompence of the good he had receiued at his hand, and to reuenge
him on *Saul*, was ready to fight for them against him. But the chieftaines blamed him, because
he had chosen an enemy for his associate, counselling him to dismisse him, for feare lest he should
secretly performe some strange stratageme against his confederates, because (said they) hee hath
a fit opportunitie to reconcile himselfe to his Maister. They therefore willed him to send *David*
backe with his sixe hundred souldiers, vnto the place which hee had giuen him to inhabite, be-
cause it was the same *David* of whom the damfels made songs, singing in praise of him, that hee
had slaine many thousand Philistines. Vhen the king of Geth vnderstood these things, he thought
their counsell to be laudable: for which cause, calling *David* vnto him, hee said vnto him; I pro-
test vnto thee (said he) that I beare a most singular affection and good liking towards thee: and
for that cause I haue called thee out to assist vs in this battell; but our Captaines allow not of my
resolution; for which cause, retire thy selfe to the place which I haue giuen thee, without concei-
uing any euill suspicion of mee. There shalt thou be in garrison, to forestall the enemy from so-
raging our country: and in so doeing, thou shalt partly assist vs in the warre. Herevpon, *David*
departed vnto Siceleg, according as the king had commaunded him.

But

- A But during the time that *David* was in campe, and attended on the Philistines warre, the A-
malechites arose and tooke Siceleg by force, and burned the Citie: and after they had gathered
a great bootie both in that place, and in other villages of the Philistines country, they retired
backe againe. Now when *David* arrived at Siceleg, and found it wholly ruined and spoiled, and
seeing likewise that his two wiues, and the wiues of his companions were prisoners together with
their children: he presently rent his rayment, and began to weep and lament with his compa-
nions; yea so much was he afflicted, that he had scarce any teares left him to bemoane himselfe:
beside this, his companions amazed with the captiuitie of their wiues and children, were ready to
ston him to death; accusing him that hee was the cause of all that which had hapned. But when
as his griefe was after a manner asslaked, and hee somewhat returned to himselfe, he lifted vp his
heart vnto God, and commaunded the high Priest *Abiathar* to put on the Ephod, and aske coun-
saile of God; and that done to declare vnto him whether by his assistance he might ouertake the
Amalechites, if so be he should pursue them; and whether he should recouer his wiues and chil-
dren that they had led away, and reuenge him of his enemies. As soone as the High Priest had
certified him that he might pursue them, hee sallied out with sixe hundred souldiers, and pursued
the enemy: & drawing neere vnto the riuier, he found a certaine straggler an Egyptian by nation,
wholly discomfited and feeble thorow want and famine wherewith he was pressed, hauing for
three daies space wandered in the desert without any sustenance; whom after he had refreshed with
meate and drinke, and recomfited, hee asked him to whom hee belonged, and what he was.
The Egyptian told him his nation; and how he had bene left in that place by his master, because
that thorow his weakness it was impossible for him to follow them. He confessed likewise, that
his master was one of the number of those that had burned and sacked, not onely other quarters
of Iudaea, but Siceleg also. *David* taking this man for his guide ouertooke them, finding some of
them lying on the earth; others banquetting and following drunkenness, and almost senselesse
by ouerdrinking: so recouering both his bootie and pillage, and sodainly setting vpon them, he
made a great slaughter. For they being naked, and suspecting no such inconuenient, and wholly
addicted to frolicke drinking and feasting, were all of them easily defeated: diuers likewise a-
mongst them were slaine as they sat at their meat; others likewise were slaughtered whilest they
carrouled the one vnto the other; and some of them perished being loaden with sleepe, and gorged
with wine.
- D They likewise that were completely armed, intending to make resistance, were as easilie
slaine, as they that lay naked vpon the earth: Thus *Dauids* men abode with him from the first
hower of the morning till the euening, doing nought else but kill & murder, so that only four-
hundred of the Amalechites escaped, who likewise fled being mounted on their Dromedaries. So
recouered he all that which the enemy had ranfack, and amongst other things he released both
his own wiues & those of his companions. Vherupon they returned to the place where they had
left the other two hundred, which might not follow the, because they were appointed, to guard
the baggage: To these, the abovesaid four hundred would not grant a part of the booty and
profit, because they had not (as they said) followed the enemy with them, but shewed them
themselves slacke in the pursuit; alledging that they ought to content themselves with the recovery of
their wiues. But *David* said, that the sentence which was pronounced by them, was both euill and
vniust: for since God had granted them the grace to defeat their enemies, all of them merited
to haue part in the profit, which ought equally to be diuided amongst them, both amongst those
that had fought, and amongst those likewise that staid behind to guard the baggage. And from
that day forward this ordinance hath bene held firmly amongst them, that they that keep the
baggage, should haue equall part and portion of the prey with those that should goe out to the
battell. But when *David* was returned to Siceleg, hee sent vnto all his familiars and friends of the
tribe of *Juda*, a severall part of the spoile: In this manner was Siceleg sacked and burned, and
thus were the Amalechites discomfited. But the Philistines assailed, and fought a bloudie battell
with *Saul* and his followers, wherein the Philistines had the vpper hand, and slew a great num-
ber of their enemies. *Saul* king of Israel with his sonnes fought therein very valiantly, and with
stout hearts, seeing that all their honour consisted in that onely point to die nobly, and to hazard
themselves against all camifadoes of their enemies. For since the Philistines bent all their forces
against them, they law no means of recouerie, so that encompassed by them they died in the
middest of them, and yet before their death slew a great number of the Philistines. There
were there present *Sauls* three sonnes, *Jonathan*, *Amnon*, and *Melchior*: who being defeated,
all the Hebrew armie turned their backs: so that being instantly pursued by the enemy,

The year of the
world 3890, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1074.
The Amale-
chites in *Da-
uids* absence
spoile and
burne Siceleg,
and carry away
the prey.

David taketh
counsell of
God whether
he will assist
him to reco-
uer his wiues
and goods out
of the hands
of the Ama-
lechites.

David guided
by an Egyp-
tian slave ouer-
taketh the A-
malechites.
David assai-
leth the Ama-
lechites, and
maketh a gret
slaughter of
them, and re-
couereth the
whole prey.

David com-
mitteth the
baggage to
those that
pursued the
chace, and
those that kept
the baggage
touching the
pillage.
1. Reg. 31.

Saul and his
sonnes seeing
their armie
ouercome by
the Philistines
are desperatly
dismayd and
slaine.

O j

there

The yeare of the world 2800. before Christ's Nativity, 1074.

Saul striueth to kill himselfe: and being vnable vith the assistance of a young Amalechite.

The Hebrewes that inhabit the valley beyond Iordan, leauing their townes fly to desced cities.

The Philistines hung vp the bodies of Saul and his sonnes.

The citizens of Iabes rescue the bodies of Saul and his sons, and both bury and lament them.

there fell a great disorder, confusion and slaughter amongst them. *Saul* fled also, although hee had about him a strong squadron of men. And although the Philistines marshalled forth against him a multitude of archers, that shot many darts and arrowes at him; yet were they all but a verie few repulsed: and although hee had fought verie brauely, hauing receiued on him diuers wounds, yet being vnable to support the paine and griefe of his wounds, and trauailed with shortnesse of breath, hee commanded his esquier to draw his sword, and to thrust it thorow his body before he should be surprisid aliue by his enemies: which his esquire refused to doe, nor daring to lay hands vpon his master. For which cause *Saul* drew his owne sword, and setled the point to his brest and cast himselfe thereon: but vnable to force it home enough, nor make it by goring himselfe theron to pearce quite thorow him, he looked back and perceiued a young man hard beside him, of whom he demanded what he was: and hearing that he was an Amalechite, he requested him, that since himselfe was vnable to pearce himselfe with his owne handes, that he would leane vpon him, and make the sword passe thorow him, & bring him to that death which he so earnestly desired: which he did, and hauing taken from him the gold which hee had about his armes, and the royall crowne likewise, he fled away. The Elquirc seeing *Saul* dead, so daingly slew himselfe: Nor one of all the kings guard escaped, but all of them were slaine neere vnto the mountaine Gelboa. When they that inhabited the valley on the other side of Iordan and in the Plaine, had intelligence that *Saul* and his sonnes were dead, and with them a great number of their nation was slaine, they abandoned their Cities and fled to others that were more defended. The Philistines finding these Cities destitute of inhabitants, encamped therein. The next day whilest the Philistines spoiled the dead, they found the bodies of *Saul* & his sons, which they spoiled and beheaded; sending their heads round about the country, to make it knowne that their enemies were defeated. They offered vp their armes also in the temple of Astaroth; and as for their bodies they hung them on the wals of the Citie of Bethsan, at this day called Scythopolis. When they of Iabes a Citie of Galaad vnderstood how the Philistines had thus cut off the heads of *Saul* and his sonnes, they were fore moued, and thought it became them not to bee so carelesse of them, but that they should be rescued. For which cause the most valiant and hardie amongst them (for that Citie bringeth vp men both valiant in heart and strong in body) departed and marched all night long, so as they attained Bethsan, and approaching neere the wals tooke downe the body of *Saul* and his sonnes, and carried them vnto Iabes, without any resistance of the enemye, in that they durst not attempt the rescue. These Iabesians lamented ouer their dead bodies and made publike lamentations, and buried them in the fairest place of their country, which place is called Arar. They mourned after this manner weeping, both men, and women & children, and beating their breasts, and lamenting the king and his sonnes, and tasting neither meat nor drinke. This was the end of *Saul*, according as *Samuel* had foretold him, because hee had disobeyed God in his warre against the Amalechites, and for that he had slaine the race of *Achimelech*, and *Achimelech* himselfe also, and destroyed the Citie of the Priests. He reigned during the life of *Samuel* for the space of eighteene yeares, and twenty two yeares after his death. Thus finished *Saul* his life.



THE


THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 7. Booke.

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 - 2 *Isboeth is slaine by the treacherie of his domestiell seruants, and the whole kingdom commeth vnto Dauid.*
 - 3 *Dauid hauing surprisid the Citie & cistadell of Ierusalem, driueth the Chanaanits from thence, and causeth the Iewes to inhabit the same.*
 - 4 *Dauid assailed by the Philistines, obtaineth a famous victorie against the neere vnto Ierusalem.*
 - 5 *Dauid overcoming the neighbouring nations, imposeth tributes on them.*
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 - 7 *How Dauid overcame the Mesopotamians.*
 - 8 *How thorow the intestine warrs of his family, Dauid was expulsed out of his kingdom by his sonne.*
 - 9 *Abiſolon marching out with his armie against his father, is overthrowne.*
 - 10 *The happy estate of Dauid restored againe into his kingdom.*
 - 11 *Dauid in his life time, annointeth and createth his sonne Salomon king.*
 - 12 *The death of Dauid, and how much he left his sonne towards the building of the temple.*

CHAP. I.

Dauid is created King of one Tribe in Hebron: ouer the rest, Sauls sonne obtaineth the soueraignty.

- D
- 
- His battell was fought on the same day that *Dauid* returned conquerour to Sicleg, after he had subdued the Amalechites. But some three daies after his returne; he that slew *Saul* and had escaped from the battell, hauing his garment rent and ashes cast vpon his head, came and cast himselfe prostrate before *Dauid*: and being demaunded from whence he came, he answered, from the battell of the Israelites; and certified *Dauid* of the unhappy issue thereof: telling him how diuers thousands of the Hebrewes were slaine, and how *Saul* himselfe and his sonnes were done to death in the conflict. Hee likewise gaue him to vnderstand, how he himselfe retired amongst the Hebrewes; and was present at the flight of the king: confessing likewise that he was the author of his death, vnder purpose to redeeme him from the hands of his enemies: For (said hee) *Saul* hauing cast himselfe vpon the point of his sword, was so weake, by reason of the agonie of his wounds, that he could not dispatch himselfe. Furthermore, he produced the testimonies of his death; the gold about his armes, and the royall crowne which hee tooke and brought from him being dead. *Dauid* perceiuing no cause whereby he should suspect his death, whereof hee had most euident and infallible testimonies, rent his garments, and spent the day in weeping and lamenting with his companions. And the more was he ouerpressed with sorrow by reason of the losse of his most deere friend *Jonathan*, whom he acknowledged to be the author and preseruer of his life: And so vertuous and affectionate shewed hee himselfe towards *Saul*, that although he had oftentimes been in danger to haue been slaine by him, yet was he fore aggrieved at his death: and not that alone, but he likewise executed him that slew him; telling him, that he himselfe had accused himselfe for slaying the king, declaring thereby that he was the sonne of an Amalechite, and commanded that he should bee put to death. He composed likewise lamentations and Epitaphs in praise of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, which are as yet extant at this present time wherein I liue. After that he had thus honoured the king, and performed his lamentation and obsequies, he asked counsaile of God by the meanes of the Prophet, what Citie of the tribe of *Iuda* hee would giue him to inhabit in: who answered him
- that

The yeare of the world, 2801. before Christ's Nativity, 1073. 2. Reg. 1. An Amalechite certified *Dauid* of *Sauls* death, & in testimonie thereof presented his bracelets and crowne.

Dauid lamenteth *Saul* and *Jonathan's* death.

Dauid commandeth the Amalechite to be slaine that killed *Saul*.

O ij;

The years of the world 2891. before Christ 225. David by Gods commandment cometh and dwelleth at Hebron, and is declared king of the tribe of Iuda. David praise the labours for burying Saul and his sonnes.

Abner the son of Ner crowneth Iſboſeth Sauls sonne. Abner leadeth out his army against the tribe of Iuda. Iſboſeth with all Davids armie ſueth out to meet him. Twelve ſouldiers fight, and kill one another, and Abners side are overthrowne. Azael Iſboſeths brother pursueth Abner.

Abner in his flight killeth Azael.

Toab & Abiſai purſued Abner till ſunſet.

Toab ſounding a retreat reſtraineth his ſouldiers.

How many on each ſide died in the battell. 2 Reg. 3. The beginning of ciuill warre amongst the Hebrewes.

that hee would giue him Hebron. For which cauſe he forſooke Siceleg, and came and dwelt in G Hebron, and brought thither his wife and ſouldiers. All the people of the aforeſaid tribe reſorted thither vnto him, and proclaimed him king: where vnderſtanding how the Iabſſins had buried Saul and his ſonnes, he ſent embaffadours vnto them, both to praiſe and approue their actions, promiſing them that both he allowed their act, and would remunerate their deuoir which they had extended toward the dead: giuing the likewiſe to vnderſtand, that the tribe of Iuda had choſen him for their king. But Abner the ſon of Ner General of Sauls army, a man of execution, and of a noble diſpoſition, vnderſtanding that Saul and Ionathan and his two other brothers were dead, came into the campe, and bringing with him the onely ſonne of Saul that was left, whoſe name was Iſboſeth, he paſſed on the other ſide of Iordan, and proclaimed him king of all the people except the tribe of Iuda. He appointed likewiſe for his royall ſeate and place of reſidence, a certaine countrey called in Hebrew Machare, that is to ſay, the campe. From thence went he with an elected band of ſouldiers, with a reſolution to fight againſt thoſe of the tribe of Iuda, in that he was diſpleaſed with them, becauſe they had made choiſe of David for their king. Againſt him marched out Toab the ſonne of Suriaid of Suria Davids ſiſter, General of his army, to encounter him, accompanied with his brothers Abiſai and Azael, and al Davids ſouldiers: and arriuing nere a certaine fountaine of Gabaa, hee arranged his armie in that place to enter battell. And when as Abner ſaid vnto him, that hee deſired to make triall whether part had the better ſouldiers, it was accorded betweene them, that twelue for either ſide ſhould be choſen out to determine the challenge: who marching out into a certaine place betwixt both the hoſts, and hauing darted their Iauclins the one againſt the other, came at laſt to the ſword; where mutually aſſailing, hewing and butchering one another both in their heads, ſides and bowels, they all of them at laſt fell downe dead, as if the plot had bin determined between them. Which done, the two armies ioyned in like ſort, and after a cruel battell Abner with his followers were diſcomfited: who ſpeedily flying were inceſſantly purſued by Toab, who in his owne perſon inſiſted and exhorted his other ſouldiers to purſue them haſtily, without ſuffering any of them to eſcape. But amongſt the reſt, Toabs brothers were hot vpon the chaſe, and the youngeſt of them called Azael gaue eſpeciall teſtimonie of his forwardnes, thorow that ſwiftheſſe in running wherewith he was endowd; for he ranne not onely more ſwift then other men, but outſtripped horſes alſo in their race. Whileſt thus he purſued Abner with great vehemencie and headlong courſe, without turning either on the one ſide or on the other, Abner turned backe vpon him, and intending to dignifie him for his forces, he firſt couenanted with him for one ſouldiers armour, and another time ſeeing that hee could not be perſwaded to ſtay, he prayed him to arreſt himſelfe and purſue him no further, for feare leaſt being inforced to kill him, he ſhould be deſtroyed of the courage to behold his brother Toab. But perceiuing that hee made no account of his words, in that Azael inſtantly inſiſted to purſue him, Abner flying and turning himſelfe backe, ſtrooke him with a Iauclin which he had in his hand, in ſuch ſort as he preſently died. But they that purſued Abner, likewiſe arriuing in the place where Azaels body vnaduentuſouſly fell dead, ſtaied round about him, and ſurceaſed to purſue the enemy any further. But Toab and his brother Abiſai outſtripping the body with ſwift running, and conceiuing a more mortall hatred againſt Abner, for that he had in this ſort ſlaine their brother; they purſued him vntill ſunſet, with admirable ſwiftheſſe, and incredible alacritie vnto a place called Dumaton: There mounting vpon a hilllocke, hee ſaw Abner with the tribe of Benjamin flying from him; who beganne to cry out vnto him and ſay, that men of the ſame tribe ſhould not bee ſo whetted and incenſed the one againſt the other: That their brother Azael was in the fault, becauſe that although hee had exhorted him to ceaſe from running after him, yet could hee not perſwade him, and that for the ſame cauſe he had both ſtrooken and ſlaine him. Toab wiſely digeſting theſe his ſayings, and accepting of them as of holeſome and friendly aduertisements and counſailes, he commanded the trumpet to ſound retreat, and ſurceaſed to purſue them any more, and incamped for that night in the ſame place: during which time, Abner travelled without ceaſing, and hauing paſt over Iordan, returned to his campe to Iſboſeth Sauls ſonne. The next day Toab ſuruaied the dead, and cauſed them to be buried. Thoſe that were found dead on Abners ſide were about three hundred and ſixtie men; and on Davids ſide nineteene, ouer and beſides Azael, whoſe body Toab and Abiſai tooke with them, and carried it vnto Bethleem, and after they had interred it in the tomb of their aunceaſtors, they repaired to Hebron vnto David. From that time forward there aroſe a ciuill warre amongst the Hebrewes, that endured a long time, in which Davids followers had alwaies the vpper hand, and neuer aduentured the hazard of the field without returning with ſome aduantage,

A aduantage; whereas the ſonne of Saul and his partakers had almoſt euerie day the worſe. David at that time had ſixe ſonnes by ſo many wiues, the eldeſt of them was called Ammon the ſonne of Achimaas, the ſecond was Daniel the ſonne of Abigal, the third was called Abſolon the ſonne of Machama the daughter of Proiomey king of Geſſur; the fourth was Adonias the ſonne of his wife called Aggite: the fifth and the ſixt were called Gertheſſa and Gala. But after this ciuill warre was begunne, & that the kings on both ſides had oftentimes encountred and fought together, Abner General of the armie for king Sauls ſonne, a prudent man, & one that was beloved by the people, endeouored all that in him lay, that the whole country might be commanded by Iſboſeth, & in effect they all ſubmitted vnto him for a certaine time: but when as it afterwards fell out that Abner was charged and accuſed to haue kept company with Riſpa Sauls concubine, the daughter of Sibath, and that Iſboſeth likewiſe had reſproued him for the ſame cauſe, he conceiued a great griefe and deſpite, ſuppoſing that hee had great iniurie done vnto him, conſidering how careful he had bene, and was, of the kings eſtate: for which cauſe hee threatened him to eſtabliſh the kingdom to David, and to make him know, that it was neither his vertue nor prudence that made him ſoueraigne ouer the tribes on that ſide Iordan, but that his faith and warlike conſtancy was the cauſe thereof. For which cauſe he ſent vnto Hebron to David, requiring him by an oth to accept of him as his confederate and friend, promiſing him to perſwade the people to forſake Sauls ſonne, and to proclaime him king of the whole region: David ſware vnto him, according as he had required, & was verie glad of that embaffage that Abner had ſent vnto him, & the rather for that vnder affirmed teſtimony of their accords, he had preſerued Michol Davids wife (whom he had purchaſed with the price of diuers great daungers, and with ſixe hundred heads of the Philiftines preſented to his father Saul, to the end he might enioy her) which Michol Abner had ſent him backe; hauing taken her from Phalti, who had ſince that time eſpouſed her: whereunto Iſboſeth alſo was aſſiſtant, to whom David had written that it was reaſon that hee ſhould recouer his wife. Abner therefore aſſembled all the elders & gouernours of the people, and told them that at ſuch time as heretofore they were ready to forſake Iſboſeth, and to ſubmit themſelues to David, he had diſſuaded them from that intent; but at this preſent if they had the will, he would condeſcend vnto them, becauſe he was aſſured that God had choſen David (by the mouth of Samuel the Prophet) to be king ouer all the Hebrewes; and had foretold that hee ſhould puniſh the Philiftines, and ſhould ouercome them, and bring them vnder his ſubiection. Which when the elders and gouernours vnderſtood, and were aſſured likewiſe that Abner would ſubſcribe to their reſolution as touching the eſtate, they all of them determined to ſubmit themſelues to David. Abner ſeeing the elders captiues perſwaded by Abner follow David. The Beniamites accord with Abner, he reſorteth to David and certiſieth him thereof. Abner being kindly entertained by David is friendly diſmiſſed.

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David

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The year of the
world, 2899. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1065.Men inclined
to ambition
and avarice
dare all things.David with the
whole people
bewail: Abner
and honour
his funerals.David salueth
his honour,
and auoideth
the suspicion
of Abners
death.

When *Abner* had heard the words of these messengers (who ouertooke him in a place called *G* Betsa, some twentie furlongs off of *Hebron*) he strooke out of the way without suspicion of his future disaster; & *Isab* going before him, embraced him with great loue, and like an affectionate friend (for such as enterprise any wicked action, do often and subtilly dissemble & make shew of honestie, to the end to expell out of the innocents mind all ieaiousie or euill suspicion) where singling him from his other company, and making shew to informe him of certaine secrets, and hauing drawne him into a by-way besides the wall, accompanied only with his brother *Abisai*, he drew his rapier and thrust it into his short ribbes: Of which wound *Abner* died, surprised by the treason of *Isab*; who pretended and coloured that act of his, with the reuenge and death of his brother *Azael*, whom *Abner* had slaine vpon the chace in the first warre at *Hebron*; but in truth it was but the suspicion of his greatness and honour, fearing least hee should be deprived, *H* and *Abner* insatiated by obtaining the next degree of honour vnto *David*. Hereby may a man conceiue how many and how mighty things men attempt and hazard for their avarice and ambition sake, and to the end they may not be inferiour vnto any others in those matters. For when as they desire to attain riches and honours, they achieve it by ten thousand mischiefs; and at such time as they feare to be dispossessed, they strue to continue their estates by meanes more pernicious, because they thinke it to be the lesse sinne, and that the calamitie is lesse actiue, rather not to haue obtained to any greatnesse and power, then after the possession thereof, to fall into disgrace. Thence it commeth, that all of them intend and practise many hazards and difficult encounters, thorow the feare they haue to lose their degree. But it sufficeth to haue briefly touchen this point. *David* hauing notice of the murder of *Abner*, conceiued a great griefe in his heart, and called all his assistants to witness, lifting vp his hands vnto God, and protesting that he was no partaker of the murder, and that *Abner* had bene slaine without his commaundement or will. He likewise vttered most grievous curses against the murderer, his house and accomplices, by which hee wished them to be subiect to the fatal penalty of murder: for he greatly suspected least he should be held in suspicion to be a party in that which had happed vnto *Abner*, contrarie to his faith, oath and promise, which he had past vnto him. Moreover, hee commanded that all the people should weepe & lament for him, and that the funerals of his body should be honored according to the accustomed fashion, in renting of garments and putting on sackcloth: and that the same should be done the coffin being carried before, which both hee and the chiefeft gouernours of the Israelites followed, beating on their breasts, and shedding teares, and testifying the loue which they bare vnto him during his life, and their displeasure to see him dead, who had bin murdered contrary to their wil and intention. He was entombed in *Hebron* with great magnificence, and Epitaphs composed in his praise by *David* himselfe, who setting himselfe on the tombe first of all lamented, and gaue others cause of lamentation. And so much was hee confused at the death of this *Abner*, that he swore to forbear all kind of meat vntill the sunne set, notwithstanding all the instances of his friends, who vrged him to take refection: which act of his purchased him much good will and loue amongst the people. For they that loued *Abner* were verie glad to be witnesses of that honour which he did him in his death, and that faith which he maintained in honouring him, euery way according to the custome, as if he had been his kinsman or friend, and not embasing him with a vile and contemptible tombe, as if hee had bene his enemy. And in generali, all of them were so glad of the curtesie, sweetnes and royal nature of king *David*, that they esteemed in the like case, that hee would haue the like estimate of them, as they saw him haue of deceased *Abner*. And by this means *David* happily maintained his credit, and increased the peoples good opinion of him, escaping thereby the suspicion & conceit that he might in some sort haue bin accessarie to his death. He protested also vnto the people, that he conceiued no small griefe at the losse of so good a man, declaring thereby that it was no small stain vnto the state of the Hebrewes to be deprived of him, who had the meanes to maintaine their peace by his good aduise, and to ratifie the same by his executions and warlike valour: But God (said he) who hath care of all things shall not suffer him to die vnreuenged: And hee it is that shall beare me witness, that it lieth not in my power to punish *Isab* and *Abisai*, who haue greater credit in their armie then my selfe; yet shall they not escape Gods iustice for this fault. Thus ended the life of *Abner*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Isab seth slaine thorow the treason of his friends and followers: the whole kingdome descendeth to *David*.

- Isab* seth, *Sauls* sonne, had notice of *Abners* death, he was sore displeased, not onely for that he perceived himselfe to be deprived of his neere kinsman, but also of so great a personage as had settled the crowne on his head. Neither did hee himselfe long time remaine aliue after him: but by the sonnes of *Ieremon*, *Banaoth* and *Thannus*, hee was traitorously done to death. These two being Beniamites, and of the chiefeft nobilitie amongst them, made their reckoning that they would make away *Isab* seth, and thereby obtaine great recompence at *Dauids* hands; supposing that such an act of theirs, would get them the chiefeft place and dignitie in the armie, or some other credit. For which cause, finding *Isab* seth alone in his house about mid-day, laid on his bed and asleepe, and vnassisted by any of his guard, and perceiuing likewise that the Porter was fast, who thorow his trauell and other businesse (by reason of the extreame heate) was laid downe to rest: they entred into his lodging whereas *Isab* seth was asleepe, & slew him: and hauing cut off his head, they trauelled all the night & day long, as if they fledde from those whom they had offended, and sought their rescues from them, who would succour and assure them fro perill. And when they came to *Hebron*, they presented *David* with *Isab* seths head, offering themselues as his most dutifull liegemen to do him seruice, who had deliuered him of an enemy, & made away an aduersarie against his roialtie. But *David* allowed not their act in such sort as they hoped, but spake thus vnto them; O cursed men, said he (on whom I intend presently to execute iustice) haue you not heard how I punished him that murdered *Saul*, and brought his roiall crowne vnto me? Yea, although he slew him vpon his owne instant request, and to the intent the enemy should not surpris him aliue? Were you of that opinion that I was changed, & that I am not the same that I was, but that I take delight to bee partaker with you in your mischiefs, or that I wil countenance them, as if these acts of yours (who are murderers of your master) were laudable in you? In you, I say, who haue slaine a good man on his bed, that iniured no man, but was your benefactor, & who had both cherished and honoured you: nay, rather assure yourselves, that you shall be punished in his behalfe, and shall yield me satisfaction by the losse of your liues, because you haue thought that *Isab* seths death would work my contentment: for, you could not in any sort dishonor me more, then by conceiuing such an opinion of me. Which said, he adiudged them to die by the most cruell torments that might be imagined: & with all the honour that he might, he caused *Isab* seths head to be interred in *Abners* tombe.
- These murderers beeing thus done to death, all the chiefeft of the people repaired to *David* vnto *Hebron* (both they that commanded ouer thousands, & such also as were Gouernours) & submitted themselues vnto him, reckoning vp the good affection they had borne him, both during *Sauls* life time, as also the honour which they had neuer discontinued to beare him, since the first time that he was Coronell ouer a thousand, especially for that hee had bene chosen by God thorow the mediation of the Prophet *Samuel*, to be their king, and his children after him; declaring vnto him, that God had giuen him the cuntry of the Hebrewes, to defend the same, and discomfit the Philistines. *David* accepted their promptitude and affection, exhorting the to persist, assuring them that they should neuer repent themselues of their obedience: and after he had banquetted and entertained them, hee sent them to assemble all the people.
- Of the tribe of *Juda*, there came together about fixe thousand eight hundred men of war, bearing for their armes a buckler and a iauelin, who before that time had followed *Sauls* sonnes, and besides whom the tribe of *Juda* had assigned the kingdome to *David*. Of the tribe of *Simeon*, 7 thousand, & a hundred or somewhat more, of that of *Leui* 4700, whose chiefeftaine was *Iedam*, with who was *Sadoc* the high priest, accompanied with 20 & two gouernors of the same linage. Of the tribe of *Beniamin* 4000 men of war: for this tribe were as yet of opinion that some of the heires of *Saul* should raigne. Of that of *Ephraim* 20800, both strong and stout men. Of that of *Manasses*, almost the halfe as many, namely 8000. Of that of *Issachar* 200, who were skilfull in diuination, & 20000 men of war. Of that of *Zabulon* 20000 chosen fighting men: for onely this intire tribe was wholly at *Dauids* command, who were armed in like manner as they of *Gad* were. Of the tribe of *Rephaim* there were 1000 chiefeftains, famous for their valour, & armed with shield & iauelin, attended by an infinite number of their tribe. Of the tribe of *Dan* there were 27000 chosen men. Of that of *Aser* 40000. Of the two tribes on the other side of *Jordan*, & of the half tribe of

The year of the
world, 2899. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1065.Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 2.
2. Reg. 4.Isab seths head
is brought to
David.
Dauids sharpe
inuetiue a-
gainst the mur-
derers of *Is-
ab* seth, & their
punishment.2. Reg. 5.
The nobles of
the Hebrewes
repare to *Da-
uid* to *Hebron*,
and declare
him king.*David* enter-
tained the no-
bles kindly.The armed sol-
diers that came
to *David*.

The year of the world, 2899. before Christs Nativitie, 1065.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 3.

The siege of Ierusalem undertaken by David. David surpriseth the lower towne. David getteth the upper town. The valour of Davids souldiers, & in especiall of Iobab.

of *Manasses* six score thousand armed men, with buckler, iavelin, murrion and sword: The rest of the other tribes also were souldiers. All this multitude was assembled together in Hebron before *David*, with great prouision of victuals and vine, sufficient to sustaine them all, who all of them with one consent, appointed *David* to be their King. Now when the people had mustred, & banquetted for three daies space in Hebron, *David* dislodged from thence with his whole host, and quetted for three daies space in Hebron, *David* dislodged from thence with his whole host, and repaired to Ierusalem. But the Iebusites, who at that time inhabited the cittie, & were of the race of the Chanaanites, shutting vp their gates against his coming, and placing on their wals as many as were blind and lame, or maimed in any other sort, in contempt of him, scoffingly iested & said, that these were sufficient to keep out the enemy: so much trusted they to their fortifications. Wherewith *David* being sore displeased, began to besiege Ierusalem, and vsing all diligence and industry to surpriſe the same, he incontinently expressed how strong he was, checking thereby other mens pride, who perhaps would haue done the like vnto him, & afterwards tooke the lower Towne. And for that the higher Towne was yet vnſurprised, the King resolved to encourage his men of warre to shew themselves valiant, promising them honours & recompence; proclaiming that he would make him Generall ouer all the people, that should first of all scale, ascend, & seize the wall. Whilst thus they enforced themselves to mount without refusing any trauell (thorow the desire they had to obtaine the gouernment that was promised) *Iobab*, the son of *Saruias*, was the forwardest amongst the rest; and hauing got vpon the wall, cried vnto the king, requiring him to grant him the generall gouernment.

CHAP. III.

David, hauing taken Ierusalem by force, casteth out all the Chanaanites from thence, and deliuereth the Cittie to be inhabited by the Iewes.

David expelleth the Iebusites out of the towne and cittie of Ierusalem. The league of friendship betwixt Hiram & David.

How Ierusalem was called Solyma, and what meant Homer made thereof.

The yeeres since Iosaphs conquest to this time, 515. Orphan a Iebusite, friend to David, 2. Reg. 24. Dauid's sonnes borne in Ierusalem.

After therefore he had cast out the Iebusites from the higher cittie, and repaired Ierusalem, he called it the cittie of *David*, and remained therein all the time of his raigne: so that the whole time that he ruled in Hebron, ouer the sole tribe of Iuda, was 7 yeeres and six moneths. But after he had established Ierusalem for his royall cittie, his fortunes dailie more and more increased, because God both furthered, and bettered them. *Hiram* also, king of Tire, sent vnto him, and made a league of amitie with him: hee presented him likewise with presents of Cedar wood, and workmen and Masons, to build him a royall house in Ierusalem. Now, when the King had seized the higher cittie, he annexed thereto therevnto, and made one body of twaine; and hauing walled it in, he gaue the gouernment thereof to *Iobab*. This king was the first that droue the Iebusites out of Ierusalem, and called the same by his name. For, from the time of *Abraham*, our forefather, it was called Solyma: neither want there some that infer, that *Homer* vnder that name intended Ierusalem. For, in the Hebrew tongue, Solyma is as much to say, as Securitie. All the time from the exploit of warre made by *Iosuah* against the Chanaanites, and since the diuision of the Country (during all which time the Israelites could not driue the Chanaanites out of Ierusalem) vntill such time as *David* tooke the same by force, were five hundred and fiftene yeeres. But in this place, I will not forget one *Orphan*, a rich man amongst the Iebusites; who, for that he was well affected towards the Hebrewes, was not put to death in the surprisall which *David* made of Ierusalem: but (as I wil shortly hereafter declare) was graced and greatly honoured by the king. *David* espoused other wiues besides those which he had; besides many other concubines: by them he had cleuen sonnes, whose names are these which follow, *Amnas*, *Emma*, *Ebamatha*, *Salomon*, *Iebar*, *Eliel*, *Phalma*, *Ennapha*, *Ienaah*, *Eliphail*: besides these, he had a daughter called *Thamar*. Nine of these were begotten on noble mothers, but the two last (which were named by vs) were the sonnes of concubines. But *Thamar* was *Abisai*'s sister by the same father and mother.

CHAP. III.

David assailed by the Paleſtines, obtaineth a famous victory against them, and receiueſt the Cittie into Ierusalem.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 4.

Now, when the Paleſtines knew that the Hebrewes had created *David* king, they led forth their army against him towards Ierusalem, where encamping themselves in the valley of the Giants (which is a place not farre off from the Cittie) they in that place expected the encounter. But the king of the Hebrewes, who was vnto doe nothing inconsiderately, with-

I

The year of the world, 2899. before Christs nativitie, 1065. The Paleſtines mouing warre against David, are partly slain or put to flight. The Paleſtines invaded the Hebrewes with a mighty army gathered out of sundry nations.

The Paleſtines fight. 2. Reg. 6.

Dauids command as touching the transportation of the Arke.

Oza stretcheth out his hand to stay the Arke, is suddenly stricken dead.

David placeth the Arke in Obed Edomes house, who prospereth there-through in all felicitie. The Arke transported in to Dauids house, and placed in a tabernacle. David is mocked by his wife Michol.

Our Gods aduise, commanded the high priest to prophesie and foretell, what successe and event the warre should haue; who after he had informed him that God smileth on, & fauoureth their attempts, he presently drew out his armie against the enemy: and striking the battell, he sodainlie assailed the enemies on their backs, and partly slew them, and partly put them to flight. But yet no man suspect, that the army of the Paleſtines was either small in number, or weak in courage, which at that time assailed the Hebrewes, in that hee coniectureth in his mind, that they were easily overcome; without either attempting or performing any noble or memorable action. For he is to knowe that all Syria, Phenicia (and all other warlike Nations beyond them) bare armes with them, and were confederates in this war: which was the onely cause, that notwithstanding they were so many times overcome, and had lost diuers thousands of men, that they desisted not to assaile the Hebrewes with more great force: and that which is more, hauing beene defeated in the battels before recited, yet forbore they not to assaile *David* anew with thrice as much power as before, & to incampe in the same place. For which cause, *David* tooke counsell of God once more, what the issue of this battell should bee: and the high Priest told him, that hee should encampe in the forrest called Teares, because it was not far off from the enemies campe, and that he should not depart from thence, neither attempt them in battell, before the trees did shake without any agitation or breath of wind. Whereupon, as soone as the trees shooke, & the time which God had appointed was come, without any delay, he issued out, to enioy a prepared and manifest victorie. For the squadrons of the enemy were disarranged, and incontinently betooke them to flight, and were swiftly followed and slaughtered, vntill the Cittie of Gerar (which is a frontire towne of their country) and their campe was thorowly ranſacked, wherein there were found great riches; and amongst all other things, their Gods were beaten to peeces.

The battell being brought to this end, it seemed good vnto *David* (by the counsell of the Elders and Coronels ouer thousands) that all the flower of their youth, should bee assembled from all the parts of the country, euery one according to his tribe. Secondly, that the Priests & Leuites should repaire to Cariathiarim, and bring from thence the Arke of God, and conuay it to Ierusalem; to the end that when it should be there, the seruice of God might thereafter be celebrated in that place, and other sacrifices and honours, agreeable to the diuine Maieſtie, might be performed. And had the same beene done during the life of *Saul*, no inconuenience had fallen vpon the. VVhen as all the people were assembled (according as it was decreed by him) the King came forth to transſerre the Arke; vvhich the Priests carying out of *Aminadabs* house, they laid it vpon a new Waine, vvhich (together with oxen) their brothers and children drew.

The King marched foremost, and after him all the people, praising God, and tuning all sorts of melodie then vsuall in that country, with diuersity of sounds of instruments, of Dances, & Shalms, Trumpets & Clarions: and in this manner conducted he the Arke into Ierusalem. But whē they were come to the threshing floore of Chidon (which is a certaine place to called) *Oza*, died, throwing the wrath of God: for the Oxen stumbling that drew the chariot, and the Arke some-what shaken, he stretched out his hand with intent to sustaine the same; and because he was no Priest, God strooke him till he died. The King and the people were sore aggrieved at the death of *Oza*, and the place where he died, is called to this day *Ozas* Striking. *David*, fearing least if he should retire the Arke with him into the Cittie, the like happe should attend him that had befallen *Oza* (who was in that sort done to death, for that he had onely thus stretched out his hand) he placed it not with him in his owne house within the Cittie, but commaunded that it should bee left in the possession of one called *Obed*, by descent a Leuite, and in behauiour a man good and vertuous: vvhich it remained for three months space, during which time, his house was blessed with all worldly goods and goodnes. The king being ascertained what advantages had befallen *Obed*, (who of a poore and needie man, was suddenly become very rich, so that all men had their eyes fixed on him, & they that heard speake of his house enuied him) hee assured himselfe that no inconuenience would befall him: for which cause hee retired the Arke into his owne house, which was caryed by the Priests, and seuen quires of singing men disposed by the king went before the same. The king himselfe likewise touched, and played vpon the Harp, so that *Michol*, *Dauids* wife and *Sauls* daughter, seeing him entertaining himselfe after that maner, mocked at him. The Arke then being thus caryed, was placed in a Tabernacle erected and dressed by *David*, who offered most magnificent sacrifices of all sorts, and forgo: not the sacrifices for prosperities: hee feasted all the people likewise, both men, women and children, distributing vnto euery one a cake, a morsell of roasted meat, a cake fried in the pan, and a portion of the sacrifice: and after hee had thus feasted the people, he dismissed them, and retreated himselfe into his owne house. But *Michol*

his

71e year of the
world, 3600, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1004.

2. Reg. 7
David decreed
to build a
temple vnto
God.

God certifieth
David by Na-
than that Sa-
lomons should
build the
temple

David giueth
God thanks
for the blef-
sings which
were promised
him by Natha

his wife (and daughter to king *Saul*) drawing neere vnto him vpon his returne, besought God for him; that it might please him in all other things she might expresse vnto her husband all that, which became her intire and vnequall loue towards him: but in this she blamed him, because that being so great and mightie a king as he was, hee had dishonoured himselfe in dauncing; despoiling himselfe, and discouering partly that which became him not, doing all this in companie of his seruants and handmaidens. To whom *Dauid* answered, that he was not ashamed in performing a thing so acceptable vnto God as that was, who had honoured him more then her father, and placed him about all others, assuring her that he would play and dance oftentimes after that sort, without care whether his demeanour pleased either her or her chambermaids. This *Michol* (of whom we entreat) had no children by *Dauid*, but being married againe to another (to whom her father had betrothed her after he had rauished her from *Dauid*) the bare five sonnes, of whom we will speak in their place. The king perceiuing how by Gods assistance his affaires prospered daily more & more, thought that it should be a hainous offence in him, if he should dwell in houses made of Cedar, high and well builded, and neglecting the Arke suffer it to remaine vnder a pavilion: for which cause he conceived a desire to build a Temple vnto God, according as *Moses* had foretold: and to this intent consulted he with the Prophet *Nathan*, who willed him to performe all that which he was minded to accomplish, assuring him that God would be each way assistant vnto him: for which cause he was very heartily affected towards the building of the Temple. But the same night God appeared vnto *Nathan*, commanding him to certifie *Dauid*, that hee accepted his will, and that his affection was agreeable vnto him (considering in especiall that no one before him had a thought to performe the like: yet notwithstanding (although his deliberation were such) hee permitted him not to finish the same, by reason he had followed many wars, and had embrewed his hands in the blood of many of his enemies. But after his decease (which shall happen after he hath liued along and prosperous life) his sonne called *Salomon* (to whom hee shall leaue the kingdome after his death) shall cause a Temple to be built vnto him, promising him to assise and fauour the sayd *Salomon* (euen as the father doth his sonne) and that he would continue the royalty in his heires and their successors: And that if they shall happen to offend him, hee will onely punish them with sicknesse and sterilitie. *Dauid* vnderstanding these words which were deliuered him by the Prophet, was very ioyfull, by reason that the royaltie was firmly assured to his heires, and for that his house should be famous and renowned; and presenting himselfe before the Arke, he prostrated himselfe and adored, and gaue God thanks for all the benefites he had bestowed on him; for that from a poore and humble shepherd, he had raised him to so great a height of maiestie and glorie, and for that he had promised to haue care of his posteritie as erst he had had of the Hebrewes and their libertie. This sayd, after he had sung hymnes vnto God, he departed.

CHAP. V.

DAVID ouercomming the neighbouring nations, imposeth tributes on them.

Hedio & Rufinus ch. p. 6.
David warreth
against the
Philistines, &
taketh a great
part of the in-
land of them.
2. Reg. 10.
David
daughter of
the Moabites.
David ouer-
cometh the
king of So-
phonia.

Or long time after this, *Dauid* thought it requisite to make war vpon the Philistines, partly to the intent he might auoid the suspicion of sloth and idleness, & partly that having (according as God had foretold) discomfited his enemies, hee might leaue a peaceable kingdom to his posterity after him. He therefore assembled his army anew, commanding them to be in a readinesse to march forward to the war: whenas therefore he supposed that the army was dressed, he departed out of Ierusalem, and made a road vpon the Philistines, whom he ouercame in battell, & took a great part of the country from them, by means whereof he enlarged the frontiers of the Hebrewes, and translated the war, and led forth his forces against the Moabites: whose army being diuided into two parts, was by him defeated and ouerthrown, and the rest were taken prisoners, and tributes were imposed on them, which they were bound to satisfie every yeare. Afterwardes hee led out his host against *Adarezer* sonne of *Ara*, King of *Sophonia*: and waging battell with him neere vnto the riuer of Euphrates, he slewe about twenty thousand of his footmen, and some five thousand of his horse: hee tooke also almost a thousand of his chariots, the greater part whereof was wholly consumed, and one hundred of them onely referred to his owne vse.

CHAP.

The year of the
world, 3604, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1064.

A

CHAP. VI.

They of Damasco are overcome by DAVID.

Adad King of Damasco and of Syria, vnderstanding that *Dauid* had made warre on *Adarezer* (who was both his friend and confederate) issued forth with great forces to be assistant vnto him, and to deliuer him from his enemies according as he expected. But entering fielde, and waging battell with *Dauid* neere vnto the riuer of Euphrates, hee was overcome and lost a great number of his souldiers: for in that battell there were slaine on his side by the Hebrew enemy, to the number of twenty thousand, and the rest fled. Of this king, *Nicholas* the Historiographer maketh mention in the fourth book of his histories, in these words. Since that and long time after; a certaine man of that country called *Adad* gouerned in Damasco, and ouer the rest of Syria (except Phoenicia) who making warre against *Dauid* King of Iudaea; and having oftentimes fought with him, in his last encounter (wherein hee was overcome neere vnto the flood Euphrates) hee shewed himselfe more resolute then all other kings in force and valour. Moreouer he speaketh of his heires, how after his death, they succeeded him both in royalty and name, the one after the other, and saith thus. Hee being deceased, his sonnes reigned for ten generations after him, each of them receiuing from their father, the same name and the same kingdome, after the manner of the Ptolomyes of Aegypt. The third of these being more mighty then the rest, and desirous to reuenge himselfe in warre of these iniuries, which were offered vnto his grandfather, led forth his army against the Iewes, and destroyed the country called at this day Samaria. Wherein he varied not any waies from the truth: for he of whom he speaketh, is that *Adad*, that made warre in Samaria, during the reign of *Ahab* King of Israel, of whom we will speake hereafter in his place. But when *Dauid* had led forth his campe against Damasco, and against the rest of the country of Syria, he reduced them all vnder his obedience, placing garrisons amidst their country, and imposing tribute vpon them, which they should pay vnto him. He dedicated also to God in the City of Ierusalem, the golden quivers and armors which *Adads* guard were wont to wear; which afterward *Syssac* king of Aegypt took at such time as hee warred against *Roboham* his Nephew, and carried away great riches out of the temple of Ierusalem, as it shall be declared hereafter, when as wee shall come to intreat of that Egypt matter. This king of the Hebrews being inspired by God (who made him prosperous in all his wars) encamped before the goodliest Cities *Adarezer* had, that is to say, Berthea and Mackon; which he besieged, tooke, and spoyled: where there was found great store of golde and siluer and of brasse, which was of more estimation then gold, whereof *Salomon* made that great vessel called the Sea, and other faire lauers; at such time as he adorned and furnished the temple of God. When the King of Amath vnderstood of all that which had hapned to *Adarezer*, and how his power and forces were destroyed, he grew affraid of his owne estate, and resolved with himselfe to make a league & confederacy with *Dauid*, before he might come out against him: and to that intent he sent his sonne *Adoram* vnto him, to testifie and expresse that contentment hee had receiued, for that he had defeated *Adarezer* his enemy, and to contract with him amitie and confederation. He sent him presents also, namely, vessels of antique work of gold, of siluer, and of brasse: whereupon *Dauid* made a league with *Thani* (for so was the king of Amath called) and receiued the presents that were sent vnto him; and afterwards dismissed his sonne with conuenient honor, both for the one and the other: and consecrated that to God which hee had sent him (together with the gold and siluer, which he had taken from other Cities and nations that were subiect vnto him.) For God did not only so farre fauour him, as to make him victorious and happy in his own wars; but hauing also sent *Abisai* *Ioabs* brother the Lieutenant of his army against the Idumzeans, he likewise granted him victorie: for *Abisai* slew in the battell about eightene thousand of them, and filled all Idumaea with garrisons, challenging a tribute throughout the country by the pole. This king loued iustice of his own nature, and exercised iudgement according to veritie. He had for his lieutenant generall in all his armies *Ioab*, and appointed *Iosaphat* the son of *Achilles* chiefe ouer the Registers. After *Abiathar*, he established *Sadoc* of the house of Phinees for high Priest, who was his friend. *Sisa* was his Secretarie: *Banaia* the sonne of *Ioia* was capitaine ouer his guard, and all the elders were ordinarily about him to guard and attend him. Hee remembring himselfe also of the conuenions and oathes that were past twixt him & *Jonathan* the sonne of *Saul*, and of the amitie and affection that had been between them (for besides all other graces which he had, he most freshly retained them in memorie, from vvhom in times past hee

Adad king of
Damasco and
Syria is over-
come by *Dauid*
in battell.
Nicholas the
Historiogra-
pher maketh
mention of king
Adads warre
with *Dauid*.

Of an other
king of Syria
that spoyled
Samaria.
2. Kings, 20.
Dauid imposeth
tribute on
the Syrians
whom hee sub-
dued.

2. Reg. 8.
Ierusalem spoi-
led by *Syssac*
king of Aegyp-

2. Reg. 14.
The prey that
was made in
the warre.

2. Reg. 8.
The king of
the Amathites
requieth a
league at *Dauid*'s hands.

Dauid compelled
the Idumzeans
to pay tribute
by the pole.
The distribu-
tion of offices.
2. Reg. 9.

168
The year of the
world, 3000, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1063.
David maketh
an enquiry if
any of Iona-
thans kindred
were left aliue.

David giueth
Mephibosheth
his father Iona-
thans house
& Sauts inheri-
tance.

David com-
mitteth the dis-
posing of Me-
phibosheths
lands to Siba,
& commaun-
deth him to
make the re-
turne of his re-
uenues in Ie-
rusalem.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus. ch. p. 6.
2. Reg. 10.
David sendeth
embassadors
to comfort the
sonne of the
king of the
Ammonites,
who are bawly
abused.

David is fore-
dissatisfied with
the injury offer-
ed to his embas-
sadors intending
revenge.
The Ammo-
nites hire their
confederates
and prepare
for the warre
against David.

David sendeth
out Iobab with
the choicest
flower of his
army against
the Ammo-
nites.

he had receiued any friendship. He caused a search to be made, if any one of the house and fa- G
mily of *Jonathan* were left aliue, to the intent he might remunerate the friendship which hee had
receiued at *Jonathan*s hands. Whereupon a certaine man was brought vnto him (who was en-
franchised by *Saul*) that might enforme him what one of his race was aliue: who asked him if he
could name him any of *Jonathan*s sons then liuing, whom he might make partaker of those cur-
teous fauors & graces, which in times past he had receiued by *Jonathan*. Who answered him, that
he had one sonne remaining, whose name was *Mephibosheth*, who was lame of his legs; for that
at such time as the newes came that both his father and grandfather were slaine in the battell, his
nurse fearefully matching vp the child and flying, suffred him vnfortunatly to fall from hir shoul-
ders, and so hurt him. When as then he was aduertised where, and with vvhom he vvas brought
vp, he sent vnto the citie of Labath to *Machir*, with whom *Mephibosheth* was kept, & commanded him
to be brought vnto him. Now when he came to *Dauids* presence, hee cast himselfe prostrate
on his face to do him reuerence: but the king exhorted him to be of good courage, and to hope
hereafter for better fortune, & gaue him his fathers house with all the possessions that were pur-
chased by *Saul* his grandfather, appointing him to sit and feed vwith him at his own table; yea to
eate of his royall prouision, not letting one day slip wherein he accompanied him not at meales.
The young man did him reuerence, humbly thanking him for the gracious words, and roial offers
he had made vnto him: At that time *David* called for *Siba*, and certified him how hee had giuen
Mephibosheth his fathers house and all *Saul*s purchases, commaunding him to manure and hus-
band his possessions, and to haue care of all things, and to returne the reuenue to Ierusalem, for
that *Mephibosheth* was every day to take his refection at his table, charging both him & his 15. sons, I
and 20. seruants, to doe him seruice. After the king had thus disposed of him, *Siba* did him reue-
rence, and after he had protested to performe whatsoeuer he had giuen him in charge, he depar-
ted, and *Jonathan*s sonne remained in Ierusalem, where he liued at the kings table, and was enter-
tained and tended as carefully, as if he had bene his owne sonne: he had a sonne also called *Micha*.
These were the honors that those children which suruiued after *Jonathan* and *Saul*s death,
receiued at *Dauids* hands. About the same time died *Naas* king of the Ammonites, who during
his life time was *Dauids* friend, and his sonne succeeded him in his kingdom, to whom *David* sent
embassadors to comfort him, exhorting him to digest his fathers death with patience, assuring
him that he would expresse no lesse loue towards him, then he did vnto his father. But the gouer-
nours of the Ammonites entertained this embassage very contumeliously, and not according K
as *David* had kindly intended it, and murmured against their king, telling him that they were
but spies sent by *David* to seeke into his forces, and discouer the strength of his countrey, vnder
a pretext of humanitie, counselling him to stand vpon his garde, and not to giue eare to his pro-
testation, least being deceived, he should fall into some remedielesse inconuenient.
Naas king of the Ammonites, supposing that his gouernors spake nothing but truth, outraged
the embassadors that were sent vnto him with great iniuries: for causing the half of their beards
to be shauen close by the chin, and cutting away the half of their vestments, he sent them backe
again, returning their answers not in words, but in deeds. Which when *David* saw, he was grie-
uously displeased, and made it known that he would not suffer that mockerie and iniurie so easi-
ly to be digested, but that he would make war on the Ammonites, and reuenge those indignities L
that were offered to his embassadors. The friends and gouernours of *Naas* considering how they
had violated & broken the peace, and how for that occasion they deserued to be punished, prepa-
red for the war, & sent 1000 talents to *Syrus* king of Mesopotamia, requiring him that he would
be their confederate in that warre, and receiue their pay: they requested the like of *Saba*: these
kings had 20000. footmen in camp. They hired also with their mony the king of the country cal-
led *Michas*, and the fourth called *Istob*, which two had with them 12000. thousand souldiers.

CHAP. VII.

How DAVID overcame the Mesopotamians.

BUT *David* was nothing amated, neither with the confederacy, nor force of the Ammo-
nites, but trusting in God, resolved that the cause of his warre was iust: for which cause
hee continued in reuenge of those outrages which hee had receiued by them. Having
therefore mustered vnder *Iobab* the flower of his whole army, he commanded him to depart and
make warre vpon them: who came and incamped himselfe before their chiefeest Citie called *Ara-*
math; which when the enemies perceiued, they issued forth and arranged themselves in battell

(not

A not altogether, but in two seuerall parts.) For their confederates and allies were incamped apart
in the Plaine, and the Ammonites stood in battell array neere vnto their Citie gate, to make head
against the Hebrewes. *Iobab* perceiuing this, vsed this stratageme to counteruaile their complot:
for he chole out the ablest and stoutest of his men to serue vnder him against *Syrus*, and the other
kings confederates with him, and gaue the rest to his brother *Abisai*, commanding him to
oppose himselfe against the Ammonites whilest he charged the rest: willing him, that if hee per-
ceiued that the Syrians were stronger then he was, and did put him to the worst, to displace his
squadron, and to succour him; promising to doe the like, if he perceiued him to be ouerpressed
by the Ammonites: When as therefore he had exhorted his brother to behaue himselfe valiantly
and vertuously, and to take heed least he should light on some dishonour, hee sent him before to
charge the Ammonites; and he on the other side assailed the Syrians, who valiantly resisted him
for a little space: yet notwithstanding *Iobab* slew many of them, and finally constrained them to
turne their backs. Vvhich when the Ammonites perceiued (who were afraid of *Abisai* and his
people) they retreated likewise, and (conforming themselves according to the example of their
allies) they tooke their flight into the Citie. By which meane *Iobab* hauing obtained the
vpper hand ouer his enemies, returned in triumph, and with victorie vnto the king to Ie-
rusalem.

Yet were not the Ammonites wholly weakned by this losse: for although they had by their la-
mentable experience a certaine knowledge that the Hebrewes were stronger then themselves, yet
would they by no means listen after peace. They therefore sent vnto *Chalams* king of the Syri-
ans on the other side of Euphrates, whose confederacy they attained by bribes and huge sums
of money. This king had one, who was called *Sabeus*, for his lieutenant generall, and vnder him
four score thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen: *David* vnderstanding that the Am-
monites drew to head, and intended anew to beare armes against him, hee surgealed to prosecute
the war against the by his lieutenants, & himselfe in person with all his forces passed ouer the riu-
er of Iordan, and went out against them; and at last meeting and fighting with them, ouercame
them, killing welne fortie thousand of their footmen, and seuen thousand of their horsemen: he
hurt *Sabeus* also, *Chalams* Lieutenant, who likewise died of that wound. The issue of this com-
bate being thus, the Mesopotamians yielded themselves vnto *David*, & gaue him many great and
magnificent presents. Hee therefore, by reason of the winter retired himselfe for that time to

D Ierusalem, but incontinently vpon the spring time hee sent out his Lieutenant *Iobab* once more to
make warre vpon the Ammonites: who ouerrunning their countrey, vtterly spoyled it, and shut
them vp in *Aramath* their principal city, which he ouercame & entred. About this time it so fell
out, that *David* (notwithstanding hee was a iust man, & one that feared God, & an exact obseruer
of all the lawes and ordinances of his forefathers) fell, and offended God most grieuously. For as
hee walked on the top of his royall palace; from the time of mid-day vntill the euening (for be-
twixt these times hee vsed accustomedly to walke) he perceiued a woman of incomparable beau-
tie, and surpassing perfection, whose name was *Bethsabe*, who in her house bathed her selfe in a
cleere and pleasant fountaine: and beeing deuoured and rauished with her beauty, hee could not
refraine his concupiscence, but sending for her, tooke the spoile of her beauty and chastitie: and
by that meanes got her with child. Vvhich when she perceiued, shee sent vnto the king, beseech-
ing him to be thinke himselfe of some meanes whereby her shame might bee concealed, and her
life (which was in hazard by the law for her adultery) might bee preferred. Vvhich thereupon sent
for *Vrias* (*Bethsabe*s husband and one of *Iobab*s soldiers, who at that time was at the siege of *A-*
ramath) and questioned with him vpon his arriual, as touching the estate of the siege & of the ar-
mie: who answering him that all things were fallen out according as he could wish; *David* tooke
a portion of his owne supper and gaue it him, willing him to repaire vnto his owne house, and re-
pose him selfe with his wife. But *Vrias* did nothing lesse, but slept among his fellow souldiers neere
vnto the person of the king. Which when *David* vnderstood, he asked him wherfore he repaired
not to his owne house, according to the custome of husbands that had bene long time absent

E vpon a long voiage, and why he entertained not his wife from whom he had bene sequestred so
many daies? *Vrias* replied, that it became him not either to repose or take pleasure with his wife,
whilest his companions and generall lay vpon the bare ground in the enemies countrey. Which
said, *David* commanded him to sojourn there all the day long, to the end that on the next
morrow, he might send him backe againe to *Iobab*. That night the king inuited him to supper, and
although he were made drunke thorow the abundance of wine hee receiued (which the king
had purposely caused to be giuen him) yet notwithstanding he slept at the kings gate without

P

any

The year of the
world, 2910, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 1054.
Iobab and A-
bilais armies.

The Syrians
with the Am-
monites alle-
mble themselves
against David.

The Mesopo-
tamians submit
themselves to
David.

Aramath be-
sieged.
Hedio, & Ruf-
finus. chap. 7.
2. Reg. 11.

Dauids adul-
tery.

Bethsabe certi-
fieth the king
that she is with
child.

David sendeth
for *Vrias* and
willeth him to
repaire home
vnto his wife,
which he doth
not.

The year of the world, 2910. before Christs Nativity, 1054. David writeth vnto Iobab to punish *Vrias*.

Iobab setteth *Vrias* in a dangerous place to encounter with the enemy.

Vrias is set with some associates to attempt the siege: the Ammonites falling out, his company for take him.

Vrias with some others is slain, and the king is certified thereof.

David is displeased with the newes of his ouerthrow

David is appeased, hearing of *Vrias* death

David marrieth *Bethsabe*, who beareth him a Sonne.

8. Reg. 12.

any desire to reparaire home vnto his wife. Herewith the king was much despised, so that he wrote G vnto *Iobab*, commanding him to punish *Vrias*, because hee had offended him: and to the end that this intent of his should not be discouered, hee suggested him both in the meanes and manner of the prosecution of his death, enioyning him to place him in the ranke of greatest danger, and in the face of the enemy, to the intent that in the fight his person might be endangered, abandoned and left alone, whilst they that fought next vnto him retyred when they saw him charged. When as he had thus written and sealed vp the letter with his owne seale, he deliuered it to *Vrias* to beare vnto *Iobab*: who receiuing the same, and conceiuing the kings pleasure, placed *Vrias* in that quarter where he knew the enemies would fight most desperately, appointing him out certaine of his best soldiers to second him, with purpose, that he would come & succour them with all his power, to the end hee might breake thorow the wall and enter the Citie.

Vrias (who was a noble souldier, and for his valour had gotten great honour by the king, and reputation amongst all those of his tribe, and tooke delight to bee employed in hazardous attempts, and refused no daunger) valiantly accepted the execution: But *Iobab* gaue priuate intelligence to those that were ranked next vnto him, that when they should see the enemy fall out with greatest furie, they should abandon *Vrias*. When as therefore the Hebrews drew neere vnto the Citie, the Ammonites feared lest the enemy should speedily scale and enter the Citie on that side where *Vrias* was ranked: for which cause they picked out a squadron of the most resolute men amongst them, and setting open their gates, sodainly with swift course, force & violence, they cast themselves vpon their enemies. They that were neere *Vrias* seeing them draw neere, retyred backe againe, according as *Iobab* had before hand commanded them: but *Vrias* being ashamed to flie, or forsake his ranke, expected the enemy, and valiantly encountering him, he slue diuers of them; but at last being inclosed and shut in the midst of them, hee was slaine, and with him some other of his companions perished in the conflict. This done, *Iobab* sent messengers vnto the king to certifie him, that not enduring the delay of the siege, and assailing and scaling the walles, hee was compelled to returne backe into his campe, with losse of some men, and repulse from the Citie; yet had hee commanded the messengers, that if they perceiued the King to bee displeased with the newes, they should giue him to vnderstand that *Vrias* was dead.

The King hearing this discourse (according as *Iobabs* messengers had deliuered it) made a shew to be displeased, saying, that it was a fault in him that he had so neerely approched the wall, alledging that he might haue done farre better, to haue taken the towne by mine or engine: vrging in way of example the act of *Abimelech Gedeons* sonne, who intending to surprize by force a tower that was within the Citie of *Tebez*, was strooken with a stone that was cast at him by an olde woman: whereupon he that was a valiant man, for entering an action ouer rash and dangerous, shamefully died. In remembrance of whose disalter, they ought to haue bene more warie, and not to haue approched the wall of the enemy so neerely. For it is a very good point in warre, to haue in memory both fatall and fortunate successes, to the end that when a man is in the like dangers, hee may follow the one, and flie the other. Whilst thus hee rebuked them, the messenger certified him of *Vrias* death, which did somewhat appease him: So that he commanded them to tell *Iobab*, that it was but an humane accident, and that such was the nature of warre, that sometime the one side had the better, and sometime the other: to conclude, that he should prouide for the siege, and take care lest hereafter they should receiue any further losse; counselling him by trenches and engines to ruinate the wall, and commanding that all those that were in the towne should bee put to the sword. The messenger thus dismissed, reported all these things vnto *Iobab*, according to the Kings commandement. But *Vrias* wife, hauing notice of the death of her husband, wept and mourned for him diuers daies: and when the dule and lamentations were finished and performed to the dead; the king espoused her incontinently, and she bare him a man child: yet God beheld not this marriage with a fauorable eie, but was wroth with *David*, and appearing to the Prophet *Nathan* in a dreame, hee blamed the king verie fore. Now *Nathan* who was a wise and experienced man, knew well that when kings are displeased, they suffer themselves rather to bee overcome by passion, then by reason: for which cause he determined to concale the menaces and threatnings that God had made, for that time; and discoursed of other profitable matters with *David* after this manner, requiring the king that it would please him to censure and deliuer his opinion in the same. Two men (said he) dwelt in one & the same Citie: the one of them was rich, hauing many troupes of great and small cattell; the other that was poore, had but one only sheepe, which he nourished with his children, sharing him out a

H

M

part

The year of the world, 2910. before Christs birth, 1054.

Nathan prophesieth of *Dauids* punishment, and sharply rebuketh him: he is condemned by his own mouth, and repenteth himselfe.

David fasteth seuen daies, lamenting and mourning for his sonne.

David being certified that the child was dead, ariseth and washing taketh sustenance.

David yieldeth a reason why during the childs life he fasted, & why being dead hee took refection. *Salomon* was borne by *Bethsabe*.

Iobab by letters soliciteeth the king to come to the surprisall of *Rabatha*. *David* surpriseth *Rabatha* by force, giueth it for a prey to his soldiers.

A part of that whereon he fed, and louing her as tenderly as a man would doe his onely daughter. It hapned that this rich man had a stranger that repaired to his house, for whose entertainment he would not suffer any one of his own beasts to be slaine, but sent a violent messenger, who tooke away the poore mans sheepe, and caused it to be dressed to entertaine his guest. This report of *Nathans* displeased the king very fore, in so much as hee swore vnto him, that he that had bene so bolde to commit such an act, was a wicked man, and that reason required that he should restore him fourefold, and that after he should bee put to death. Whereunto *Nathan* replied, saying, that it was he that deserued this punishment, who had giuen sentence against himselfe, in that he had presumed to commit so grievous a sinne. Moreouer, hee certified him of Gods displeasure, who notwithstanding he had made him king ouer all the Hebrewes, and Lord ouer all the nations round about, which were diuers and great; and who besides these things had warranted him from the hands of *Saul*, and had giuen him wiues, whom he had espoused iustly and lawfully, was so despised and dishonoured by him, that he had espoused and kept by him an other mans wife, and caused her husband to be slaine, and betrayed him vnto his enemy. For which sinnes of his, he pronounced that he should be punished by God, and his wiues should bee violated by one of his owne sonnes, who should likewise lay a share for him: so that hee should suffer a manifest plague for the sinne hee had committed in secret. Moreouer (said he) the sonne which thou shalt haue by her, shall shortly die.

After the king had receiued this message, he was sore troubled; and being confused, he powred forth teares & sighed for sorrowe, confessing that he had done wickedly: for vndoubtedly before this time hee had alwaies feared God, and had neuer in his life offended him, but in that act with *Vrias* wife. Whereupon after his submission, God was appeased and tooke compasion of him, promising him to continue both his life and kingdome, and that he would be no more displeased with him, if so be that he repented him of the sinne he had committed. After that *Nathan* had declared these things vnto *David*, hee departed vnto his owne house. But God inflicted a grievous sicknesse on the infant that was borne by *Bethsabe*: for which cause the king was sore aggrieved, and for seuen daies space would take no refection; notwithstanding that he was earnestly instant thereunto by his household seruants. Hee put on likewise a mourning habit, and laide himselfe on the ground vpon a sacke; beseeching him that it would please him to grant him the childs life, towards whose mother he bare so exceeding loue and affection. But when the infant was deceased about the seuen day of his sicknesse, his seruants durst not certifie him thereof, supposing that if it should come vnto his eare, he would the more obstinately abstaine from eating, and the care of his person, and should bee in danger by reason of his disordinate griefe for his childe, to procure and hasten his own death, considering he had so vehemently bin afflicted and tormented for his onely sicknesse. But the king perceiuing by their looks that his seruants were troubled; and that they concealed some fatall harme, and gathering thereby that his sonne was dead: he called vnto him one of his officers, who certifying him of the truth, hee arose and walked himselfe, and put on a white garment, and presented himselfe before the tabernacle of God, and commanded his dinner to be made ready. Whereat his friends and seruants were very fore amazed, and wondered why hee hauing done none of these things during the childs sicknesse, should now after his death doe all these things at once; they besought him therefore that it might be lawfull for them to demaund the cause of these his proceedings. To whom he answered, that he would teach and discouer that vnto them, of which they were ignorant. Vnderstand you not (said hee) that while the child was aliue, and I had hope of his recouerie, I omitted no meanes whereby I might moue God vnto mercie: but now after that hee is dead, it were in vaine for mee to spend my selfe with vnecessary griefe. Which when they heard, they praised the wisdom & consideration of the king. After this he knew *Bethsabe* his wife, who became with childe, and was brought a-bed of a sonne, who (by *Nathans* direction) was called *Salomon*. Meane while *Iobab* pressed the Ammonites with a sore siege, and cut off their water and other commodities and things necessarie, so that they were welny famished for want of victuall and prouision: for they drew their water from a little spring in such sort, that they feared lest if they should vse it to their owne contentment, it would be sodainly dried. Hee therefore wrote vnto the king, and certified him of the estate of the Citie, and exhorted him to come in person, and be present at the surprisall thereof, to the intent that the victory might be famed by his name.

The king vnderstanding that which *Iobab* had written, allowed of his readinesse, good-will, and faith, & taking with him all the forces which he had, he came to the taking in of *Rabatha*, which being by him forcibly surprisid and giuen in pillage vnto his souldiers, hee retained for himselfe

P ij.

the

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The year of the
world, 2910. be-
fore Christ's birth,
1034.

1. edio, & Ruf-
sinus. chap. 8.
2. Reg. 13.

The year of the
world, 2912. be-
fore Christ's
birth, 1032.

Jonathan
counselled
Amnon how
he might en-
ioy his loue.

Amnon per-
swadeth his
sister to sub-
mit to his lust.
Amnon not-
withstanding
his sisters resist
violateth her.

Abfalon com-
forteth his
sister Thamar.

Abfalon inui-
ted his father
and brethren
to his shep-
shearing, and
commandeth
his seruants to
kill Amnon,
being ouer-
charged with
wine & sleepe.

the crowne of the king of the Ammonites waighing a talent of gold, in the midst wherof was en-
chased a Sardonyx of great valew, which *Dauid* wore vpon his head. He found likewise in that ci-
tie diuers spoyles of great price: but as touching the inhabitants, he put them to the sword, and
did the like in all the Cities of the Ammonites which hee tooke by force. But after that the king
was returned vnto Ierusalem, there fell a grievous accident in his family vpon this occasion. He
had a daughter at that time which was a virgin, faire and beautifull, and surpased all other wo-
men in admirable perfections, whose name was *Thamar*, borne by the same mother that *Abfalon*
was. Of her, *Amnon* the eldest sonne of *Dauid* became enamoured: and for that hee could not
enjoy her at his pleasure (by reason of her virginitee, and the hand that was had of her) hee grew
so melancholy that his body dried vp, and his colour changed thorow the verie griefe that con-
sumed him. A certaine cousin and friend of his called *Jonathan* (a man of great reach and quick
vnderstanding) perceiuing this his passion, and noting every day how *Ammons* beautie and
strength decayed and wasted, came vnto him and asked him the cause thereof, allcading that
that indisposition of his seemed to proceed from some amorous affection. Which when *Amnon*
confessed, and how he was growne passionate thorow the loue hee bare vnto his sister by the fa-
thers side, *Jonathan* suggested him both the meanes and inuention to compasse his desires: for he
perswaded him to counterfeit himselfe to bee sicke, and that if his father came to visit him, hee
should desire him to send his sister to minister vnto him, by which meanes hee should easily and
speedily bee deliuered of his sickness. This counsell of his was plausible in *Ammons* eares, who
presently counterfained sicknes; and laid him downe on his bed (according as *Jonathan* had ad-
uised him:) and when *Dauid* was come to visit him, hee required him to send his sister vnto him,
which hee did. She being arriued, hee praied her with her owne hands that she would temper and
frie some fritters for him, because they would the more content him, if they were of her owne
making: for which cause shee in her brothers presence tempered the flower, and made certaine
cakes and fried them in the frying pan, and presented them vnto him: but he tasted them not, but
commanded all his seruants to retire themselues out of his lodging, because hee intended to take
his rest without noyse or trouble. As soone as this commandement of his was performed, hee
prayed his sister to bring the meate into his most retired and priuie chamber: whereunto the
damsell condescended: whereupon hee sodainly surprised her, & began to perfwade her, to grant
him her company. But the virgin exclaiming, said vnto him: Forbeare my brother, forbeare to
offer me violence: for it is a hainous sinne to perpetrate so foule a fact. Giue ouer this thy most
hatefull concupiscence, which will breed nought els but disgrace and infamy to our whole fami-
ly; or if thou hast not the power to resist the same, require me at my fathers hands, and extort not
mine honour from mee by force. But hee enraged with loue, neglected all these sayings, and
wholly poisoned with the sting of disordinate passion, rauished and violated her, notwithstanding
all her resist. And as soone as he had asslaked his lustfull desire, a certaine hatred entred into his
heart, which extorted from his mouth many iniurious words against *Thamar*: so that hee coman-
ded her to arise and depart. She answered, that this second outrage was more hainous then the
former; for that hauing violated her, he would not suffer her to remaine there vntill night time,
but thrust her out incontinently by day time, & during the light, to the end she might meet with
such as might testifie her dishonour: Notwithstanding all these iust reasons of hers, hee comman-
ded his seruant to driue her out of the doores. She strangely aggrieved at the outrage & violence
that had been offered her, tore her garment (which was such as the noble and princely virgins
were wont to weare) and strewed ashes on her head, running thorow the Citie with cries and
lamentations, wherein shee expressed what wrong had beene done vnto her. With her thus
distracted, her brother *Abfalon* met, enquiring of her what euill hap had befallen her. To whom
she reported all the iniurie which her brother *Amnon* had done her: whereupon hee exhorted her
to pacifie her selfe, and to suffer moderately whatsoever had befallen her; and not to suppose her
selfe to bee indignified by an act of her brother. Whereupon shee condescended, forbearing her
exclamations, and surceasing to publish the iniuries shee had receiued in the eares of the people. And
thus remained she a long time with her brother *Abfalon* in the qualitie of a widow.

Dauid hauing intelligence of that which had hapned, was sore displeased, notwithstanding he
loued *Amnon* verie entirely, who was his eldest sonne, and would not disquiet him: but *Abfalon*
hated him extremely, expecting (without any word speaking) for some fit opportunitie, wherein
he might reuenge himselfe on the rauisher. Now when as two yeares were expired since his sister
was both derided and deslowred, it chaunced that *Abfalon* intending a sheep-shearing in Bells-
phon, a Citie of the tribe of *Ephraim*, inuited his father and brethren to come and banquet with
him.

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The year of the
world, 2912. be-
fore Christ's 286-
tinuite, 1032.

A him. But when the king refused to go, for feare least he might be chargeable vnto him: *Abfalon* in-
sisted & perswaded him to send his brothers thither, which hee granted. Hereupon *Abfalon* com-
manded his seruants, that when they should see *Amnon* charged with wine & sleepe, they should
sodainly (vpon a signe giuen by him vnto them) kill him without feare or regard of any person.

CHAP. VIII.

*How thorow the domesticall discord of his family, Dauid was banished by his
sonne out of his kingdome.*

B *After* that *Abfalons* seruants had thus executed his commandement, a trouble and feare
seised all the rest of his brethren, inasmuch as they suspected their owne persons: for
which cause mounting themselves on horsebacke, they posted all in haste towards their
father. But a certaine man outstripping them in the way, reported vnto *Dauid* that *Abfalon* had
slaine all his sonnes. Who surprisid with a bitter and mortall feare, in supposing that such a num-
ber of his children should be slaine, and that by their owne brother, neither inquired the cause or
any thing els which might be sifted out in so grievous an inconuenient that had hapned, but gaue
himselfe ouer to extreame and strange discomforts, and renting his garments laid him down on
the earth, bewailing all his children, both those that were slaine, as him also that had slaine them.
But *Jonathan* the sonne of *Sama* his brother, exhorted him to moderate and bridle his passion,
could conceiue no probable cause of coniecture. But as touching *Amnon* there needed no que-
stion, for that it was very like that *Abfalon* (by reason of the iniury which was offered vnto his
sister *Thamar*) would hazard himselfe to kill him. Meane while a great trample of horses, and a
confused troupe of men brake off their discourse. These were the kings sonnes, who returned in
post from the banquet: Against these the father issued out, accompanying their dolefull teares
with a heauy and sorrowfull countenance: and seeing (beyond all hope) how they, whom a little
before he supposed to be lost, returned in safety, they were all of them on euery side giuen ouer
to teares & lamentations; the brothers bewailed their mangled brother, the king his murdered
sonne. But *Abfalon* fled vnto Gessur (vnto his grandfather on the mothers side, and Lord of that
place) and sojourned with him three whole yeeres: at the end whereof *Dauid* determined to send
for his sonne *Abfalon*, not to the intent to punish him, but to retire him vnto him (by reason that
the indignation he had conceiued against him, was at that time asslaked) *Ioab* also furthered this
his resolution by all meanes that were to him possible: For hee caused a certaine old woman atti-
red in mourning habit to present her selfe before *Dauid*, who said vnto him, that betwixt her two
sonnes that liued in the countrey, there hapned such a different, that falling to handy-strokes they
were so whet the one against the other, that not induring to be parted, the one of the in such sort
wounded the other, that he died; and for that the kinsmen were sore moued against the murthe-
rer, and sought without mercie to depriue him of life, she humbly belought the king that he
would giue her her sonnes life, and not depriue her of that hope that remained her to sustaine her
old yeeres with; which he should bring to passe, if so be he prohibited those that would kil her son
from executing their intents: for that except it were for feare which they had of him, they would
by no meanes be withdrawne from their fatall and bloody resolution. Now when as the king had
granted her request, the woman began once more to breake into these speeches: I most humbly
thanke your maiestie (said she) who haue had compassion of mineage, and doe so proudly
foresee that I be not depriued of my sonne, but to the intent I may be the better assured of thy hu-
manitie, I beseech thee (O King) first of all pacifie thy displeasure conceiued against thy sonne,
and be no more incensed against him: For how can I perswade my selfe that you will doe me this
grace, if you your selfe euen vntill this day continue your displeasure conceiued vpon the like oc-
casion against your sonne? For it is contrarie to the rules of wisdom, to adde to the remedielesse
losse of one sonne, the haplesse death of a fathers liuing hope. Vpon these words the king began
presently to suspect that *Ioab* had suborned this woman, and vnderstanding no lesse by the olde
womans report, he sent for *Ioab*, and told him that hee granted him that which he desired, com-
manding him to send for *Abfalon*, assuring him that his displeasure was pacified, and choler as-
swaged. *Ioab* cast himselfe downe prostrate before the king, and reuerently receiuing his word
of reconciliation, went vnto Gessur and fet *Abfalon* from thence with him, and brought him to
Ierusalem. The king vnderstanding that his sonne drew neere, sent out a messenger to meet him,
P iij com-

Dauid is cer-
tified that all
his sonnes are
slaine by *Ab-
falon*.

Jonathan com-
forteth *Dauid*
contradicting
his feare in
respect of all
his sonnes, &
onely vpon
lust surmise
suspecting *Am-
mons* death.
Dauids sonnes
resort vnto
their father.

Abfalon flieth
to his grand-
father.

2. Reg. 14.
Abfalon by
the subtilty of
a woman, and
the setting on
of *Ioab* is re-
uoked from
banishment
vnto Ierusalem.

The year of the world, 2912, before Christ's Nativity, 1052. Abialon reuoked by his father, is commanded for a time to fly his presence.

Abialon's children borne in Ierusalem.

2. Reg. 13. Iob was urged by the burning of his houses to conciliate Abialon to his father.

The year of the world, 2916, before Christ's Nativity, 1048.

Medio, & Rufinus. chap. 9.

Abialon subtilly affected his fathers kingdom.

The year of the world, 2920, before Christ's Nativity, 1044.

Abialon proclaimed king.

David departed out of Ierusalem.

David flying prohibeth the high Priests to follow him, to the intent to glue him intelligence of what which did passe.

commanding that as yet he should not presume to presse into his presence, because hee was not G disposed to behold him so sodainly. Who vnderstanding the will of his father, forbore to shew himselfe vnto him, and went and dwelt amongst his own familiars and household seruants: Neither was his beauty any waies decreased by the sorrow hee had conceived, or for that his entertainment was farre different from the bringing vp and nourishing of a princes sonne; but he rather excelled and grew more famous thereby: so that for beautie and goodlines of personage he exceeded all those that liued more deliciously and daintily: his glibband or haire was so thicke that it could scarcely be powled in eight daies, & waighed two hundred sicles which amount to five pound. He liued also two yeeres in Ierusalem, and was the father of three sonnes, and one faire daughter, which *Roboam* the sonne of *Salomon* afterwards tooke to wife, of whom he begat a sonne called *Abia*. In proceesse of time hee sent messengers vnto *Iob*, that now at length hee would pacifie his father, and beseech him to admit him to his presence, that hee might both see and submit himselfe vnto him. But because *Iob* made small reckoning of these his motions, hee sent of his seruants, and commanded them to burne and spoile *Iob*'s possessions that abutted vpon his: who hearing of that which had hapned vnto him, resorted vnto *Abialon*, accusing him and questioning with him for what cause hee had done him this iniurie. To whom *Abialon* answered: I haue (said he) inuented this stratagem to make thee come vnto me, seeing thou madest small account of my commissions, whereby I haue charged thee to reconcile me vnto my father. And at this present I beseech thee that thou wilt moue my father in my behalfe; otherwise I shall thinke my returne more grievous then my banishment hath bene, if so be my father shall as yet continue his displeasure. *Iob* was perswaded thorow the compassion hee conceived of the necessity wherin he saw him, and went and solicited the king, with whom he so effectually debated and as touching *Abialon*, that altering his contrarie disposition, hee graciously and speedily sent and called for him. As soone as he came vnto his presence, *Abialon* cast himselfe prostrate on the ground, demanding pardon for his offences: But *David* raised and lifted him vp, and promised him that from thenceforth hee would no more vpbraid him with those misdeedes. After all things had thus fallen out, *Abialon* within a little space assembled a great number of horses and chariots, and entertained fiftie men for his guard, and euery day early in the morning presented himselfe before the kings palace, and talked with those that resorted thither, about the triall of their differences; and whereas some of them were condemned, he talked with them according as he found the affected, alledging that his father had no good counsellors, & that perhaps he himselfe had in some things iudged amisse: & by these means in deuoured he to get the goodwill of all men, telling them that if he had the like authority, he would make them know by prooffe what his equity was. Having by these plausible perswasions drawne the hearts of the common people vnto him, he thought himselfe already seised of their seruices in whatsoever he intended. Some foure yeeres after his reconciliation, hee came to his father *David*, requiring of him that he might goe to Hebron & sacrifice vnto God, according as he had vowed at such time as hee fled from his presence. Which request of his when *David* granted him, hee resorted thither beeing attended with great affluence and concourse of all the people (by reason he had appointed diuers to meet him in that place, amongst whom was *Achitophel* the Gelmonite, one of *Dauids* counsellors, and 200. others of Ierusalem, who altogether ignorant of his enterprize, assembled themselves in that place to be assistant to his sacrifice:) by all whom he was declared king, according as hee himselfe had commanded them to doe. When the newes hereof came vnto *Dauids* eares, and he was thorowly ascertained beyond all conceit, how his sonne had behaved himselfe; he suspected and doubted his impiety and arrogancy, wondering that he should so soon and so lewdly forget himselfe of the pardon, which he had obtained for his enormous and hainous crimes; and contrary to all law plunge himselfe and hazard his reputation in more grievous offences: as first of all to peruert the estate of the kingdom which God had established: and secondly, in complotting to deprime and degrade his owne father. For which cause he determined to fly to the other side of Iordan, conducting with him his most inward & hartie friends, to whom he reported the vnbredled furie of his sonne, remitting all things vnto God who iudgeth all things; and leaving the government of his royall house to the disposition of his sixe concubines, he departed from Ierusalem. With him issued an affectionate and great number of people, besides those sixe hundred soldiers, who had followed him in his banishment during *Sauls* life time. And although the high priests *Abiathar* and *Sador* with all the Leuites had concluded to depart with him, yet perswaded hee them to abide with the Arke, assuring them that God would deliuer them: yea although the Arke were vnremoued from his place. Hee commanded *Abiathar* likewise to send him private intelligence

The year of the world, 2920, before Christ's Nativity, 1044. Ethraus departed with David.

Achitophel reuoltheth fro David, & followeth Abialon, whose counsaile David striueth by praier to make frustrate. Chusai is perswaded to submit to Abialon & to cross Achitophels counsaile.

2. Reg. 16. Siba accusing his maister wrongfully, is made owner of his riches.

David forbideth to kill Simei.

Chusai vnder a colour offereth his seruice to Abialon.

A intelligence of each current that should happen, reseruing with him for his intire and inward counsellors *Achimaas* the sonne of *Sador*, and *Ionathan* the sonne of the aboue said *Abiathar*. But *Ethraus* the Gittite by no perswasions of the king could bee induced to stay, but contrarie to his commaund followed him, whereby hee more manifestly exprest his affection towards him. But as he mounted and ascended on his bare feet vpon the mountaine of *Oliuet*, and all they of his traine followed him (intermixing their trauel with bitter teares) a certain messenger came and certified him that *Achitophel* was with *Abialon*, and held on his side. Which report aggravated and increased his griefe: so that hee besought God that it might please him to alienate the affection of *Abialon* from *Achitophel*, for feare least if he should giue him some sinister counsell, he might easily be perswaded thereunto; because that *Achitophel* was a man of ripe iudgement and ready execution in all that concerned him. As soone as hee came vnto the top of the mountaine, he beheld the Citie: and as if he had vicerly been banished from his kingdom, he began with abundant teares to call vpon GOD. There met hee with *Chusai* his sincere and vnfaigned friend, vvhom when hee beheld with his garments rent, with ashes on his head, and lamenting the vnhappie change which he then beheld: *David* cheered him, and exhorted him to bee no waies discouraged; and finally, besought him to returne vnto *Abialon*, as vnder a colour that hee had forsaken his part, vvhether diligently prying into his secrets, hee might oppose himselfe against *Achitophels* counsaile, because hee might not so much pleasure him in keeping him company, as in staying with *Abialon*. *Chusai* beeing after this manner perswaded by *David*, returned back to Ierusalem, where presently after he encountered with *Abialon*, who repaired thither. In the meane time *David* marching onward a little further, chanced to meet with *Siba*, *Mephiboseths* seruant, & Puruicor of all those goods which *David* had giuen him (for that he was *Ionathans* son, who was the son of *Saul*.) This man droue before him two Asses laden with victuals, which he presented to *David* and his company, to refresh themselves with; and being demanded where hee had left *Mephiboseth*? In Ierusalem (said he) where he expecteth to be chosen king, thorow the occasion of those troubles that had happened, and in memory of the benefits that diuers men had receiued at *Sauls* hands. *David* displeased with that which hee heard, gaue *Siba* all those riches where-with he had graunted *Mephiboseth* in times past, deeming him more worthy of the same then *Mephiboseth*. VVherewith *Siba* was very highly contented.

When *David* drew neere vnto a place which is called *Choran*, a certaine cousin of *Sauls*, called *Dimei*, the sonne of *Gera*, came out against him, and cast stones at him, and reuiled him; and the more *Dauids* friends inuironed and defended him, the more obstinately perieured hee in his reproofes and scandalous railings: calling him murderer, & captain of the wicked, charging him like an impure and execrable man to get him out of the kingdom, giuing God thanks for that hee had deprimed him of his kingdom by the means of his owne sonne, and in punishment of those crimes which he had committed against his owne maister. This his so cruell and vnbredled libertie, moued all *Dauids* followers to displeasure; so that all of them were prepared to reuenge them on *Simei*; and amongst the rest *Abisai* would haue slaine him: but *David* pacified his displeasure, willing him to forbear, for feare (said he) least to our present miseries we annexe a further and new occasion. For in as much as concerneth my selfe, I set light by this mad dog, and refer the matter vnto God, who is the cause that he is thus desperately bent against vs. Neither is it to be wondered at, that I suffer these outrages by him, sith mine owne sonne is so wicked as hee taketh a felicitie to disdain me: but it may be that God will haue compassion on vs, & if he please we shall haue the vpper hand ouer our enemies. He therefore walked onward on his way, not caring what *Simei* said, who ranne on the other side of the mountaine, railing and reuiling at him. When *David* was arrived on the banke of Iordan, he mustered and refreshed his armie, who were fore wearied: meane while *Abialon* entring Ierusalem with *Achitophel* his Counsellor, was saluted and applauded by the whole concourse of the people; & amongst the rest *Dauids* friend came vnto them, who prostrating himselfe before *Abialons* feete, wished him both prosperitie and perpetuie in his kingdom. Him did *Abialon* aske how it came to passe, that hee who was reputed to be one of *Dauids* most endeared friends, and esteemed alwaies to be most loiall & faithfull vnto him, should at that time (when most occasion was profered him to expresse his loyaltie) abandon him, and submit himselfe to his enemy? To him *Chusai* answered both readily and wisely, that it became him to follow God; and the good will of the people.

Sith therefore (said hee, my Soueraigne) that both these are for you, it concerneth me to follow you, because you haue receiued the kingdom from God: If therefore you esteeme mee to be your faithfull friend; I will approue vnto you my loyaltie and true affection in like manner, as

The year of the world, 2920. before Christ's Nativity, 1044. Achitophel persuaded Absalon to lie with his father's concubines.

2. Reg. 17. Achitophels counsaile persuading Absalon to pursue Dauid. Chusais opposition.

Chusais counsaile accepted. Achitophels reiected.

Sadoc and Abiathars sons sent vnto Dauid.

in your knowledge I haue testified in effect vnto your father, who ought not to bee displeased at that which hath hapned, since the kingdom is not transported into another house, but remaineth in his owne family, because he who was his sonne receiued the same. By such like words he reconciled himselfe to *Abfalon*, whereas before that time he was inwardly suspected. Hereupon *Achitophel* was sent for to consult with him about their affaires in hand: who gaue him counsell to abuse all his fathers concubines, and make them his owne. For, said hee, from that time forward, the people will beleeue that you and hee will neuer bee reconciled; and will bee more readie to beare armes and invade your father for your sake. For hitherto (said he) they haue vnwillingly professed themselves to be his enemies, suspecting least a peace should be concluded betwixt the father and the sonne. *Abfalon* beleeuing this aduise of his, caused a Tent or roiall Pauilion to be pitched in the sight of all the people, wherinto hee entred, and had the company of his fathers concubines. All which fell out, according as the Prophet *Nathan* had fore-told, at such time as hee certified *Dauid*, that his owne sonne should make warre against him.

CHAP. IX.

Abfalons warre against his father: his death, and the discomfiture of his armie.

¶ *Hen* *Abfalon* had done that which *Achitophel* had instructed him in, hee requested him once more to counsaile him concerning that warre which he had enterprised against his father: vvhich required tenne thousand chosen men at his hand, promising him to kill *Dauid*, and to bring all the rest that were in his conduct vnder his subiection: assuring him that *Abfalons* kingdom would bee then established, when *Dauids* head were cut off from his shoulders. Vvhē this aduise of his had highly contented him, he sent for *Chusai*, who was the chiefe amongst *Dauids* friends (for so *Dauid* himselfe had termed him) to whō he discovered the aduise which *Achitophel* had giuen him, and required him to giue his opinion what he thought thereof: vvhich knowing verie well that if *Achitophels* counsaile were followed, *Dauid* should be in danger to be apprehended and slaine, enforced all his arguments & counsailes to the contrary. For, said hee, my Liege, you are sufficiently informed both what your fathers valour is, & their vertue that accompany him; who hath fought many battels, and hath had the vpper hand ouer all his enemies. It is to bee feared also least hee at this present bee incamped in the field. For, hee is well exercised in leading armies, and to prevent any stratagems, whereby the enemy may invade him, & about the euening he hath perhaps left his men hidden in some straight, or in ambush behind some rock: & if our men shall assaile him, his souldiers will by little and little retire, and afterward recouering courage, by reason that the King shall be neere vnto them, they will charge vs afresh; and during their medly, your father will suddainly breake out of his ambush, and encourage his owne men, and discomfirt yours: wisely therefore examine mine aduise, & if you find that it bee good, neglect that which *Achitophel* hath giuen you. Send mee thorow all the countrey of the Hebrewes, commanding euery one to take armes and march out against your father: and whē you haue gathered together these forces, be you your selfe in person the Generall of the armie, and commit it not to another mans charge, and assuredly expect to haue an easie victorie ouer him, if you assaile him in the open field, for that hee is accompanied with a very few men, and your selfe are attended by many thousands, who at least wile if they loue you, & will shew a good affection towards you, may easily rid you of that enemy. And if so be your father shut himselfe vp in any City, wee will and may subuert the same by mines and engines. This aduise of his seemed to be better then that of *Achitophels*, so that *Abfalon* preferred the same. For it was God that put this thought into his hart, to neglect *Achitophels*, and respect *Chusais* counsell.

Now when *Chusai* had thus preuailed, he presently repaired to the high Priests *Sadoc* and *Abiathar*, certifying them what *Achitophel* had comploted, and how he had contradicted him: finally, how his opinion had taken place, giuing them in charge to send priuate intelligence vnto *Dauid* thereof, and to enforme him of his sonnes resolution, wishing him with all speed to passe ouer the riuer of Iordan, for feare least *Abfalon* being informed of his aboad in that place, should make haste and pursue him, and ouertake him before hee might recouer a place of securitie.

Now had the high Priests before hand provided that their sonnes should lie hid without the Citie, of set purpose, to the end they might be sent vnto *Dauid* to informe him how matters went. They therefore sent a trusty seruant vnto these, who brought them newes of *Abfalons* deliberations, with expresse commandement to enforme the King thereof with all speede, who

The year of the world, 2920. before Christ's Nativity, 1044. The high Priests sonnes being pursued are hidden by a woman in a pit.

Dauid informed of Abfalons deliberation, pisset himselfe & his whole army ouer Iordan by night.

Achitophel perceiving his counsell vvas despised, hung himselfe.

Dauid cometh to Mahanaim, where he is roiallie entertained by the peeres.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 10. 2. Reg. 18. Abfalon pisset ouer Iordan.

The diuision of Dauids army. Dauids friends disswade his presence in the battell.

Dauid cometh to spare his sonne. The battell betwixt Iobab and Abfalon.

A who presently vpon this intelligence, like good and faithfull ministers, posted with all speede to report their fathers newes vnto the king.

But scarcely had they trauelled two furlongs, when certaine horsemen discovered them, and brought newes thereof vnto *Abfalon*, who presently sent out scouters to apprehend them: which when the children of the high priest perceived, they forsooke the high way, and incontinently retired themselves into a certaine village neere vnto Ierusalem, which is called Bocchura, vvhether they besought a certaine woman to hide them, and shut them in some place of securitie, who let them downe into a pit, and couered the mouth thereof with bundles of wooll. Shee being demanded by those that pursued them whether she saw the, denied the same, saying, that as soone as she had giuen them drinke, they departed from her presently; assuring them that if they presently and speedily pursued the, they might easily apprehend them: but after they had long time followed and could not find them, they returned from whence they came: The woman perceiving that they were departed, and that there was no cause of feare, least the young men should be surprisid, she drew them out of the pit, and sette them onward of their way: who, with as great speed as was possible, resorted vnto *Dauid*, and declared vnto him exactly what *Abfalons* deliberation was. Hereupon *Dauid* passed the fload Iordan presently with all his men, and although it were night could not be withdrawne by reason of the darknesse.

But *Achitophel* seeing that his opinion had beene reproued, tooke his horse and suddainely repaired vnto his country of Gelmon: there calling together his household seruants before him, he discovered vnto them what aduise he had giuen *Abfalon*; vvhich since hee had not accepted, he told the that shortly they should see him dead, alleading that *Dauid* would haue the vpper hand in the warre, and should returne into his kingdom. It is better therefore, said he, for mee with a great mind, and as it becommeth a valiant man, to depart out of this life, then to submit my selfe to *Dauids* punishment for partaking with *Abfalon*, and giuing him counsell. This said, hee retired himselfe into the most secret part of his house, and hung himselfe, being both his owne iudge and executioner: after which, his kinsmen cut him downe & buried him. But *Dauid* (as we said) hauing past Iordan, came and incamped in a strong Cittie, the most defended in that Countrey: there was he entertained with great beneuolence by all the noble men of that country, partly moued thereunto by the mans present necessitie, partly thorow the reuerence of his former felicitie. These were *Bersillai* the Galaadite, *Siphai* the gouernour of the prouince of the Ammonites, & by the peeres. *D Machir* the chiefe of the country of Galaad, who gaue *Dauid* and his whatsoeuer they wanted, in abundance: so that they lacked neither beds, nor bread, nor flesh, but were plentifully stored with all things. They that were sick and wearied also, wanted nothing that either might serue for repose or refectiō. In this estate remained he. But *Abfalon* assembled a great multitude of people to make warre vpon his father; and after he had passed Iordan, he pitched his tents neere vnto his fathers, within the country of Galaad, and made *Amasa* Generall of his armie, oppoling him against *Iobab* his cosin: for *Amasas* father was *Iethar*, & his sister was *Abigail*, sister to *Sarnia*, moe than to *Iobab*. When *Dauid* had mustered and numbred his forces, and found that hee had fortie thousand fighting men, it was thought fit presently to hazard battell, and not to expect till *Abfalon* should charge vpon them.

E Hee therefore ordained Coronels ouer thousands of his men, and diuided them into three squadrons: the one of which he gaue in charge to *Iobab*, the second to *Abisai* his brother; and the third to *Ethaus* his familiar friend (who was of the citie of Geth.) In this battell his friends would not admit his presence (and that vpon good and deepe consideration) for they said, that if they should bee defeated in his company, they should vtterly lose all good hope: but if one Squadron should be overcome, the rest might haue their recourse vnto him, who might assemble vnto them and strengthen them with greater force, the rather for that the enemies would alwaies thinke it likely, that he had some other armie with him. This counsell of theirs seemed pleasing vnto him, for which cause he remained within the Citie. But at such time as he sent out his friends vnto the battell, he besought them that (in remembrance of all the benefits and fauours hee had bestowed on them) they would both shew themselves courageous & faithfull men in the fight, and that hauing obtained the victory, they would spare his sonne, for feare least his death should increase and redouble his discontents. Thus praying God to giue them victorie, hee dismissed them to enter the battell. But when as *Iobab* had planted his armie right ouer against the enemy, and had extended them on the Plaine, hauing a wood vpon their backs; *Abfalon* also drew out his armie against him. So that encountering, and valiantly fighting the one against the other, they performed many notable exploits on both parts: the one hazarding themselves in all dangers, and employing

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tivity, 1044.

playing all their affections, to the intent that *Dauid* might recouer his kingdome: the others nei-
ther refusing to doe or endure any thing, so that *Abfalon* might not bee deprived, or exposed to
his fathers punishment and displeasure for his insolent attempt. Besides that, they held it an in-
dignitie for them, that being so great in number as they were, they should be surmounted by such
a handfull of people as followed *Ioab*: deeming it to be an vtter disgrace vnto them, that being
so many thousands of them in armes, they should be discomfited by *Dauids* followers.

The flight and
ouertrow of
Abfalons ar-
mie.

But *Ioab* and his men being more skilfull and trained in feates of armes then the rest, discom-
fited and brake *Abfalons* army: so that they fled thorow woods and steepe places. *Dauids* soul-
diers pursuing after them, tooke some, and slew other some; so that both in flight & fight, a great
number of them were put to the sword: for there fell that day about twenty thousand men. But
all *Dauids* troups freshly set vpon *Abfalon*, who was easily knowne by reason of his absolute
beauty, and high stature: he fearing to be surprised by his enemies, mounted vpon the roial mule,
and fled in great haste. And for that by swift motion of his body, his locks were scattered abroad,
his bush of haire was entangled in a thick and branchie tree, where hee hung after a strange man-
ner, and his mule ranne onward with great swiftnesse, as if shee had as yet borne her Maister on
her back: but he hanging by the haire amidst the branches, suddainly fell into his enemies hands.
This when a certaine souldier perceiued, he brought newes thereof vnto *Ioab*, who promised him
to giue him sicke sicles, if he would kill him.

Ioab killeth
Abfalon.

The souldier answered, that if he would giue him two thousand hee would not commit such a
murther on the sonne of his Soueraigne, the rather for that in the presence of them all, *Dauid* had
requested them to spare him. Hereupon *Ioab* commanded him to shew him the place where hee
had seen *Abfalon* hang: who no sooner discovered him, but thrusting a Iauelin to his hart, hee slew
him. That done, *Ioabs* Elquires surrounding the tree tooke him downe; & casting him into a deep
& obscure pit, they ouerwhelmed him with stones: so that in appearance it seemed to be a tomb,
or some great, high, and stately monument. After this, when *Ioab* had sounded the retreat, hee
with-drew his souldiers from pursue, supposing it to be an innaturall thing for one countryman
to flesh himselfe vpon another. *Abfalon* had erected in the roiall valley two furlongs distant fro
Ierusalem a Marble pillar, which he had intituled by the name of *Abfalons* Hand; saying, that
when his children should be dead, his name should remaine in that pillar. Now he had three sons,
and a daughter which was called *Thamar*, as we haue said heretofore, who was married vnto *Ro-
boam*, *Dauids* Nephew, and had by him a son called *Abia*, who succeeded his father in the king-
dome: of whom we will speake more conueniently in his place.

Abfalons mar-
ble pillar.

CHAP. X.

The happy estate of *Dauid* being restored vnto his kingdome.

Chusai sent to
certifie *Dauid*
of the victory.

After that *Abfalon* was slaine, all the people returned priuately to their owne houses:
but *Achimaas* the son of the high priest *Sadoc* drew neere vnto *Ioab*, requiring his li-
cencie to repaire vnto *Dauid*, and to certifie him of the victory, and how by Gods help
and prouidence he had obtained the victory. This did the Generall deny him, telling
him that it was not conuenient that he, who before times was wont to bring ioyful newes, should
now certifie the king of his sons death. He therefore commanded him to stay, and calling *Chusai*
to his presence, he gaue him commission to certifie the king of that which he had scene. *Achimaas*
requested him the second time that he would suffer him to go, promising him that he would make
no mention but of the victory; & that as touching *Abfalons* death, he would not vtter any thing:
whereupon he dismissed him also, who chusing the shorter way (which he onely knew) outstrip-
ped *Chusai*. Now as *Dauid* late in the gate of the Cittie (expecting some messenger that might
certifie him of the successe of the battell) one of the Sentinels perceiuing *Achimaas*, that came
running hastily, and vnable to discouer who it was, told *Dauid* that he saw a messenger coming
towards him, who answered that it was some one that brought ioyful newes. Anon after he told
him that a certaine other messenger followed: To whom *Dauid* answered likewise, that it was
one that brought glad tidings. And when the watchman perceiued that it was *Achimaas*, *Sadoc*
the high priests son, and that he was neere at hand, he ran first of all and certified *Dauid*, who was
very glad thereof, saying that he brought some good and desired newes as touching the euent of
the battell: and no sooner had the king spoken the word, but *Achimaas* entred and humbled him-
selfe vpon his face before *Dauid*, to whom he reported that his armie had the victory. Being af-
terwards

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Afterwards demanded what was become of *Abfalon*: He answered, that he incontinently departed
from the camp as soone as the enemies were put to flight, yet that he heard a certaine cry of soul-
diers that pursued *Abfalon*: and further then that, he knew nothing, because by *Ioabs* com-
mandement he was speedily sent away to bring tidings of the victorie. When *Chusai* was come and
had humbled himselfe before the King, and had declared vnto him the successe of the battell, the
question was asked how *Abfalon* did: Whereunto he answered, The like fortune happen to thine
enemies (O King) as hath hapned to *Abfalon*. These words quite extinguished the delight and
ioy that *Dauid* conceiued in the victorie, & wholly amated his faithfull souldiers: for as touching
the king, he ascending the highest part of the Cittie, bewailed his sonne, bearing his breast, rearing
his haire, and afflicting himselfe in all kinds, and after such a sort, as may not bee exprest; and
B crying out in a most mournful manner: My sonne (said he) would GOD my sonne that I were
dead with thee, that I might bewith thee. For whereas of his owne nature hee was a verie louing
man, yet loued he *Abfalon* aboute all other most tenderly.

When the armie and *Ioab* were informed that *Dauid* lamented his sonne in this sort, they had
this respect, that they would not enter the Cittie after a triumphant and victorious manner: but
they entred hanging their heads, and weeping all of them most tenderly, as if they had returned
from some discomfiture. But when as the king hauing his head couered, persecuted in his desire
to bewaile his sonne, *Ioab* entred in vnto him and said: O King, you consider not that in this be-
hauour of yours, you dishonour your selfe: for it is to bee thought that you hate those that loue
you, and expose themselves to all perils for your loue; yea that you hate your selfe and your own
C succession: and that contrariwise, you loue your most mortall enemies most intirely, such you be-
waile them that were no lesse, & who are iustly deprived of their liues. For if *Abfalon* had had the
victorie, and had possessed the kingdome in assurance, there had not any one of vs bene left aliue
that loue you, but had all of vs suffered a most hated death; nay, and in the first ranke your selfe &
your owne children: neither would they being our enemies haue lamented; but laughed at our
deaths; yea they would punish them likewise who should haue any compassion of our miseries:
yet art thou not ashamed to lament after this manner, for such a man as most extremely hated
thee, who notwithstanding he were thine owne sonne, was so vngratefull & vngracious towards
thee. Desist therefore from thy vniust lamentation, and offer thy selfe in preface to thy wel-
deserving souldiers, and giue them thanks, that by their vertue haue obtained thee this victorie: o-
D therwise, if thou continue as thou hast begonne, this day will I translate both the kingdome and
the armie from thee, and giue thee occasion more grieuouly and truly to lament thee of thy mis-
fortunes then thou didst before. By these words *Ioab* pacified and alaid the Kings lamentations,
and drew him to the care of his common weale: for clothing himselfe in a royall habite, whereby
he might seeme more gracious in the sight of his souldiers, he sate him downe in the gate: so that
all the people hearing thereof, flocked out to salute him.

Dauid is taxed
for lamenting
his Son, and
vpon *Ioabs*
perswasion
presenteth
himselfe vnto
the people.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 12.

Whilst these things past after this manner, they that remained aliue of *Abfalons* armie, return-
ing home vnto their houses, sent their messengers to euery corporation, aduertising them how
many benefits they had receiued at *Dauids* hands, and how after many & grieuous warres, he had
brought them to a secure libertie, and how vniustly expelling him, they had committed the king-
E dome vnto another. For which cause it behooued them, such hee was dead whom they had cho-
sen, to make their supplication and submission vnto *Dauid*, that dismissing his wrath, hee would
receiue the people into his fauour, and according as before time, so now also he would vouchsafe
them his pardon and protection. Of these things sundry intelligences came vnto the kings eare;
so that by expresse letters he commaunded *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* the chiefe priests, that they should
certifie the princes of the tribe of Iuda, that it should be a great indignity for the, that other tribes
should preferre *Dauid* to the kingdom before them, especially sith he was both of their tribe, and
their kinsman also. In like manner he commaunded them to speak vnto *Amasa* the generall, and
expostulate with him, vwhy hee who was his Nephew by the sisters side, did not perswade the
armie to recomend the kingdom to his hands: willing them to assure him that he was not onely
F to hope for pardon for that which had happened, but also for the government of the vvhole ar-
mie, according as *Abfalon* had granted him. Hereupon the high priests not onely conferred with
the Princes afore said, but also informed *Amasa* what the king had promised in his behalfe, where-
by they drew him to their faction. And first of all, those of his owne tribe reuoked *Dauid* very in-
stantly into the kingdome: the rest of the Israelites, by their example and *Amasas* authoritie, did
the like also; and these Embassadors flocked vnto him to receiue him into Ierusalem. But vpon
derfull and praise-worthy was the diligence of the tribe of Iuda, who went out as far as the bank
of the flood,

of

The year of the
world, 1920. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1044.
Simeis is par-
doned.

of Iordan to meete with him, with these came *Simei* the sonne of *Gera*, with a thousand men, G which he had brought with him of the tribe of *Beniamin*. *Siba* likewise *Sauls* freema came thither with his fifteene sonnes, & twentie seruants: who made a bridge ouer Iordan, that the king might with his more easily passe ouer both himselfe and his armie. As loone as he came vnto Iordan, he was saluted by the tribe of *Iuda*: and *Simei* marching onward on the bridge, and prostrating himselfe at the kings feet, asked pardon of his offences, & besought him to remit his displeasure: and that in recouering his authoritie, hee would not first of all doe iustice on him, but that hee should remember this also, that he being induced by the repentance of his error, did with the formost march out to meete him vpon his returne. Whilst thus he besought and lamented, *Abisai*, *Iaabs* brother spake after this manner. Why should he nor die that hath thus villainously outraged the king, whom God hath established? But *Dauid* turned back vnto him and said: Ye sonnes of *Ser*. H *uia*, will you neuer cease to hatch new troubles; and to adde new diuisions to your former com- motions? Know you not that this is the first day of my raigne? For which cause I sweare an oath that I wil pardon all them that haue committed any impietie against me, & that no one man shall depart from me in my disfaueur. For which cause be of good cheere *Simei*, & feare thou not that I will seek thy blood. Whereupon he adored the king & marched onward before him. After this, *Mephiboseth*, *Sauls* nephew came out to meet him, clothed in a desolate and forrowfull manner. For since the time that *Dauid* fled his haire hanging downe in a neglected & forrowfull manner. For since the time that *Dauid* fled & forooke the citie, he had in such sort been distressed, that he neither had trimmed his haire, nor changed or cleansed his garment, supposing this calamitie & deposition to rouch him as neerly as it did the king: and further, in that by *Siba* his steward, he had been vniustly, detracted & accused I to the king. After he had prostrated himselfe, & adored the king, *Dauid* asked him for what cause he forooke him in his troubles, and offered nor himselfe to accompany him in his flight? Who answered, that it was the wickednes of *Siba*, who was the cause thereof: for he, said he, being co- maunded to prepare my necessities for that iourney, neglected the execution thereof, contem- ning both me and it, as if I had bene some abiect slave: Otherwise had I had the vse of my feet, and the meanes to haue waited on thee in thy iourney, I had neuer endured to haue forsaken thee. Neither was hee contented (my Liege) to hinder my deuout seruice toward thee, but further, more, hee hath maliciously incensed your Maiestie against me: yet knowe I well that your wife dome will not admit or giue credit to his detractions, both for that you are iust, as also for that G O D and truth which you onely aspire to, are onely beloued by you. For, whereas during my K Grandfathers daies, you were alwaies conuerfant amongst the most difficult dangers, and fol- lowed and attempted by him, and whereas all our posteritie by that meanes deserued to be utterly extinguished, yet haue you vied both in moderation & meeknesse, especially in forgetting those in- dignities; at such time as the memory thereof afforded you meanes to punish them. And now withstanding all these things, you haue entertained me like your friend, feasted mee at your daile table, and dignified mee with no lesse honours, then if I had bene one of your neereft and deereft kinsmen. When *Dauid* had heard these things, he neither thought good to punish *Mephiboseth*, neither to examine whether *Siba* had wrongfully accused him, but after he had certified him that he had giuen *Siba* all his goods, yet did hee pardon him, and promise him the restitution of halfe his possessions. Whereunto *Mephiboseth* replied. Let *Siba* (saith hee) possesse the whole, it one- L lie sufficeth mee that I see your Maiestie restored againe into your kingdome. After this, *Dauid* inuited *Berzillai* the Galaadite (a vertuous man and of great authoritie, and by whose bountie during the time of his warre he was assisted, and who had attended him as farre as Iordan) to accompany him vnto Ierusalem, promising him to make no lesse account of him then of his father, and assuring him liberally to allow him in all things that concerned his honour and age. But hee being desirous to liue in priuate, besought his Maiestie to dismisse him from the Court, because (as hee said) his age was so extream as it made him vnapt for courtly pleasures, considering that hee had attained to the age of fourscore yeeres: alledging that it better became him to thinke of death, and the departure out of this world. For which cause he besought *Dauid* to fauour him so much as that he might gouerne himselfe according to his owne desire, because that by reason of his age, he neither knew how to fauour meate nor drinke: besides, for that his hearing was lost, so that hee could not distinguish nor discern the sound of instruments, vvherein they who conuerse in kings Courts doe most vsually take such delight.

To this *Dauid* replied. Sith (said he) thou doost so instantly request me to giue thee leaue to depart from me, I dismisce thee: but leaue thou thy son *Achimaa*s with me, who shall bee maister of my many fauours. Hereupon *Berzillai* left his son with him, and taking leaue of the king (with

primer

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world, 1920. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1044.
The tribe of
Iudas accus-
tion, & exco-
municacion, for that without
the knowledge
of the other
tribes they had
gone out to
meet this king.

A prayer that God would grant him the fulnes of al his desires) he returned to his owne house. But *Dauid* went vnto Galgal (hauing already the halfe part of the people with him, and the whole tribe of *Iuda*.) Thither resorted then vnto him the chiefe gouernours of that countrey, attended by a great multitude of people, complaining vpon the tribe of *Iuda*, for that vnwitting to the rest they had resorted to him, when as by a mutuall consent they should all of them haue met him together. But the Princes of the tribe of *Iuda* requested the in no sort to misconstrue their preuention of them. For that by reason of alliance they had done this office, whereby being tied vnto him they were bound with more feruent studie to doe him seruice: for neither in respect of that diligence of theirs recieued they any rewards, whereby they that came after should thinke themselves preiudicte in profit. This answer of theirs the princes of the tribes tooke not in good part, but thus they spake vnto their brethren: Wee wonder (said they) that you only challenge the king to bee your kinsman, as if hee were not to be accounted an allic vnto vs all, whom God hath equally placed to be gouernour ouer vs all; when as therefore the whole people consisteth of eleuen parts, you onely are but one; besides, we are your elders: so that you haue not dealt vprightly in that you haue secretly and couertly sought out the king. Whilst the gouernours in this sort debated the matter with them, a certaine wicked and seditious person called *Siba*, the sonne of *Bochri* of the tribe of *Beniamin*, standing vp in the midst of the people began to cry out with a loud voice, and to exclaime after this manner. Wee haue no part with *Dauid*, nor inheritance with the sonne of *Iesse*. This said, he founded a trumpet, and proclaimed warre against the king, so that all men followed him, and forooke *Dauid*. Onely the tribe of *Iuda* remained with him, and established him in the royall throne in Ierusalem: where removing his concubines (which his son *Abisai* had knowen) out of his palace, hee neuer after that time had any company with them. After this hee declared *Amasa* generall of the armie, and placed him in the same degree, which *Iaob* had, neere vnto the person of the King: commanding him that he should assemble the greatest forces that he might out of the tribe of *Iuda*, and that within three daies he should returne vnto him, to the end that hauing deliuered him both the armie & the place of generall, hee might send him to make warre vpon the son of *Bochri*. After that *Amasa* was departed, & employed his time in gathering vp his armie; the king seeing that hee failed to returne vpon the third day, told *Iaob* that it was not good to permit *Siba* to gather a greater head by delay, & thereby breede vs of *Amases* more trouble and molestation then *Abisai* had don. For which cause (said he) stay thou not but delay islent out against Si- baby *Dauid*.

D take vnto thee those forces which thou hast in readines, and may fixe hundred men with thy brother *Abisai*, and pursue thou the enemy, and in what place soeuer thou meereft him, by all meanes indeuour thy selfe to giue him the battell. Hasten thee therefore, and ouertake him, for feare lest hee seize some of our strongest Cities, and thereby procure vs much trauell and labour. *Iaob* with all expedition obeyed his commandement, and tooke with him the aforesaid fixe hundred, with his brother *Abisai*, and commanded all the forces that were in Ierusalem to follow after him, and in this array issued hee after *Siba*. Now when hee came vnto *Gabaon* (a borough, some forty furlongs distant frō Ierusalem) *Amasa* came & met with him, & brought with him great forces: *Iaob* hauing his sword girt by his side, and his cures on his backe; whilest *Amasa* came onward to salute him, subtiltie and of set purpose let his sword slip out of his sheath, and taking it vp from the ground with one hand hee drew neere vnto *Amasa*, vnder pre- Iacob killed Amasa.
tence to kisse him on the chin, and sodainly thrust the sword that was in his other hand into his belly and slew him. Which action of his was both hainous and detestable, proceeding from a ialousie he had conceiued against a good yong man and his couzen, who had in no sort offended him, and onely by reason of the estate of generall, which the king had giuen him; and because *Dauid* had equalled him in honour with him: for which very cause before that, hee had slaine *Abner*. Notwithstanding this act of his seemed in some sort pardonable, by reason of the pretext which he pretended of the wrong done vnto his brother *Azazel*, yet was not this a sufficient colour to excuse the murder of *Amasa*. Vhen this was done, he pursued *Siba*, and left a certaine man to wait vpon the body of *Amasa*, who had commandement giuen him to proclaime with a loud voice thorow the whole army, that he was iustly and deseruedly slaine, commanding those that bare any fauour to the kings title, to follow their generall *Iaob* and his brother *Abisai*. Now whilest his body lay thus in the way, & all the multitude (as it is vsual in such like accidents) flocked round about it, he that had the charge of the bodie tooke it vp, & bare it into a certaine place farre out of the way, & couered it with a garment: which done all the people followed *Iaob*.

Now whilest he pursued *Siba* thorow all the region of the Israelites, a certain man told him that he had retired himself into a certaine strong citie called *Abelmachai*; where he no sooner arrived;

but

but that he begitt the Citie, and entrenched it round about; commanding his souldiers to vndermine and ouerthrow the walles: for hee was sore displeased because they had shut the gates against him. But a certaine honest and prudent woman, seeing her country in extreme perill, ascended the walles and called *Ioaab* and his souldiers to a parlee; who comming forth to conferre with him, she spake after this manner: God (said she) ordained kings and generals of armies, to the end they might destroy the enemies of the Hebrewes, and plant amongst them an vniuersall and perpetuall peace; but you inforce your selues to destroy one of the mother Cities of Israel, that hath in no sort offended you. *Ioaab* praised God to be fauourable vnto them, and said that for his owne part it was not his meaning that any one of the Citie should die, neither his pretence to raze and deface so famous a Citie; his intent was only, that if *Siba* the sonne of *Bochri*, and the kings aduerlarie were deliuered into his hands so doe iustice on him, he would leuie the siege, & cause his armie to retire from thence. When the woman had heard what *Ioaab* had said, she praised him to stay a little while, promising him incontinently to cast his head ouer vnto him. Whereupon she came downe amongst the assembly of the Citizens, to whom shee spake after this manner: Wretched men that you are, will you miserably suffer your wiues and children to be slaine for a wicked mans cause, and a stranger whom ye know not? will you admit him in place of *Dauid* your king, from whose hands you haue receiued so many benefites? thinke you that one onely Citie can resist so huge an armie? After this manner perswaded she them to cut off *Sibas* head, and to cast it into *Ioaabs* campe: which done, *Ioaab* commanded the retreat to be sounded, and leuied the siege, and returning backe into Ierusalem, was once more declared Generall of all the people. The king also appointed *Banaia* captaine of his guards, and of fixe hundred souldiers. *Adoram* was made treasurer to gather in the tributes. *Sabath* and *Achilus* had the charge of remembrancers. *Susa* was made lecretarie. *Sadoc* and *Abiathar* were made the high Priests. After this it hapned that the country was afflicted with a famine: For which cause *Dauid* belought God that he would haue compassion on his people, and that it might please him to manifest not onely the cause, but also the remedie of that maladie. The Prophets answered him, that God would be reuenged of the wrong done vnto the Gabeonites, whom king *Saul* had deceived and traiterously slaine, without respect of the oath, which the gouernor *Iosuah* and the elders made vnto them. If therefore he would suffer the Gabeonites to reuenge the death of their slaughtered friends according to their desire, God had promised to bee appealed, and to deliuer the people from their imminent and present euils. As soone as he vnderstood by the Prophets what God required, he sent for the Gabeonites, & asked them what it was which they required: who wished him to deliuer into their hands seuen of *Sauls* sonnes to take their reuenge on them: whereupon the king made search after them, onely sparing and protecting *Mephiboseth* the sonne of *Ionathan*. When the Gabeonites had laid hold on these seuen, they executed them according to their pleasures: and thereupon God incontinently sent downe raine and disposed the earth to beare fruit; moistning and alaying the drouth forepassed, so that the land of the Hebrewes recovered againe his pristine fruitfulness. Not long after, the king made warre vpon the Philistines, and at such times as the battell was stricken, and the enemies turned their backs, it chaunced that the king hotly pursuing the chase was left alone, and discouered in his wearinesse by one of the enemies called *Acmon*, the sonne of *Araph* of the race of the Giants, who beside his sword had a iauelin, the point whereof waighed three hundredth sicles, & a corselet tissued with chaines, who returning backe charged *Dauid* very violently, with an intent to kill the king of his enemies, by reason that hee saw him spent with trauell. But about the same instant, *Abisai* *Ioaabs* brother arriued in the place, who stept betweene them and rescued the king, and slew his enemy. The whole army for a little space were grieuously discomforted, in regard of the danger, wherein the king had bene, & the gouernors swore that he should neuer afterwards enter into battell with them, for feare least he might fall into some disaster, by reason of his readines and valour, and by that means should deprive the people of those gifts which were in him, which hee had already made them feele, and wherof hereafter they should be made partakers, if God should vouchsafe him a long and blessed life. The king hauing intelligence that the Philistines were assembled in the citie of *Gazara*, sent out an army against them, in which *Sabach* the Hittite, one of *Dauids* redoubted and picked souldiers behaued himselfe very valiantly, and gat great reputation; for he slew diuers of them that vaunted themselves to be of the race of the Giants, and that were very proud and puffed up with presumption of their valour, and was chiefe authour of that victory which the Hebrewes had.

After this last receiued losse, the Philistines once more hazarded their fortunes in warre, against

The punishment of *Siba*.

Officers distributed by *Dauid*.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 12. 2. Reg. 21. A famine inflicted on the Israelites for breach of oath.

Seuen men of *Sauls* kindred deliuered to the Gabeonites to be punished.

Dauid in hazard of his life is deliuered by *Abisai*.

Dauid perswaded to abstain from warre.

Dauids valiant captaine *Sabach*.

against who when *Dauid* had sent out an army, *Nephanus* his kinsman shewed himselfe very valiant: For fighting hand to hand against him that was accounted the most valiant champion amongst all the Philistines, hee slew him, and put the rest to flight; of whom verie many died in that battell also. In procelle of time they encamped neere vnto a Citie not far from the frontiers of the country of the Hebrewes: In which armie of theirs there was a man six cubits hie, who had on either foote and either hand, a finger more then accustomed bequest of nature afforded him. Against him *Jonathan* the son of *Sama* (one of those that were sent by *Dauid* in this army) fought hand to hand & slew him: so that approving himselfe to be the meane of that victorie, hee bare away the honor of the battell, and praise of his valour: for this Philistine boasted likewise that he was descended from the race of the Giants. After this battell they warred no more on the *Israelites*. Hereupon *Dauid*, deliuered from war and danger, and euer after enioying a perfect peace, composed Odes and hymnes in praise of God, in diuers kindes of verse: for some are of three, or other some are of five measures. He made instruments also, and taught the *Leuites* to praise God vpon them, on the Sabbath daies and other feasts. The forme of these instruments was after this manner. The Cinnare is composed of ten strings, and is plaid vpon with a bow. The Nable containeth twelue sounds or cords, and is stricken with the fingers. The Cimbals were large & great and made of brasse, of which it sufficeth in this sort to make some mention, least the nature of those instruments should wholly be unknowne. Now all those that were about the king were valiant men: but amongst all the rest, there were eight most notable and heroike men. The noble actions of fise of which I will declare, because they might suffice to exemplifie the vertues that were in the other that remained: for they were capable to gouerne a country, and to conquer diuers nations. The first of them was *Effemas* the son of *Achemias*, who hauing very oftentimes thrust himselfe into the midst of his disordered enemies, neuer gaue ouer fighting til he had slaine nine hundredth of them. After him was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Dodeias*, who had accompanied the king in Sarphat. He in a certaine battell (wherein thorow the huge multitude of the enemies, the *Israelites* were affrighted and put to flight) onely kept his place and affronted the enemy, and rushing in amongst them made a great slaughter of them: so that thorow the great quantitie of blood which he shed, his sword stuck fast to his hand; and the *Israelites* seeing the Philistines put to flight by him, came downe and ranne vpon them, and obtained a miraculous and famous victorie ouer them. For *Eleazar* slaughtered those that fled, and the rest of the army followed and spoiled those that were slaine. The third was the sonne of *Hus* called *Sebas*, who fighting against the Philistines, in a place called the *Lawe* (and seeing the Hebrewes to bee afraid of their power, and almost out of heart) resisted them alone, as if he had bin an arraigned army, and slew some of them, and pursued and put the rest to flight, in that they were vnable to sustaine his force and violence. These three exploited with their owne hands these execucious of warre: About that time that the king liued in Ierusalem, the army of the Philistines came out to make warre vpon him, and *Dauid* (as we haue declared heretofore) was gone vp into the higher citie to aske counsell of God, what the event of that warre should bee; and the enemies being incamped in that valley (that extendeth it selfe as farre as *Bethleem*, a Citie some twenty furlongs distant from Ierusalem) *Dauid* said to his companions: There is very good water in the place where I was born, and especially that which is in the pit which is neere vnto the gate, if any one will bring mee of that water to drinke, I will esteeme it more then if hee gaue mee great riches. These three men hearing these words, instantly ran out, and past thorow the enemies campe, and went to *Bethleem*: where hauing drawne water, they returned backe vnto the king, falling thorow the midst of their enemies, bringing newes that the Philistines being afraid of their hardinesse, and great courage, kept themselves vpon their guard, not daring to charge them; notwithstanding their small number. But the king tasted not of this water which they brought him, saying that it was bought with the danger of mens liues, and therefore that it was no reason he should drinke thereof, but he powred it out as an oblation vnto God; giuing him thanks because he had deliuered his seruants. After these three followed *Abisai* *Ioaabs* brother, who slew six hundredth of the enemy in one day. The fift was *Banaia* of the race of the *Leuites*, who being defied by certaine brothers, famous amongst the *Moabites* for their vertue, ouercame them. Moreover, a certaine Egyptian of a wonderful stature, hauing defied him (notwithstanding the said *Banaia* was naked and the other armed) yet charged he him, and tooke away his iauelin and slew him. To these foresaid actes of his, a man may annex this as the most valiant, or very neerely equalling the rest. For it came to passe, that after a certaine snowe a Lyon tolsing amidst the flakes thereof, fell into a pit (whose mouth was so narrow, that a man could not discern where it was, especially

The years of the world, 1924. before Christ. Birth, 1040. *Nephanus*.

Jonathan.

2. Reg. 22. *Dauid* a poet. *Dauids* instruments of Musick.

2. Reg. 23. *Dauids* thirtie eight champions.

Effemas.

Eleazar.

Sebas.

Three champions passe thorow the enemies camp and drew water in *Bethleem*, and brought it vnto *Dauid*.

Abisai.

Banaia slew an Egyptian with his owne spear.

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The year of the world, 2054, before Christ's birth, 1040.
Baniā slew a Lion.
Hedio, & Rufinus, chap. 13.
1. Reg. 24.
David sendeth Iobab to muster the people.

ly for that at the same time it was covered with snowe) where being inclosed, & seeing no meanes to escape, he roared out to amaine: which when *Baniā* who passed that way heard, he followed the voice, & drew neere vnto the place; and afterwards went downe into the pit, where with a staffe he bare in his hand, he fought with, ouercame and slew the Lyon. The thirtie three other were of like valour and vertue. But King *Dauid* being desirous to know how many thousands of men he could number amongst the people, and forgetting the commaundement ordained by God for euery head halfe a sicke) hee commaunded *Iobab* to goe and number all the people: and although *Iobab* had manifestly proued vnto him that it was a thing no waies necessary; yet could he not perswade him, but that he enioyned him with all expedition, to set forward on his way, and muster the people of the Hebrewes.

The summe of the Israelites that were numbered.

Dauid hauing election of three sorts of punishment chose the plague.

A huge slaughter of those that died of the pestilence that was inflicted by God Dauid prayed for the innocent people.

A commaundement to build an altar.

Hereupon *Iobab* tooke with him the principals of the Tribes and Scribes, and after circuted all the country of the Hebrewes, to know how many men there were: and at the end of nine moneths and twenty daies, he returned to Ierusalem to the king; and presented him with the list of the people, the tribe of *Beniamin* only excepted (for he neither numbred that tribe, nor the tribe of *Leui*.) This done, the king perceiuing that he had displeased God, was very sorrowfull and penitue. The route of the other Israelites was of nine hundred thousand men, able to beare armes, and to follow the warre, besides that the only tribe of *Iuda* contained 400 thousand men. When the Prophets had certified *Dauid* how God was displeased with him, he began to pray & beseech him that it might please him to appease his wrath, and to pardon his offence. Hereupon God sent the Prophet *Gad* vnto him, who brought him the choice of three things, willing him to make election which of the three he would endure: either that famine for seven yeeres space should raigne in his countries; or that warre for three moneths space should afflict the same, wherein he should haue the worst; or that the plague & pestilence should for three daies space raunge amongst the Hebrewes. Being thus distraught and troubled by reason of his difficult election, amidst these imminent miseries; and the Prophet vrging him to returne a short answer, whereby God might be satisfied: the king bethinking him that if he should aske famine, hee should rather seeme to respect his owne securitie, then the common-weale, in that no daunger might by that meanes touch him, for that he had great store of corne in his barne, and they vnfurnished; and if for three moneths he should make choise to be ouercome by the enemy, in that case also he might seeme to haue care of himselfe, in that he had many strong Castles and a valiant guard of men to attend his person: he therefore made choise of a plague, that was both as incident to the prince, as the subiect; wherein each man was touched with equall and imminent feare: saying, that it was better to fall into the hands of God, then into the hands of his enemies. When the Prophet had receiued this answer from him, hee reported it vnto God; who sent a plague and mortallitie amongst the Hebrewes, whereby they died after diuers manners: so that it was very hard to discern the malady; which being but one kinde, yet notwithstanding seised the people by tenne thousand causes, and vnknown occasions. For one of them died after another, and the sickness surprising them at vnwares, brought a sodain dissolution of the spirits, and swooning vpon them; so that some of them gaue vp the ghost with grievous torments, and most strange dolours. Others were presently parched vp thorow the burning agonies they endured, and (vnrecoerable by any counsell or remedy) consumed away amidst their languishing fits and tortures. Others died strangled, hauing their eies sodainly darkned and blinded. Other some giuing order for the buriall of their household seruants, died before they were thorowly interred; & from the day brake (at which time the pestilent mortallitie began to rage) vntill dinner time, there died seventy thousand persons. And now had the Angell of God stretched out his hand ouer Ierusalem, ready to inflict punishment thereon, when as the king put on sackcloth and prostrated himselfe on the ground, beseeching and praying God that it would please him to surcease his wrath, and be pacified with the number of those that were already consumed by the pestilence. Whilst thus hee prayed, lifting vp his eyes, he beheld the angell of God houering in the ayre ouer Ierusalem, with his naked sword: whereupon he besought God and said, that it was hee, that was the shepheard, who had deserued to be punished, and not his flocke; who ought to be fauoured in that they had not any waies offended, praying him to satisfie his displeasure vpon him and his posteritie, and to spare the people.

Hereupon God accepting his prayer, surceased the plague, and sent the Prophet *Gad* vnto him, commanding him that hee should presently repaire to the threshing floore of *Oronna* the Iebusite, and there build an altar, on which he should offer sacrifice vnto God. Which when *Dauid*

Dauid vnderstood, hee neglected not this ordinance, but went presently to the appointed place. When *Oronna* (who threshed his corne) saw the king (accompanied by his sonnes) comming towards him, he ranne out to meete him, and humbled himselfe before him. This man was by nation a Iebusite, & one of the greatest friends that *Dauid* had (by meanes whereof he left him vnspoiled at such time as the fortresse of the Iebusites was taken, as we haue heretofore declared.) *Oronna* asked him for what cause his Lord came thus vnto him, who was his seruant? *Dauid* answered him that it was to this intent, that hee might purchase his threshing floore, to the intent that he might build an Altar in that place, and offer sacrifice vnto God. *Oronna* replied, that both his floore, chariots, and oxen were the kings to offer vp for a burnt sacrifice, beseeching GOD that he would graciously accept that offering. To this the king answered, that hee highly esteemed his simplicitie and magnanimitie, and that he fauourably respected the offer hee had made him, yet that it was his pleasure that he should receiue the price of the same, because he held it an inconuenient to offer sacrifice vnto God vpon other mens charges. To this *Oronna* answered, that his Maiestie might doe as best pleased him. Hereupon he bought the foresaid floore of him for fiftie sicles. Then erected he an Altar in this place and offered sacrifices thereon, as well burnt offerings as other sacrifices for prosperitie: and by this meanes the diuine maiestie was appeased, and euer after shewed himselfe fauourable. (Now this place was the very same, whereto *Abraham* in times past had brought his sonne *Isaac* to offer him vp for a burnt sacrifice vnto God, and as he was about to sacrifice him, a Wether vpon the instant presented it selfe vnto the Altar, which *Abraham* offered vp in steede of his sonne, as we haue heretofore made manifest.) *Dauid* seeing that God had heard his prayer, and fauourably accepted his sacrifice, decreed that in that place the generall Altar of the people should stand, and that on the very same floore hee would build a Temple vnto GOD: which wordes of his God afterwards ratified. For sending his Prophet vnto him, hee certified him that his sonne that should succede him, should build a Temple. After this propheticall declaration, the King commaunded to number the inhabitants of Ierusalem, and it was found that they were one hundred and foure score thousand men: of which number hee appointed eightie thousand to intend the hewing of stones; and ordered that the rest of the common people should beare stones vnto them: & he appointed three thousand and fise hundred, who should gouerne them, and haue the ouersieing of the workes. Hee gathered also a great quantitie of Iron and brasse, to worke vpon, with store of huge & mighty Cedar trees, which they of Tyre and Sidon sent him, whome hee had put in trust to furnish him therewith; telling his friends that he made that preparation at that time, to the intent that when his sonne should fortune to gouerne after him, he might haue stuffe in a readines for the building of the Temple: and to the intent that hee being as yet yong & vnexperimented, should not bee troubled with the gathering thereof, but hauing all things in a readinesse, might finish the building of the Temple.

The place of the altar that was built.
Gen. 22.
Supra li. 2. ch. 13

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14.
The workmen allowed for the building of the Temple.

1. Paral. 22.
Dauid gathereth great store of iron, brasse & wood

CHAP. XI.

Dauid during his life time surrendreth the kingdome to Salomon.

DDauid calling vnto him his sonne *Salomon*, he charged him that after his decess, and his enstalmēt in the kingdome, he should build a temple vnto God: telling him that though he had both a will and intent to performe the same; yet that he was contradicted by God, for that he had bene soyled with slaughters, & brought vp in warre. Adding further, that it was foreprophecied vnto him, that the finishing of that edifice was by Gods ordinance reserved to his younger son that should be called *Salomon*, whom God should no less tender & care for, then the father doth his sonne: & how the whole land of the Hebrews should be made happy vnder this Prince; & among all other benefits, that they should haue peace (which is an especial prerogative & blessing) and not onely be freed from foraine warres, but also from ciuill dissensions: For which cause (said he) since by God thou wert appointed King before thou wast borne, indeuour thy selfe to be capable and worthy to bee conducted by his prouidence, by honouring pietie, iustice and fortitude, & keeping those his ordinances and lawes, which he gaue vs by *Moses*, and not permitting others to transgresse the same. And as touching the temple (which he will that thou shalt build when thou shalt obtaine the kingdome) enforce thy selfe to discharge that duty towards God: neither be thou dismayd or afraid at the greatnes of the work. For before I

The building of Salomons Temple is commanded.

Dauid counselleth Salomon to honour God,

Q. iij.

shall

The yeare of the world, 2930. before Christs Nativity, 1034. The treasure that was gathered towards the building of the Temple. The assistants that Salomon had in building the temple. The commandment as touching the Arke, and laying vp al other sacred vtenils within the Temple. Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 15. Dauid groweth old and numbeth. Abiathar war-meth him.

g. Reg. 1. Adonias affected the kingdom.

The yeare of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativity, 1033.

Bethsabee Nathans persuasion certified Dauid of Adonias usurpation.

shall depart out of this world, I will set all things in a readinesse for thee. Knowe therefore that I haue already gathered ten thousand talents of gold, and a hundred thousand talents of siluer; of brasie and yron there is as much, which is a thing innumerable; of stone and of wood, a matter most incredible. Moreouer, thou shalt haue many thousands of masons and carpenters, and if ought be defectiue besides these, thou shalt thy selfe make prouision thereof: when thou hast performed this, thou shalt bee gracious in Gods sight, who shall be thy soueraigne & safe conductor. Hee exhorted also the gouernours of the people to set to their helping hand, and yield their assistance to his sonne in finishing this worke, and in furthering the seruice of God without suspicion of any inconuenience; assuring them that they should enioy a firme peace, & a flourishing estate (such blessings as God bestoweth vpon those that studie after pietie and iustice.) Moreouer hee charged him to place the Arke within the Temple at such time as it should bee finished, with all other sacred vtenils, for the receit whereof the Temple should long since haue been builded, had not their forefathers neglected Gods commaund, who had enioyned them, that at such time as they should possesse their enemies land, they should build him a Temple. These were Dauids exhortations, not onely vnto his sonne, but also to the other Princes.

Now when Dauid was very old, so that by reason of his yeeres his body was so cold and benumbed, that notwithstanding the many couerings and clothes they laid vpon him, yet could hee not be hot or warmed: his Physicians assembled themselves together and consulted, and at last concluded, that one of the fairest virgins that was in the countrey, might be chosen out to lie with the king: because by this meanes he might warme his chill lims, and comfort his decaying heat. Whereupon after search made, they found out a Damzell called *Abisage*, which surpassed al other in beautie, who slept with him and warmed him: for by reason of his age, he was vnable to haue the vse of a woman. But of this virgin hereafter we shall make further mention.

The fourth sonne of Dauid was a goodly tall young man, called *Adonias*, the son of *Aegistha*, who (resembling *Abisalon* in complexion and ambition) beganne to vsurpe, with a deliberation to make himselfe king: and amongst his ordinarie discourses which he vsed to his friends, he said that it behoued him to take possession of the kingdom. To this intent hee prepared many chariots and horses, and fiftie men to attend him for his guard. His father certified of these his proceedings, reprooued him not, neither crossed this his deliberation; neither demaunded of him likewise, wherefore he presumed to attempt such vnseemly actions. Of this his reuolt hee had for his coadiutors *Ioaab* the Generall, and the high Priest *Abiathar*: but they that contradicted him, were the high Priest *Sadoc*, and the Prophet *Nathan*, and *Banaia* the captaine of the guard, with *Simei*, Dauids friend: besides al other the valiant men at armes. Whereas therefore *Adonias* made a banquet out of the Cittie, and in the suburbs neere vnto the fountaine of the Parke roiall, he inuited all his brethren vnto the same, except *Salomon*; and tooke with him *Ioaab* and *Abiathar*, with the gouernours of the tribe of *Iuda*: but as touching *Sadoc*, the Prophet *Nathan*, *Banaia*, and the rest of the contrary party, he called them not vnto the banquet. This did the prophet *Nathan* tell to *Bethsabee*, *Salomons* mother, certifying her that *Adonias* was made king without the knowledge of Dauid, aduising her both to haue care of her owne securitie, and the estate and maiesty of her son (who by reason of *Adonias* vsurpation was like to be supplanted) wishing her in person to certifie the king thereof: and further promising, that while shee debated these things with the king, hee would come in in the meane while, and confirme that which shee had said. *Bethsabee* being thus perswaded by *Nathan*, came vnto the King, and humbling herselfe before him (and afterwards requiring licence to speake vnto him) shee certified him of all those things that had hapned, according as he had been aduised by the Prophet: particularly deciphering vnto him what banquet *Adonias* had made, and what guestes he had inuited (namely *Abiathar* and *Ioaab*, with the rest of his sonnes, except *Salomon* and his particular friends) vrging this furthermore, that the people expected who it should bee whom Dauid would nominate to succeed him: for which cause she earnestly besought Dauid, that he would prouide and foresee, that he who should succeed him in the gouernment, should neither seek her bloud, nor the death of her son *Salomon*. Whilst *Bethsabee* discoursed after this manner, the chamberlaines gaue the king to vnderstand that *Nathan* attended to speake with him. Whereupon, Dauid commaunded that hee should be called in, and as soone as he was entred, he asked the king if that day: he had appointed *Adonias* to gouerne & succeed in the kingdom after him? for that (said he) he hath made a sumptuous feast; whereunto he hath inuited all thy sonnes, but *Salomon*; thither also hath he called *Ioaab*: where, after the great cheer and banquetting, they haue proclaimed and cried, Long liue king *Adonias*. Furthermore (said hee) hee hath neither inuited mee, nor the high Priest *Sadoc*, nor the

captaine

A captaine of the guard *Banaia*. It therefore behooueth thee to let vs knowe, if this be done by thy approbation and allowance.

As soone as *Nathan* had made an end of his speech, Dauid commaunded that *Bethsabee* should be called in (who had retired herselfe out of the kings chamber, at such time as the Prophet entered into the same.) As soone as *Bethsabee* reentred the chamber, Dauid said vnto her, I sweare vnto thee by that great God, that thy sonne *Salomon* shall raigne after me, according as before this time I haue already sworne vnto thee, and he it is that shall sit vpon my throne, yea euen this present day. Vpon these words *Bethsabee* humbled herselfe, & besought God to grant the king long life. Whereupon he called for *Sadoc* the high priest, and *Banaia* captaine of the guard, and gaue them in charge to take the Prophet *Nathan* with them; and all the men at armes that attended him in court; charging them to mount his sonne *Salomon* vpon the royall Moile, and to conduct him out of the Cittie neere vnto the fountaine of *Gehon*: in which place (after they had annointed him with holie oyle) hee willed them to proclaim *Salomon* king, commaunding the high Priest *Sadoc*, & the prophet *Nathan* to see his will performed; charging those that followed him thorow the Cittie, with sound of trumpet & a loud voice to cry out, that *Salomon* was seated for euer on his fathers throne, to the intent that all the people might vnderstand, that by his fathers consent he was declared king. But as touching *Salomon*, he gaue him instructions how he ought to behaue himselfe with pietie and iustice, in the gouernment of all the people of the Hebrewes, and of the tribe of *Iuda*. After this, *Banaia* besought God that it would please him to bee fauourable vnto *Salomon*, and with all expedition *Salomon* was mounted vpon the kings Mule, and conducted out of the Cittie neere vnto the fountaine; where (after he had been annointed with oyle) they brought him backe againe into the Cittie with ioy and applause, wishing him a long and prosperous gouernment: then reconducting him to the Kings palace, they placed him in his throne; and on the instant all the people beganne to celebrate banquets and feasts, and to disport and reioyce themselves with daunces and instruments of musicke: so that by reason of the multitude of instruments, both the earth and the ayre resounded therewith. So that *Adonias* & they that banquetted with him, hearing the noise, were all of them fore troubled; & *Ioaab* in particular said, that those tunes and trumpettings did no waies content him.

Whilst thus they sate at the banquet, & euerie man thorow amasse for bore to eate his meat (beeing distracted thorow varietie of thoughts) *Ionathan* the sonne of *Abiathar* came hastily in amongst them. This young man did *Adonias* most willingly behold, and said that he was a messenger of some glad tydings: but contrariwise hee recited vnto them all that which had befallen *Salomon*, or had been decreed by Dauid. Whereupon, *Adonias* and all his guestes forsooke the banquet, and suddainlie fledde euery man vnto his owne house. But *Adonias* fearing the Kings displeasure (by reason of his ambition and arrogancie) ranne vnto the Altar, and laying hold of it after the manner of a suppliant, hung thereon, according as he in reason had cause to doe.

Now when these tydings were brought vnto *Salomon*, and what he had done, and how hee required that *Salomon* would assure him, that hee would neuer more call to memory that which had happened, but pardon his offence: *Salomon* answered him graciously and moderately, and pardoned him that fault; notwithstanding with this caution, that if hereafter it should appeare that he intended or acted any rebellion, it should be *Adonias* himselfe, who should be the author of his mischief: with this answer he sent some to deliuer him from the Altar.

VVhen as therefore hee came into *Salomons* presence and had saluted him, he was commaunded to repaire home vnto his house, without suspect of any inconuenience: yet by the way was hee admonished to behaue himselfe vprightly for the time to come, if in any sort hee either respected his credit or profit.

But Dauid willing that his sonne should be accepted for their knowne and annointed King amongst the people, assembled the gouernours in Ierusalem, with the Priests and Leuites; and first of all taking the number of them, he found thirtie three thousand men that were aboue thirtie three yeeres old; 23000 of which, he appointed to take charge of the building of the temple, sixe thousand to be Iudges and Scribes, with the like number of Musicians to play vpon instruments, who were furnished by Dauid (as we haue heretofore declared) & distributed by him according to their families. So that separating the Priests from the rest of their tribe, he found foure & twentie families of them; sixteene of the house of *Eleazar*, and eight of the house of *Ithamar*; giuing order that one onely family should for the space of eight daies performe Gods seruice. And thus were all the families distributed by lotte in the presence of Dauid, of the high Priests *Sadoc* and *Abiathar*, and of all the Gouernours. The first family that attended the Temple was written first,

The yeare of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativity, 1033.

The kingdom is confirmed to Salomon by an oath.

Salomon is annointed king, & placed in his fathers throne.

Dauid numbeth the Leuites, and distributeth their offices.

1. Paral. 12. The diuision of the Priests into 24 kindreds. 2. Paral. 24. the

The year of the world, 2931. before Christ's Nativity, 1033. Hee diuided the Leuites into 24 parts. Moses posteritie appointed to keepe the diuine treasure.

1. Paral. 26. The arme diuided into 12 parts.

1. Paral. 27. David assembling the Governours of the tribes, commendeth his son Salomon to them.

1. Paral. 28.

David giueh his sonne the module of the Temple.

The princes of the people gaue a huge sum of gold, silver, brass & precious stone towards the building of the Temple.

the second next, and so successiully the rest, to the number of foure and twentie (and this law remaineth in the same sort euen vnto this day.) He made also twenty & foure diuisions of the tribe of *Leui* (who ascended according as they were chosen by lot, in the same manner as did the priests, to euery eight day.) He honoured in particular those of *Moses* posteritie: for he appointed them to be keepers of Gods treasure, and of those presents which the kings should offer. He enacted also, that all (as well *Leuites* as *Priests*) should serue God day and night, according as they were commanded by *Moses*. That done, he distributed his whole armie into twelue companies, with their Governours, Centurions and Conductors: euery Squadron contained foure and twentie thousand men, whom hee appointed to guard and attend king *Salomon*, for the space of thirtie daies (continuing from the first vntill the last, with their captaines ouer thousands, and centurions.) He likewise established those men in office and authoritie ouer euery Squadron, whom he knew to be the most resolute and vertuous. He appointed also Surueyors, who should haue the charge of the treasure, of the burroughs and fields, and of the cattell (whose names in mine opinion it were vnnecessarie to declare.) After that euery one of these things were in this manner disposed, he summoned all the Governours of the Hebrewes (and in generall, all those that had any commission ouer the affaires or demaines of the kings) to a generall assembly, and seating himselfe in a high erected throne, he spake after this manner. My brethren & countymen, I am desirous that you should know, that hauing determined with my selfe to build a temple vnto God, I haue made prouision of a great quantity of gold and siluer, the summe whereof amounteth to a hundred thousand talents: but God by the Prophet *Nathan* hath forbidden mee to build the same, by reason of your warres, and for that my hand hath been soiled with the slaughter of enemies, and hath commanded that my sonne (who shall succeed me in my kingdom) shall erect a temple vnto him. Now therefore, sith you are ascertained, that amongst the twelue sonnes of *Jacob*, *Juda*, by the generall consent of them all, obtained the principallitie; and that I amongst my sixe brethren haue bin preferred and placed by God in the kingdom, and notwithstanding no one of them supposeth himselfe to be injured: so do I also request that *Salomon* hauing obtained the Empire, my other sons, neither in respect of him, nor amongst themselves nourish any vnaturall hatreds & seditions, but knowing that he is chosen by God, they may willingly subiect themselves to his dominion. For whereas if God so please, it is not to be misliked to submit ourselues to forraigne subiection, how much more are ye bound to congratulate and fauour your brother no other wise, then if you were partakers of the same honours with him? Truly I desire nothing more then that Gods promises may be brought to effect, and that that felicity which attendeth this region (vnder the government of *Salomon*) may presently bee dispersed, and perpetually indure in this country. Which without doubt will so fall out, and all things shall happily succeed, if thou my sonne be a maintainer of pietie and iustice, and the ancient lawes and ordinances of thy progenitors: other wise, if thou be neglected, there is no other thing to be expected but mortallitie and miserie. After he had finished these sayings, he gaue his sonne the plot and module of the building of the Temple, with all the foundations both of the houses & chambers, together with the number, height & breadth of the same. Hee also limited the waight of those vessels that were to be fashioned either of gold or of siluer, exhorting him to employ all his care and diligence in performance of the same. Hee encouraged likewise the Governours & the tribe of *Leui* to assist him, both for that his yeeres were not as yet obtained their ripe maturitie, as also for that by Gods diuine prouidence hee was admitted and elected king, and was appointed to build the temple, assuring them that the building would be very easie, and no waies laborious; considering that he had prepared a great number of talents of gold, and farre more of siluer, and wood, besides a great multitude of carpenters, and hewers of stone, a great quantitie likewise of Emeraulds, & other sorts of precious stones. Lastly, he told them, that now also for the present, he would bestow on the temple, other three thousand talents of pure gold, out of his owne treasure to adorne the holie place, and the Chariot of God, and the Cherubims, that should stand vpon the Arke, and couer it with their wings.

Now, when the King had spoken after this manner, all the Governours, Priests and *Leuites* according together, shewed a great readinesse, and made many signall and heroically offers. For they tied themselves to bring five thousand talents of gold and tenne thousand staters; of siluer a hundred thousand; and of iron many thousand talents; and if any one of them had a precious stone, hee brought it and deliuered it to the treasurers custody, who was called *Talus*, being one of *Moses* posteritie. This thing highly contented all the people, & *David* (seeing the affection & readinesse of the Governours and priests, and in generall of all the rest) began to blesse God with a loud voice, calling him the Creator & father of this whole world, the fashioner both of diuine

The year of the world, 2931. before Christ's Nativity, 1033.

1. Paral. 29. The sacrifices and festiuals solemnised vpon Salomons coronation.

A and humane things, and the President and Gouvernour of the Hebrewes, and their felicity and the kingdome by him committed vnto him. After this, he prayed for all the people that they might be bountiully blessed, and priuately he besought God to giue his sonne a good and iust mind, furnished and adorned with all vertue. He commanded the people likewise to sing praises vnto God: which they performed, and prostrated themselves vpon the earth, and afterwards gaue thanks vnto *David*, for all those benefites they had receiued during the time of his government. The next day, in way of sacrifice vnto God, they offered vp a thousand calves, a thousand rams, and a thousand lambs for sacrifice & a burnt offering: in way of peace offerings also, they slew many thousand other beasts. The king celebrated a feast all that day with the whole people, & *Salomon* was annointed with oyle the second time, & proclaimed king. *Sadoe* also was established high priest of all the people, & *Salomon* was conducted into the kings house, & placed in his fathers throne, and from that day forward they obeyed him.

CHAP. XII.

The death of David, and how much he left his sonne towards the building of the temple.

Of long time after this, *David* fell sick thow age, and knowing that he should depart out of this world, he called for *Salomon* his sonne, and spake vnto him after this manner following; My sonne, I must now depart and sleepe with my fathers, & enter the common way, which both they that now liue, & those which come after shall tract; from whence we may not returne, neither behold and reuise those things that are done in this life. For *Salomon*, which I cause, whilst I yet liue and draw onward to my death, I earnestly exhort thee (as heerebefore I haue counselled thee) that thou behaue thy selfe iustly towards thy subiects, and devoutly towards God, that hath honoured thee with this kingdome; charging thee to keepe his precepts and lawes which he hath giuen vs, by *Moses*, and to take heed least either surpris'd by flatterie, or misled by fauour, or seduced by couetousnesse or any other sinister affection, thou bee drawne to neglect and forsake the same: for thou canst by no means continue in Gods fauour, except thou keepe his lawes, for other wise he will withdraw his prouidence from thee. But if in such sort as it becometh thee, and we with, thou behauest thy selfe towards him, thou shalt continue the kingdome in our familie; and no other house at any time but our owne, shall obtaine the dominion ouer the Hebrewes. Remember likewise the iniquitie of *Isabell*, who thow emulation slew two good and iust Generalls, *Abner* the sonne of *Ner*, and *Amasa* the sonne of *Israhel*; punish him according as thou thinkest meete, for that hitherto hee hath escaped punishment, by reason hee was stronger and more powerful then my selfe. I commend also vnto thee the sonnes of *Berzilai* the Galaadite, whom for my sake aduance to honour, and adorne with dignities: not in bestowing any benefites on them, but in repaying those courtesies I haue receiued, which their father with a liberal hand bestowed vpon me during the time of my banishment, and for which hee made vs indebted to him. As touching *Simei* the sonne of *Gera*, of the tribe of *Beniamin*, who during the time of my flight, and at such time as I retired my selfe into my camp, injured me with great outrages, and afterwards came out to meete me neere vnto Iordan, & tooke assurance of mee, that for that time I should not punish him; at this present seeke you after him, and doe iustice vpon him.

After hee had thus exhorted his sonne, and had communicated with him all his affaires, both as touching his friends, as those also whom he thought worthy of punishment, hee gaue vp the ghost (after he had liued seauentie yeeres, and reigned in Hebron a Citie of Iuda for the space of seauen yeeres and a halfe, & thirtie three in Ierusalem ouer the whole nation.) Hee was a iust man, adorned with all vertue, requisite in a king that should haue the government of so many nations. For he was valiant beyond comparison, and in those battels which he fought for his subiects, hee was the first that thrust himselfe into danger, and exhorted his souldiers to behaue themselves valiantly, nor commanding them like their Gouvernour, but traualling and fighting with them as their fellow souldier. Hee was sufficient both in knowledge and foresight, both how to accept of the present, & how to manage his future occasions; hee was moderate and iust, courteous, and fauourable to those that were afflicted, and both iust & gentle, which are those ornaments wherewith Princes ought to be beautified: and in this great authoritie wherewith hee was placed, hee stopped not any waies awry, but in respect of *Miriam* his wife. He left as much or rather more riches behind him, then any other king of the Hebrewes, or other nations had done. His sonne *Salomon* buried him

The yeeres of the age and reign, together with the vertues of David.

1. Paral. 30. The sacrifices and festiuals solemnised vpon Salomons coronation.

The year of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativitie, 1033. The sumptuous sepulchre of David. Hircanus taketh a huge sum of money out of Davids tombe. Herod spoileth Davids sepulchre.

him most roially in Ierusalem, with all those ceremonies which were accustomed in roiall obsequies, and amongst other things, hee buried a great and huge value of riches with him: the incredible estimate whereof may be coniektured by that which followeth. For one thousand three hundred yeares after, the high Priest *Hircanus* being besieged by *Antiochus* surnamed the wicked (who was *Demetrius* son) and willing to gratifie him with some sum of money (to the intent hee might leuie the siege, and transport his armie some other waies) and vnable to leuie money by any other meanes, hee opened one Cabinet of the monuments of *Dauid*, from whence hee drew three thousand talents, which hee deliuered to *Antiochus*, and by this meanes deliuered the Citie from the siege (as we haue declared in another place.) And againe a long time after this, *Herod* also opened another Cabinet, from whence hee tooke out a great summe. And as touching the tombes of Princes; no man defaced them, because they were most magnificently builded, for the feare lest they should be esteemed destroyers of monuments. But for the present it sufficeth that I haue certified thus much.

THE EIGHTTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 8. Booke.

- 1 How Salomon obtaining the kingdome, expelled his enemies.
- 2 Of the riches, prudence and wisdom of Salomon, and how first of all hee builded the Temple in Ierusalem.
- 3 How Salomon being dead, the people revolted from Roboam his sonne, and made Hieroboam king of the tenne tribes.
- 4 How Sufac king of the Egyptians sacking Ierusalem, caried away the riches of that Citie into Egypt.
- 5 The warre of Hieroboam against Abiam, Roboams sonne, and the slaughter of his armie, & how Basaneth the rooster out of Hieroboams posteritie, occupied the kingdome.
- 6 The irruption of the Aethiopians into the land of the Iebrewes vnder Ala, and the overthrow of their armie.
- 7 Basans stocke being wholly rooted out amongst the Israelites, Zamri ruled in Israel with his sonne Achab.
- 8 Adad king of Damasco and Syria, encamping and fighting two severall times against Achab, is overthrowne.
- 9 Of Iolaphat king of Ierusalem.
- 10 Achab being prouoked to warre by the Syrians, is overcome and slaine in the battell.

CHAP. I.

How Salomon obtaining the kingdome, expelled his enemies.

The year of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativitie, 1033. 3. Reg. 2. Salomon king of Israel after Davids death.



I haue declared in the former Booke what *Dauid* was: how great his vertue hath beene, what profits and benefits those of his nation received by him, what warres and battels hee woorthily exploited, and how happily at last (through extreme old age) hee departed out of this life. But after that *Salomon* his sonne (being at that time very young) had obtained the kingdome, and was placed in his fathers throne (according as *Dauid* had determined, and the diuine power had decreed)

the vvhole people (according to the common course in the election of new Princes) with their pious acclamations, wished him perpetuall felicitie in all his affaires, and after his well governed state and royaltie, long, many & prosperous yeares. But *Adonias*, who during his fathers life time

thought

The year of the world, 2931. before Christs Nativitie, 1033.

A thought to possesse and seize himselfe of the roiall estate, came vnto the Kings mother, and with all humilitie & reuerence saluted her. To whom *Bethsabe* said, that if there were any thing wherein she mightsted him, hee should manifest it vnto her, and that shee would grant it him willingly. Whereupon hee began to say, that it was a thing very well knowne, that the kingdome appertained vnto him, both in regard of his age, as also in respect of the fauour & good liking of the people: but since that it had bene transferred vnto *Salomon* her sonne by the will of God, hee was content therewith, and would be his seruant, being very glad of the fortunate successe of his affaires. He therefore besought her that she would sollicite *Salomon* in his behalfe, & perswade him to giue him *Abisace* to wife, who had slept with *Dauid*, for that hee had not any carnall companie with her by reason of his age, and that as yet she was fully possessed of her virginie.

B *Bethsabe* promised him to further his sute to the utmost of her power, and willingly to employ herselfe toward the accomplishing of the mariage, both for that the king was willing to gratifie her in whatsoever she should desire, as also for that shee would instantly intreat him: so that he departed from her with assured hope of good successe in respect of his mariage. Heereupon presently did *Bethsabe* addresse herselfe to the king, intending to certifie him both what *Adonias* had requested, and what she had granted. When tidings came to *Salomon* that his mother came to visite him, he went out to meet her, and embraced her, and afterwards conducting her into the place where the roiall treasure was, hee sate him downe, and commaunded his seruants to place a seat on his right hand, for his mother, who settled by him, spake vnto him after this manner. My sonne, vouchsafe me one fauour that I shall request at thy hands, and send mee not hence discontented, and confuted thorow thy refusall. *Salomon* answered her, that she should command him, by reason that dutie tied him to the satisfaction and fauour of his mothers sutes, reproouing her for that insinuation she had vsed, by reason that thereby she evidently exprest that she was not thorowly assured to obtaine her demand; but that she feared the refusall & repulie in the same: she therefore required him to giue the *Damzell Abisace* for wife to *Adonias* his brother. The king displeased at this her sute dismissed his mother, allcading that *Adonias* hammered high thoughts in his head, & that hee wondred that in requiring *Abisace* to wife, hee had not requested *Salomon* likewise to giue him place in the kingdome: for *Adonias* was elder then he, & had more mightie friends then hee had; namely, the Generall *Ioab*, and the high Priest *Abiathar*. For which cause hee incontinently sent *Banaia* captaine of his guard to kill *Adonias* his brother. Then calling vnto him the high Priest *Abiathar*: The paines (said he) that thou hast indured by accompanying my father *Dauid*, and attending & bearing the Arke with him, make thee escape from death: yet notwithstanding, for that thou hast bin an assisstant to *Adonias*, & followed his faction, I condemne thee to depart from my presence, charging thee not to see my face any more, but to retire thy selfe to thine owne house, & there to liue in thy country vntill thou hast ended thy daies: for hauing in this sort neglected me, it is not conuenient that thou shouldest be in honour with me. For this cause was the house of *Ithamar* depriued of the priestly dignitie (according as God had foreprophecied to *Eli*, one of the ancestors of *Abiathar*) & translated to the race of *Phinees*, and established in *Sadoc*. Those of the race of *Phinees*, who led a priuate life all that time that the Priesthood remained in the familie of *Ithamar* (whereof *Eli* was the first) were these: *Pocci* the sonne of *Ioseph*, *Ioab* the sonne of *Bocci*, *Marath* the sonne of *Ioab*, *Aropha* the sonne of *Marath*, *Achitob* the sonne of *Aropha*, *Sadoc* the son of *Achitob*, who was the first high Priest vnder king *Dauid*.

Adonias is slaine. *Abiathar* is dispossessed of the priesthood

The genealogie of the high Priest *Sadoc*.

Ioab hauing tidings of the death of *Adonias*, was seized with suddaine and extreme feare: for hee loued him more then king *Salomon*, and by reason of that friendship, which hee bare vnto him, hee iustly and vpon good grounds apprehended his owne danger, and in this respect hee fled vnto the Altar, hoping in that place to be secured in regard of that reuerence which the king bare vnto God. But when *Ioabs* resolution was made knowne vnto the king, hee sent *Banaia* vnto him with commission to bring him from the Altar, & to conduct him to the iudgement seat, that hee might in that place iustifie his actions: But *Ioab* said that hee would neuer abandon the Temple, but that hee had rather die in that place then in another. Where *Banaia* had certified the king of this his answer, hee commaunded him to cut off his head in the same place, according as hee required, and that in that sort hee should be punished by reason of the two murders, which hee had committed vpon the persons of *Abner* and *Ismael*: commanding that his bodie should be buried in the same place, to the end that his sinnes should neuer depart from his race, and that both *Dauid* and *Salomon* might be held guiltlesse of the death of *Ioab*. This command of his *Banaia* executed, and was afterward made generall of all the men of varre. Moreover, the king esta-

Ioab is slaine. *Banaia* is substituted in his place.

blished

The year of the world, 3931. Josephus 1033. Sadoe obtained Abiathars place in the priesthood. Simoes punishment and death.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 3. Reg. 3. Salomon married the king of Egypt's daughter, and established the kingdom.

God appeareth to Salomon by night in a dream, and willeth him to aske that which most of all hee desired.

Salomon requirith wisdom at Gods hands, who with it giue him riches & honours also.

blished *Sadoe* folly in the place of *Abiathar* whom he had deposed. Hee commanded *Semei* also to build him a house in Ierusalē, & to keep himselfe therein, without passing the flood of *Cedron*: for if he chanced to breake that commandement, the penaltie which he should incurre, should be no lesse then death; and to the more serious performance of this his iniunction, he tied him by a solemn oath. *Semei* thanked *Salomon* for the charge he had imposed on him, and swore that he would fulfill the same: so that forsaking his owne country, he came & dwelt in Ierusalem, where after he had sojourned for the space of three yeeres, it hapned that hee had newes that two of his fugitiue slaues had fled, & retired themselues into *Geth*: whereupon he went to find them out, & no sooner returned he backe againe with them, but that the king had intelligence that he had neglected his commandement; and that which is more, that hee had broken that oath which hee made vnto God: wherewith he was wroth. For which cause calling him vnto him, he spake after this manner; Hast thou not sworne (said he) that thou wilt no waies abandon or issue out of this Citie to depart into another? Truly thou shalt not escape the penaltie of thy periuirge, but I will see iustice done vpon thee for the same, and for those outrages thou didst offer vnto my father during his sight, at which time thou didst shew thy selfe to be a wicked man in all things: to the end that thou maist vnderstand that the wicked receiue no priuiledge, although that their punishment be for the present deferred, but at such time as they suppose theselues to be assured (because they haue suffered no punishment) their punishment is augmented and made more grievous, then it had been if they had presently been executed for their offences. Whereupon *Banaia* slew *Semei*, according as he was commanded. From that day forward *Salomon* had his royall estate secured, and after that his enemies had receiued condigne punishment, hee tooke to wife the daughter of *Pharao* king of Egypt, and afterwards builded the walls of Ierusalem, farre greater & more stronger then they were before: and all the rest of his life, he gouerned his Common-weale in peace, of lawes, neither excluded the remembrance of that which his father had charged him at the houre of his death: but behauing himselfe in all things exactly, he executed the affaires of his kingdom with that circumspection, that such as excelled him in yeeres, and were aduanced in prudence, could not surpasse him.

CHAP. II.

Of the wisdom, prudence, and riches of Salomon, and how first of all he builded the Temple in Ierusalem.

AS soone as he came to Hebron, hee determined to pay his vowes vnto God, on that brazen altar which was erected by *Moses*, and sacrificed thereon in burnt offerings a thousand head of cattell; which honourable deuotion of his was most acceptable vnto God. For the very same night, after he had appeared vnto him in a dreame, hee commaunded him to aske whatsoever blessing (as he imagined) sufficient to recompence this his pietie. But *Salomon* required a most high & excellent thing, which God doth most liberally bestow, and men in like sort very happily receiue. For hee demaunded neither gold nor siluer, nor any other kind of riches (such as a youthly man would require) for these are onely affected by the common sort, when the other are onely worthy of the diuine magnificence: But giue me (said he) O Lord, a ripe iudgement, and a good vnderstanding, to the intent that by these meanes, I may administer iustice to this people with truth and equitie. With this demaund of his God was greatly delighted, and promised him to giue him all other things whereof hee had made no mention, namely, riches and glory; and about all these, such an vnderstanding & wisdom, as no one man either king or priuate hath had before him. Moreover, that he would continue the kingdom in his family for many ages, if so be that he continued in the waies of iustice, and obeyed God in all things, and walked in his fathers waies imitating his chiefe virtues.

After that *Salomon* had receiued these blessings from God, & was made happy by these promises, hee forooke his bed, and worshipping God returned vnto Ierusalem, where hee offered great sacrifices before the Tabernacle; and magnificently feasted all those of his household. About the same time a verie difficult iudgement was brought him to decide, the resolution whereof, was very hard to be discouered. And I haue thought it necessarie to declare the occasions whereon at that present the debate was grounded, to the end that the Readers may vnderstand the difficultie of the cause in question, and that if they happen at any time to be assistant in such like affaires, they might draw as it were from the counterfeite of this Kings wisdom, a perfect

The year of the world, 3931. Josephus 1033. Two women accuse one another for exchange of their children.

Salomon examined both the children to be diuided into two parts.

Salomon by the speech & gesture of the women discouereth the true mother.

Salomons gouernours and captaines.

Salomons daily expences.

The happie peace of the Israelites in Salomons time.

Salomons daily expences.

Salomons chariots and horsemen.

A module wherby they may directly shape an answer to such demaunds as shall bee offered them.

Two women of loose and lustfull conuersation came vnto him, one of which (who seemed to haue suffered the iniurie) began after this manner: I, O King (said she) and this woman dwell together in one chamber; but so it fortuneth, that both of vs on one day, and at the same houre, bare each of vs a sonne: some three daies after we were brought a-bed, this woman lying by her infant, hath in sleepe overlaid it, and stifled it, and hath taken my childe from betwene my knees & laid it by her, and settled the dead childe whilest I slept, in my bosome. Now on the morrow when I thought to offer the teate vnto mine infant, I found not mine owne, but perceived that her childe lay dead by me: for I knew it, because I had exactly marked it. This my child I haue redeemed at her hands, and because I could not recouer it, I haue made my recouir vnto your Maie-

ties iustice, O king: for in that we were sole women, and she is obstinate and feareth not to be conuicted by any, she persisteth in her obstinate deniall of the same. After the king had heard this her demaund, he inquired of the other if she had any thing to answer vnto this accusation. But she denying the act, and auerring that the childe which remained aliue, was hers; and that the dead one appertained to the other: and besides that, since no man appeared that might determine the controuersie, but all the assistants were amazed at the obscuritie and difficultie of the debate, the king at last bethought him of this policie. He commaunded that both the children should be brought before his presence as well the liuing as the dead; and calling one of his guard vnto him, he commanded him with his naked sword, to cut both the children into two parts, to the intent that both of them might take the halfe of the liuing, & the other halfe of the dead childe.

This sentence of his was secretly condemned by all the people, accounting it verie childlike. In the meane time the true mother began to exclaime, and desire that the matter might not passe so far; but rather that they should giue the whole childe that was aliue, vnto the other: for that it sufficed her, so as she might see him aliue, that he might be supposed to be an others. The aduerser part offered her selfe to behold the diuision of the infant: and moreover required that the true mother should bee punished. But the king coniecturing by the discourse, both of the one, and of the other, which of their meanings was most vnained; adiudged the infant vnto her that cried first, (for that in equitie she was the true mother) and condemned the wickednesse of the other, who had murdered her owne childe, and laboured as much as in her lay, to procure the death of her companions innocent infant. All the people tooke this iudgement for an assured prooff and signe of the kings prudence and wisdom; and from that time forwardes they respected and honoured him as one that was endowed with a diuine spirit. The chieftaines and gouernours vnder him thorow all the kingdome were these: *Vri* gouerned the countrey of Ephraim, wherein the sea coast, and had espoused the daughter of *Salomon*. The great Plaine was subiect to *Banaia* the sonne of *Achila*, who gouerned likewise all the countrey that extended towards Iordan. *Gad* commanded the Galaadites, and *Gaulques*, as farre as the mountaine Libanus, and had vnder him sixtie great Cities, and fortis; *Achinadab* gouerned all Galilee as farre as Sidon, and had espoused also one of *Salomons* daughters called *Basima*: *Banaia* had the countrey that confineth the sea nere to the Citie of Arce; *Saphar*, the mountanes Itabyr, and Carmel; and the land of Galilee as farre as Iordan: *Sabeia* gouerned the whole land of the Beniamites: *Tabar* had all the government on the other side of Iordan, and was elected gouernour generall ouer them all.

Thus about this time did the Hebrewes wonderfully increase in riches, and the tribe of *Iuda* waxed opulent, by reason that the people addicted themselues wholly to the tilling and manuring of their lands. For their peace was vnder such assurance, that being distracted by no warlike tumults, and besides that fruitfully enioying a most desired libertie, they especially intended this thing onely, to encrease their priuate and particular estates. The king also had other gouernours who ruled the Syrians; and commaunded other strange nations, which are extended from Euphrates as farre as Egypt, who gathered the tribute of those nations for the king. These Barbarians euerie day furnished the king for his owne Table, and the maintenance of his household, with thirtie Cores of fine flour, and sixtie of the courser: ten fat Oxen, and twentie grasse beeces, with a hundred fat lambes. All which things, besides venison and bassalles taken in chase, birds, and fish, were furnished daily by the Barbarians to serue the kings household. He had likewise a great number of chariots; so that he had fortie thousand maners wherein his coach horses fed; and besides these he had twelue thousand horsemen, halfe whereof kept alwayes about the king in Ierusalem, the rest were billeted in diuers villages belonging to the king, and remained there.

And they that had the charge to furnish the kings expences, provided likewise necessarie prouender

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The year of the
world, 2931. be-
fore Christ's birth,
1:33.
Salomons
prudence and
wisdom.

Salomons
methode in
coniuuration
whereby he
cast out diuels.
The author in
this place au-
feth the gifts
of God besto-
wed on Salo-
mon, in exten-
ding them to
those artes
which are for-
bidden by the
expresse word
of God.
A few casteth
out diuels.

Hiram's Em-
balladors to
Salomon.

3. Reg. 5.
Salomon re-
quireth car-
penters and
workemen
from Hiram.

Hiram pre-
sents Salomon
wood, and in-
stead thereof
requesteth
corne.

der for the horses, conueying it to that place whereouer the king sojourned. But so great was the wisdom and prudence which God had bestowed vpon *Salomon*, that hee surpassed all his progenitors: and the Egyptians likewise, who are esteemed the wisest of all men, were farre behind him in wit. For he excelled all those that in that time were in the greatest account amongst the Hebrewes, whose names I will not omit; & these they were, *Ethan, Eman, Eman, Chalt* and *Dadan* the sonne of *Immon*. He composed also a thousand and five hundred bookes of odes and canticles, and thirtie thousand bookes of Parables and Similitudes; for to euery kind of plant he alluded his parable from hyssope, vnto the Cedar. The like did he of all liuing creatures that feed on the earth, swimme in the waters, or flie in the ayre; for none of their natures was he ignorant of: neither had he omitted to search their faculties in particular; but examined & discoursed on them all, and had an inward speculation and knowledge of their seuerall and secreete properties. He obtained also by inspiration the Art of Magicke, for the profit and health of men, and the exorcising and casting out of diuels: for he deuised certain incantations, whereby the diseased are cured, and left the methode of coniuuration in writing, whereby the diuels are enchanted and expelled; so that neuer more they dare returne: And this kind of healing to this day, is very visuell amongst those of our nation. For I saw a certaine popular and priuate man amongst the Hebrewes, in the presence of *Vespasian*; his sonnes, tribunes, and other souldiers, that cured diuers that were possessed. And the manner of his cure was this: He applied to the nose of the Demoniack a Ring; vnder the seale whereof, was a roote of those things that *Salomon* had declared, which drew the diuell out of the nostrils of the sicke, as soone as hee smelled the roote: and as soone as the man was fallen, hee adured him neuer more to returne, intermixing some mention of *Salomon*, and rehearsing those incantations that were inuented by him.

After this, the said *Elezar* being desirous to shewe vnto them that were present, the efficacy of his Arte, he set a pot or pitcher of water not farre from the place which the possessed stood, and commanded the diuell at such times as he forooke the man to ouerturne the pot, and thereby to giue a signe vnto the assistants, that he had forsaken the possessed: which act of his manifestly declared how great the science and wisdom of *Salomon* was. For which cause I thought good in this place to make mention thereof, that the worthy nature of this king might be knowne vnto all men, and how beloued he was of God, and how surpassing in all kindes of vertue. When *Hiram*, king of Tyre vnderstood that *Salomon* succeeded his father in the kingdom, he was glad thereof (for he was *Dauid's* friend) for which cause he sent messengers vnto him to salute him, and to congratulate with him of that good which had hapned to him; by whom *Salomon* returned an answer in these termes. *Salomon* to *Hiram* the king: Know thou, that my father hauing a will to build a Temple vnto God, hath been withdrawn from the performance thereof, by the continuall warres and troubles he hath had: for he neuer tooke rest before he either had defeated his enemies, or made the tributaries vnto him. For mine own part, I thank God for the peace which I possesse, & for that by the means thereof, I haue opportunitie (according to mine own desire) to build a temple vnto God: for he it is that foretold my father that this house should be builded during my raign. For which cause I pray you send some one of your skilfullest men with my seruants to the wood Libanus, to hew downe trees in that place: for the Sidonians are more skilfull in the hewing and preparing timber then our people are, and I will pay the cleauers of wood according to your direction. When *Hiram* had read this letter, he was verie glad to peruse the contents of the same, and wrote backe againe vnto him to this effect.

The king *Hiram* vnto king *Salomon*: Thou hast cause to thank God, in that he hath deliuered thy fathers kingdom into thy handes, to thee I say, who art a man wise and full of vertue. For which cause since no newes can come vnto me more gracious, nor office of loue more esteemed then this, I will accomplish all that thou requestest: for after I haue caused a great quantitie of Cedar and Cyprus wood to be cut downe, I will send it thee by sea by my seruants, whom I will command (and furnish with convenient vessels of burthen) to the end they may deliuer the same, in what place of thy kingdom it shall best please thee; that afterwards thy subiects may transport them to Ierusalem. You shall provide to furnish vs with corne, whereof wee stand in need, because we inhabit an Island.

The copies are yet at this day kept, not onely by those of that nation, but also by the Tyrians: so that if any man desire exactly to know what they be, let him search the publique records of the Tyrians, and he shall find in them matters accordant to that wee haue said. All which I say, to this end that the readers might be assured, that I outstrip not the truth in any sort, and that I trust not in this historie matters that are merely apparant & deceitfull, & onely fashioned for de-

light;

light; neither feare I that any man shall examine my writings; neither desire I likewise that euery man giue credite at the first sight to the same, or that I be held blamelesse in suffering my selfe any waies to vary or improperly dilate ought in this historie: but contrariwise, if I cannot approoue the truth by demonstration, and sufficient testimonies, I desire not to be allowed. As soone as *Salomon* had receiued these letters from the king of the Tyrians, he praised his facilitie and beneuolence, and presently sent him that which he demanded: euerie year therefore he sent him two thousand Cores of wheat, and the like number of Bads of oyle (this Bad containeth seuentie and two sextaries.) He gaue him also the like measure of wine. From that time forward the friendship betwixt *Hiram* and *Salomon* increased more and more, so that both of them protested that it should continue for euer. Theking imposed on his people the tribute of thirtie thousand workemen, whom he gaue in charge to trauell continually, and distributed them verie discretely. Hee ordained that ten thousand of them should cut wood in Libanus for the space of one moneth; and that then they should rest two moneths, returning euerie man vnto his owne dwelling place: vntill such time as the twentie thousand had in their turne accomplished the taske in the time that was prefixed vnto them, and then the first 10000. renewed their work, & followed the same in the fourth month. *Ador* was constituted superintendēt ouer this tribute. Besides these, there were 70000. men appointed to carie stones & wood, who were the inhabitants of that country, which *Dauid* had left. There were foure score thousand hewers of stone, ouer which were 3200. comissaries: these had the king commaunded to cut the greatest stones, to make the foundations of the temple: which after they had hewed and prepared in the mountaine, he commaunded should be drawne and brought into the Citie, and not onely commaunded he his countymen to performe this, but those workemen also that were sent him by *Hiram*.

Salomon began this building in the fourth year of his raigne, in the second month which the Macedonians call Artemisium, and the Hebrewes Iar; five hundredth nintie and two yeares after the departure of the Israelites out of Aegypt; one thousand and twentie yeeres, since the arriual of *Abraham* in Mesopotamia; one thousand foure hundred and fortie yeares after the Deluge: And since *Adam* the first man vntill *Salomon* (who builded the Temple) all the yeares that are passed, haue bene three thousand one hundred and two. But the beginning of the building of the Temple hapned in the eleuenth yeare of the raigne of *Hiram*, who gouerned in Tyre: and since the first time that Tyre began to be inhabited, vntill the said building of the Temple, there passed two hundred and fortie yeares. The king therefore laid the foundations of the Temple, and made a most deep trench, & fortified it with most strong stones, which might be able to resist all the iniuries of time. These stones were so closely ioined the one vnto the other, that for the strenght of the foundations, they might serue to make the base and ground, both to fortifie the worke, as also to sustaine that which should be builded thereupon, either for embellishment or weight of the charge: neither could the foundations be of lesse strength and hugeness, which were to sustaine a sumptuous pile of that height, greatnes, magnificence and ornament. The walles were made of white stone, and continued of the same matter euen vntill the rooffe. The height of the Temple was sixtie cubits, and the length as much, and the bredth twentie.ouer that was another edifice, hauing the like dimensions; so that the whole height of the Temple was sixscore cubits: and the entrie therof was to the East-ward. The porch that gaue entry therinto, had twentie cubits in length (which was the bredth of the Temple) and in bredth ten cubits: and the height thereof was of sixscore cubits. About the Temple were builded thirtie celles, which inuironed the circuit of the same on the outside, and serued to sustaine all the edifice; for that they were of that number, and passable the one into the other. The entries were made after the same manner, from whence a man might easily passe from the one to the other. Euerie one of these Celles had twentie and five cubits in bredth, and as many in length, and twentie in height: and about the there were other builded: & others likewise about these of like number, & dimension: so that they were almost as high as the other buildings.ouer these there were no buildings; only this, they were covered with Cedar: Euery Cel had his couer apart, & had no dependence on the other roofes. The rest of the building of the temple was covered with long beames, mortized the one within the other, which sustained the whole: so that the wals being in this manner fastned the one vnto the other, were the more stronger. To these beames were there fastned certaine roofes of the same stuffe, which were curiously polished, carued and gilded. The walles on the inside were covered with Cedar planks intermixed with gold: so that all the Temple shined, and the burnisht gold lightned, and dazled their eies that entred into the Temple. All the whole building of the Temple was most artificially made of stones most exactly carued, and most closely and cunningly ioined together: so that they that curiously pried into the same, could not any waies

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obserue

The year of the
world, 2931. be-
fore Christ's birth,
1033.
The truth of
Joseph's hi-
storie.

The king sent
Hiram a
great quantity
of wheat, oyle
and wine.

The order of
the carpenters
in Libanus.

The order of
the masons
and other
workmen.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 9.
3. Reg. 6.

When the
building of
the temple
began.

The depth of
the foundati-
ons of the
Temple.

The height,
length and
bredth of the
temple.

The porch be-
fore the temple.
The celles which
were builded
in the circuit
of the temple.

The beames
& wals beau-
tified with
gold.

The year of the
world, 2933. be-
fore Christ's birth
1031.

Winding
staires.

The Temple
divided into
two parts.

Two Cheru-
bins.

The pauement
gates, and all
other things
in the temple
beautified
with gold.

Salomon sent
Hiram for
Vram a
cunning
workman.

2 Kings

A vessel called
the brazen sea.

Ten brazen
bases of the
lauer.

Ten round
lauers.

obserue any stroke of the hammer, nor other workmans tooles, but all the whole masse seemed to be a naturall, and no artificiall frame; and rather gathered in that place of it selfe, then garnished by the handes of cunning workemen. As touching the ascent into the higher part of the Temple, the king in that fort deuised it, that in the thicknesse of the wall hee included a paire of winding staires to that purpose. This part had not a great gate towards the Eastward, as the lower had, but in the sides there were little doors made: All the whole temple both within & without was couered with Cedar planks, tied together with strong chains to fortifie and strengthen the same. The Temple inwardly was diuided into two parts, the one whereof contained the *sanctum sanctorum*, of twenty cubits (which was vnaccessible) the rest of the space, of fortie cubits was consecrated to the vse of the Priests. And in the midst of the wall made he two gates of Cedar, enriched with store of gold, & diuers curious carued works, & hung them with tapistrie: wherein were embroidered diuers flowers of hyacinth, purple, & scarlet intermingled with most pure, white & delicate linnen. He placed also vpon the holy of holiest (which was 20. cubits broad, & as many long) 2. Cherubims of masse gold, each one 5. cubits hie, & each of the had two wings that were spread 5. cubits broad, by which means they were not far distant the one from the other, but that the one of their wings touched the southern wall of the sacred place, & the other the northern wall: the other wings that touched one another, serued for a couer for the Ark which was placed between them both. But what the figure of the Cherubins was, it is impossible to expresse: he made the pauement of the Temple also, of plates of beaten gold. To the gate of the Temple also he fastned convenient doores 20. cubits high, answearable in height to the wall, & couered with plates of gold. In a word, he left nor one place either within or without the Temple, that was not garnished with gold: he likewise adorned the outside of the gates as he had done the inside. But the gate of the porch had no such ornament. After this, *Salomon* sent vnto *Hiram* king of Tyre for one, who was a cunning workman called *Vram*, the sonne of a woman of the line of *Nephthali*; and of *Vram* the Israelite. This man had great knowledge in all kind of works, but his especiall excellencie was in working gold, siluer and brasse, who made all that which concerned the Temple, according as the king commaunded. He made two pillars of brasse, foure fingers thicke, and eightene cubits high, and twelue in the circumference; on the chapters of each of them, hee planted a founded lilly, of five cubits in height, which he enuironed with certaine grates made of brasse after the manner of enterlaced nets, which couered the lillies on each side, on which there hung downe two hundred Pomgranates in two ranks. These pillars placed he in the entrance of the porch, the one on the right hand called *Iachin*, the other on the left called *Boz*. He founded also the brazen Sea made after the manner of a Hemisphaere, & this vessel was called the sea, by reason of the hugeness thereof. For it was a lauer that by measured line was ten cubits broad, the thicknes of a hand; the midst therof was sustained with a pillar ten times twisted, whose bignes was a cubite. This lauer was sustained by twelue heifers, which by three & three were placed directly opposite against the quarters of the foure winds; and the hindermost part of these heifers were set some what stooping, to the end that this round and ample vessell might bee the more surely supported by them. This sea contained three thousand Bads. He made also ten brazen bases foure square, for the lau-ers, each one in length five cubits, in breadth foure, in height three; thus were the parts of this worke severally fashioned. There were foure little pillars square, and erected at euerie corner one, in which the sides of the bases were adioined, and diuided into three sorts, according to the place distinguished between the ioynts, with Images, here a Lion, there a Bull, and in an other place an Eagle. The pillars likewise were adorned with the same engraving; and all this whole worke hung vpon foure wheelles, which were made of cast worke, which had certaine naues or spokes a cubite and a halfe in the Diameter: and it was a wonderful thing to see the circumferences of them, how cunningly they were wrought, and properly fetled to the sides of the bases by their naues, or strakes. They were thus made: the corners or angles on the vpper part were sustained by certaine shoulders made after the manner of extended hands, on which was there placed a spire, to which the lauer was fastned, being upheld by the pawes of a Lion, and an Eagle, which were fashioned & so properly vnited, that they that beheld them would haue supposed them rather to be naturall creatures then otherwise: and betwixt them also there were certaine palme trees figured: Such was the composition of the ten lau-ers. Moreover, he made ten other brazen lau-ers after the manner of a round cockle shell, each of which contained fortie Choes: for they were in height foure cubites, and from brim to brim, there were likewise foure cubites: which lau-ers hee placed vpon ten bases or feete called *Mechonoth*, five of which stode on the left side of the Temple, that extended to the northward, the other five on the right hand toward the southward; yet so as they affronted the East. Here likewise placed he the sea full of water, to the intent that the

Priests

The yeere of the
world, 2933. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 1031.
The vse of the
sea, and the
other ten
lau-ers.
The altar and
vessels apper-
taining to the
same.

The Table of
sacred bread.
The candle-
sticke.
The cups and
vials.
The bowles.
The Censors.

Priests gar-
ments.

Instruments
of musicke.

The inclosure
before the
temple.
The lane.

The huge
trenches
wherein the
foundation of
the temple
was laid, filled.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 4.
3. Reg. 7.

Salomons
temple was
consecrated
in the moneth
of October.

The Arke is
caried into
the temple.

A priests entring into the temple, might wash their hands and feete before they went vnto the altar. The other lau-ers serued to wash the inwards and feete of those beasts that were sacrificed. He builded likewise a brazen Altar of twenty cubites long, and as many in breadth, and ten in height, to offer burnt offerings thereon. He made likewise all the vessels that belonged thereunto of brasse: as kettels, water pots, hookes and forks, and such like, that in brightnesse equalled the pure gold. The king also dedicated many tables, and amongst theie, one great one of golde (on which the sacred bread was laide) the rest not farre inferiour, yet made after diuers manners, held cwers and platters of gold, to the number of twenty thousand, and of siluer fortie thousand. He made likewise ten thousand candlestickes (according as *Moses* had commaunded) whereof one he dedicated in the temple, that according to the law it might giue light there in the day time. Hee made a table also, on which the loaves of bread were laid, on the north side of the temple hard by the candlestick, which was placed towards the South-ward. The altar of gold was planted betwixt them both. All which things were inclosed in that part of the temple that contained fortie cubits, before the tapistry of the holy of holiest, where the Arke should be placed. The king also caused fourescore thousand pots, and a hundred thousand ewers of gold, and twice as many of siluer, to be made; and fourescore thousand plates of gold, and twice so many of siluer, to offer the kneaded flower in them vpon the altar; and threecore thousand cups of gold, & twice so many of siluer, to lay the flower mingled with oyle thereon; and two thousand measures of gold, and twenty thousand of siluer, resembling a Hin or an Epha of *Moses*. Twenty thousand of Censors also of gold, wherein the perfume was burnt, to hallow the temple; & other censors likewise in which they carried fire from the great altar, and laid it on the lesser which was within the temple, to the number of fiftie thousand. Hee prepared also a thousand vestments for the vse of the priests, with their surcoats, heads, pectorals, and with their precious ouches, notwithstanding there was but one crowne wherein *Moses* had written the name of God, which hath continued euen vntill this day. He made also ten thousand stoales for the priests of fine linnen, with scarlet girdles, for euery one of them; two hundred thousand trumpets according to the ordinance of *Moses*, and fortie thousand instruments of musicke to record & praise God with (as the Plalterie and harpe of a mixt matter, the fift part gold, and the fourth part siluer.) All which *Salomon* most magnificently prepared for the seruice of God, sparing no cost, but employing himselfe to the vttermost of his power, toward the ornament of the temple; which he beautified, & endowed with all these treasures. He enuironed the temple likewise with a certaine wall some three cubits hie, which in our tongue we call *Gison*, to exclude the prophane multitude, and admit none but the priests only. Without this wall there stood a temple fouresquare with great & broad Iles, which opened with very great gates, euery one according to the quarter of the winde; and the doores thereof were couered with gold. Into this place all the people that were purified might enter, and they likewise that kept the ordinances of *Moses*. It may not be spoken or scarcely beleueed, although it were scene, how admirable that exteriour temple was: for hee filled huge trenches, which by reason of their immeasurable depth, could not be looked downe into without vehement apprehension of feare (for they were foure hundred cubits deepe) yet notwithstanding he filled them, and raised them to the height of the hill, whereon the temple was built; & by this meanes it came to passe, that the walk without the temple, was equalled with the foundation of the same. This did he begirt with double porches, sustained by pillars of rich stone; the rooffe whereof were of polished Cedar, and the gates were of Masseue siluer.

After that king *Salomon* had in seven yeeres finished these so huge, faire, and magnificent build-ings, and all the other necessities which hee had bestowed vpon the temple, and declared thereof by his great riches, and confirmed his readines to be such, that that which at the first sight might require a mans whole life to finish, hee accomplished in few yeeres, in respect of the greatneesse of the temple: Hee wrote vnto the gouernours and elders of the Hebrewes, commanding them to assemble all the people in Ierusalem to behold the temple, & to bring in the Arke of God: and although this assembly was publicly proclaimed, yet scarcely did the people make their appearance in Ierusalem before the seventh moneth, which we call *Thuri*, and the Macedonians *Hyperberete*. About this time fell the feast of Tabernacles, which the Hebrewes most religiously obserue and honour with great festiuals. They therefore tooke the Arke and Tabernacle that *Moses* had before time made, with all those necessities which appertained to the diuine seruice, and bare them into the temple. The king and all the people with the Leuites marched before, hauing their cattell ready to sacrifice, and filling the way with offerings, and the blood of diuers slaughtered beasts, burning an infinit quantitie of perfumes, wherewith the ayre was filled round about;

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The year of the world, 3941, before Christ's birth, 1023.

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men, and runnagates in a forraine land. And as concerning the Temple which is builded at this present, I will (said he) deliuer it to the enemies to ransacke and burne it, and the Cittie shall bee destroyed by the hands of the enemies: & their miseries shall bee so notorious thorow the world, and to such extremitie shal they be driuen, as it shall hardly bee belieued: so as their neighbours round about them, hearing tidings of their calamities shall bee astonished, and shall seeke out the cause why the Hebrewes are thus hated by GOD, who before times haue been so aduanced by him in riches and honours: and they shall vnderstand thereof by those that suruiue, in hearing them confesse their sinnes; and the transgressions they haue committed against the ordinance of their forefathers. These things that were declared vnto him in a dreame, are registred in the sacred letters.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Salomons palace finished in thirteene yeeres.

Seauen yeares after the Temple had bene thus builded (as it hath bene heeretofore declared) hee beganne the building of his Palace, which he scarcely finished in thirteene yeeres space (for he was not so intent and earnest in building thereof, as he was in the structure of the Temple.) For although the temple were very great, and of incredible and maruailous magnificence, yet so it is, that God (for whom it was made) assisting the workmen, it was thorowly finished within the terme of the yeeres aforesaid. But the roiall Palaces, being farre lesser then was the temple, were builded more slowly, because the stufte had not bene prepared so long time before, neither with so great affection; and the rather, because the Palaces that were builded, were not for God, but for Kings: Norwithstanding, this house was builded very magnificently, according as the wealth of the country and the power of the Hebrew King required. But it shall not be amisse if I declare all the order & disposition of the same house, that by the description thereof the Reader may both gather and consider the whole amplitude thereof: It was a great & goodly lodging, sustained by diuers pillars, prepared to receiue and containe much people at the time of their assemblies, wherein they intreated of affaires and held pleas. It was a hundred cubites in length, and in breadth fiftie, and in height thirtie, comprised vnder sixteene square pillars couered with Corinthian worke, with staires of the like measure, and carued gates, both pleasant for sight, and fit for fortification.

The hall. The tribunall.

In the midst of this space, and hard by the temple, there was another square Pavillion thirtie cubits large, sustained with strong pillars, within which there was another magnificent Tribunall, on which the King sate to giue iudgement: vnto which there was annexed another Palace prepared for the Queene. All the chambers, as well those that were ordinarily in vse, as those for recreation after he had retired himselfe from publique affaires, were adorned with planks of carued Cedar, and were builded partly of stone ten cubits square, partly of curious marble, and very rarely & cunningly wrought (such as are wont to adorn temples and palaces) and are found out by the most curious & cunning Masons. And that which made it more beautiful, were 3 panes of tapistrie, & the fourth admirable for the artificiall engrauiings: for the workmen had made therein trees and plants of diuers sorts, shadowed with their branches & leaues, hanging in such sort, that to behold them, a man would haue thought that they shooke, the workmanship was so exquisite & curious that couered the stone. The rest, as far as the rooffe, was enchaced, & flourished with diuers antiques and pictures. Furthermore, he builded other places of pleasure, with very long porches to beautifie the palace; amongst which, there was one most magnificent to make banquettes and feasts in, which altogether was adorned with gold: and all the necessities belonging thereto, and to the entertainment of those that banquetted, were of gold. It is a great matter to number the hugeness and varietie of these roiall lodgings, both greater and lesser; of those that were hidden vnder the earth, as of those, which being lifted vp in the aire, did manifestly manifest their beautie: The pleasant arbors likewise delightfull to behold, & most contenting in summer, for that they were couered and warranted from the heat. To speake in a word, all the building was made of white marble, of Cedar, of gold, and of siluer: the floores and walls were figured with diuersitie of flowers and of precious stones, inchaced in gold, after the manner of the temple of God, which shined with such like ornaments. There was likewise erected a most mightie throne, made in forme of a tribunall, with six steps of pure Iuorie: on each side of which there stood two ramping Lions, and the like number were placed aboue. The stage of the throne was after the forme of hands, that laid hold on the King: and hee sate vpon a halfe Oxe looking backwards: and this throne was all inuironed with gold.

3. Reg. 10.

Salomons throne made of Iuory. 3. Reg. 5.

Salomon builded all this that hath bene spoken of, in the space of twentie yeeres, being furnished by Hiram king of the Tyrians for these his buildings, with great summes of gold, and far more greater of siluer, besides a quantitie of Cedar and Pine trees: Salomon also remunerated him,

A him, and gaue him great presents, and sent him euerie yeare sufficient of corne, wine and oyle (as we haue heretofore declared) whereof he stood in great neede, by reason that his Country was an Island. And besides that, he gaue him twentie Cities in Galilee, not farre distant from Tyre. Hiram hauig visited them, and nor wel pleased with them, sent vnto Salomon to certifie him thereof, that he had no vse for his cities: and from that time forward they were called the countrey of Chebal, which is as much to say in the Phoenician tongue, as vnpleasant. Hiram likewise sent vnto Salomon certaine mysteries and difficult questions, requiring him to decide the same, and to dissolue those doubts and difficulties that occurred in his demands. Salomon being a man of ripe iudgement and vnderstanding, pretermitted none of them; but after he had attained their resolution in his owne opinion, and had gathered the sense, he expressed and opened the same. Of these two kings, Menander (who translated the antiquities of the Tyrians out of the Phoenician tongue into the Greeke) maketh mention, speaking after this manner. After the decease of Abibale, Hiram his sonne succeeded him in the kingdome, who liued fiftie and three yeeres, and reigned thirtie and foure. He annexed the field which is called Ample, vnto the Island, and dedicated a golden pillar in Iupiters Temple. He also caused a great quantitie of wood to bee hewed downe in the mountaine Libanus, to make couers and roofes for Temples. For hauing pulled down some ancient temples, he builded that of Hercules, and that of Astrate, and made this first building of Hercules in the moneth Peritien, and made warre against the Eueceans, who refused to pay their tributes: and after he had once againe brought them vnder his subiection, hee returned to his owne palace. In his time liued the young sonne of Abdimon, who alwaies resolued those questions which Salomon king of Ierusalem proposed. Dins also maketh mention of him in these termes. After the decease of Abibale, his sonne Hiram reigned: he it was that fortified the quarter of the Cittie to the Eastward, and enlarged the same, and conioyned the Temple of Olympian Iupiter to the Cittie, which before that time was in another place, and filled all the place betweene them with earth, and adorned it with pendants of gold: and afterwarde going vp to Libanus, he hewed downe timber to build temples withall. He said also, that Salomon reigning at that time in Ierusalem, sent vnto Hiram certaine subtrill questions, demanding the exposition thereof vnder this condition, that if he declared them not, in way of penaltie hee should pay a great summe of money; and afterwarde that a certain Tyrian called Abdimon, expounded that which had bene proposed: and in lieu thereof proposed certaine others, which Salomon could not expound, and for that occasion he paid a great summe of money vnto Hiram. This is it that Dins writeth.

The year of the world, 3941, before Christ's birth, 1023.

Salomons gratitie to Hiram for the benefites he receiued, 3. Reg. 9.

Salomon interpreted certain hidden questions sent vnto him by Hiram.

Menander the historiographer maketh mention of Hiram and Salomon.

Dins maketh mention of Hiram.

Dins of Salomon.

The king seeing that the Cittie wanted both bulwarks and towers to secure the same, and that the strength of the same was no way answerable to the dignitie thereof, hee repaired the walles, and erected great towers on the same. Moreover he builded certaine Cities, which deserue to be memorized among the most renowned, namely, Afor and Magedon, & for the third, the cittie of Gaza in the country of the Philistines: against which Pharaos king of Egypt led out his army, and rooke it by force, and after he had put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword, he destroyed the same, and afterwards he gaue it in dower vnto his daughter, which married with Salomon. For which cause the king fortified it, seeing it to be already sufficiently defended by nature, and that it stood verie commodiously for the warre, and to hinder the inuasions of the enemy that might happen. Not farre from thence he fortified two other Cities, whereof one was called Berachor, and the other Balerh. Besides these he builded others, which were Cities of recreation and pleasure, by reason of the good temperature of the aire, and the pleasantnesse of the fruits, and in especially the sweet streamy riuers, wherewith they were watered. Afterwards entering into the desert that is about Syria, & coquering the same, he builded an other great city two daies iourney distant from the higher Syria, a daies iourney from Euphrates, and fixe from the great Babylon. The cause why this Cittie was inhabited farre from the ciuill and peopled quarters of Syria, was, because in no place of the lower countrey there was water to be found, & in this Cittie only there were fountaines and springs. He therefore builded this Cittie, and begirt it with strong walles, and called it Thadamor (which is the name which the Syrians tearme it by, even at this day: and amongst the Greekes it is called Palmyra.) And these were Salomons works in that time. But for that there are diuerse that demand the question how it cometh to passe, that all the Kings of Egypt that haue bene since Minzus the founder of Memphis, and who reigned diuerse yeeres before our great ancestor Abraham, who (I say) haue bene till Salomons time, for the space of more then thirtene hundred yeeres, haue bene called Pharaos; deriuuing that name from one that reigned in the mid time betweene both: I haue thought it requisite to manifest the same to the

Salomon repaired the wals of Ierusalem, and erected towers.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. Salomons builded certain cities.

Afor, Magedon, Gaza.

Berachor, Balerh.

Thadamor, or Palmyra.

Why the Egyptians were called Pharaos.

the intent to resolve that doubt and expresse the cause of that name. The name of *Pharao* amongst the Egyptians, signifieth as much, as King. But I thinke that from their childhood they had other distinct names; and that afterwards when they are created kings, they take vpon them that name, which in their mother tongue signifieth no lesse, then Authoritie. For the kings of Alexandria hauing been before time called by other names, at such time as they are introduced into the kingdom, they are called *Ptolomies*, by the name of their first king. The *Romane* Emperours likewise, notwithstanding they haue other names at the time of their birth, yet are they called *Cæsars*; because the soueraigntie and honour whereunto they are raised, imposeth that title on them: and the name that was giuen them by their fathers is no more retained. For this cause it is (as I thinke) that although *Herodotus of Halicarnassus*, saith, that since *Minos* the founder of Memphis, there haue beene three hundred and thirtie kings of Egypt; yet declareth hee not their names, because they were called *Pharaohs*. For when after these a woman had obtained the kingdom, he called her by her owne proper name, *Nicaule*: Whence it appeareth that the men who haue beene kings, were vsually called by this name, and that it had not beene communicated vnto this woman: for which cause it was necessarie to declare her owne first name. For mine owne part, I haue found in the bookes of our nation, that since *Pharao*, who was father in law to *Salomon*, no one of the kings of Egypt haue beene called by that name: and that somelittle while after, the aforementioned woman came vnto *Salomon*, who reigned in Egypt and Aethiopia: of whom a little after we will make some discourse. And at this present I haue made mention of it, to make it knowne that our records and the Chronicles of the Egyptians, accord in many things.

But king *Salomon* conquered the Chananites (which till that time were nor vnder his subiection) and those that inhabited the mountaine Libanus, as farre as the Citie of Amath, and made them tributaries, and chose out amongst them euery yeare such, as he might employ in seruile actions, and in domestick businesse, and tillage of the land. For no one Hebrew was a slaue: neither was it conuenient, that since God had subiected diuers nations vnder them (whom they might make slaues of) that they should tie those of their owne nation to that bondage; who were all of them employed in armes, and rather tooke delight to mount Chariots, and to ride horses, then to drudge like slaues.ouer the Chananites (whom he employed in his seruice) hee appointed fise hundred and fiftie commissaries, who had their charge and authoritie from the king, & tasked them to those works and handie labours wherin they employed them. He builded a nauy also in the gulf of Aegypt, in a certaine place of the red sea called *Afiongaber*, which is named *Berenice*, not farre from the Citie of Elana (which countrey in times past appertained to the Iewes.) And toward the building of this nauie, he obtained of *Hiram* king of Tyre, a verie conuenient furtherance: for he sent him modules of ships, and men that were skilfull in nauigation, whom he charged to faile with his procurers and factors, to the countrey at that time called *Ophir*, and at this present the land of Golde, in the countrey of India, to bring golde from thence: who returned backe againe vnto the King, after they had gathered about foure hundred talents.

About this time the Queene of Aegypt and Aethiopia (a woman adorned with wisdom, and admirable in all other things) hauing heard of the renowned vertue and prudence of *Salomon*, was touched with a desire both to see him, as them also that were reported daily to attend him: and for that cause, came in person vnto the king, vnder purpose to confirme her beliefe by experience, and not by heare say. For oftentimes report is no other thing, but a false opinion, which is beleueed by one or other, and is but onely grounded on relation. She therefore resolved to come and see him, & especially to make triall of his wisdom: which she narrowly sifted, by propounding certain difficult questions vnto him, which she had conceiued in her minde. She therefore repaired vnto Ierusalem with great pompe, glorie, and riches; for she brought with her certaine Camels charged with gold, odors, and precious stones of great valew. After that the king had graciously entertained her, and honoured her in all things, hee easily comprehended in his mind those doubts which she had proposed vnto him, and gaue her a more speedie solution of the same, then might be expected: so that she was rauished with the incredible wisdom of *Salomon*; knowing by effect that it exceeded the report which she had heard of him. But in especiall she wondered at his palace, considering the greatnesse and beautie thereof; and aboue all, the rich furniture and curious architecture of the same; wherein she perceived the great wisdom of the king: but aboue all, the house, called Liban, and the magnificence of his ordinarie table, and the apparell and seruice of the same, made her astonished. The attire of his seruants likewise, and

the goodly order which they obserued in their seruice; moreouer the sacrifices that were euery day offered vnto God, and the care and diligence of the Priests in discharging their offices; raised her more then all the rest, when she obserued them daily: and nor able to containe her selfe within the tearms of astonishment at that she saw, she manifestly expresse how wonderfully she was affected, expresseing to the king in her plaine and publike discourse, that shee knew not what to thinke of those things which she had beheld. O King (she said) all that which a man knoweth by heare say may be misbeleued. But the renowne which is come vnto our eares as touching your riches, both those which you haue in your selfe (I meane your wisdom and prudence) as those also which your kingdom hath brought you, is neither false nor fained; which notwithstanding, yet doth it make your felicity furre lesse then that which I see before mine eyes: for report dependeth only on heare say, neither giueth it so certaine a notice of things, as the sight discovereth and representeth, when one is neere vnto the same. For mine owne part, in that I gaue no credit to the greatnesse & multitude of that I haue heard, I haue scene furre more then I could expect, and repute the people of the Hebrewes to be most happie; and your seruants and friends most blessed, who are continuall witnesses and hearers of your wisdom. And each one of you ought to giue God thanks, that he hath so much loued this region & the inhabitants thereof, that he hath established you in the royall seat. I will discouer likewise, how besides her words shee expressed her affection she bare vnto the king, in testifying the same by diuerse presents which shee offered vnto him. For she gaue him twentie talents of gold; and an innumerable quantie of sweet odours and precious stones. It is said likewise, that we haue that plant which distilleth balme, and which our countrey bringeth forth at this day, by the gift of this Princess. *Salomon* for his part requited her beautifull presents with the like, which she made choise of according to her own liking: for there was nothing which she could require, which he granted not vnto her: shewing himselfe most readie to giue her satisfaction with a liberall and royall heart. When the Queene of Egypt and Aethiopia had receiued these fauours at the king hands (according as it hath been spoken) and he likewise had magnificently requited her, she returned backe againe into her owne countrey.

About the same time there was brought vnto the king from the countrey called the Region of gold, a quantie of precious stones, and of Pine-trees. This wood was employed to make supports in the Temple, and in the kings house, and to make instruments of musick likewise, as Harpes and Cymbals, on which the Leuites might praise God. Amongst all the gifts that were euery presented vnto *Salomon*, that which was giuen him at that time, was most excellent in greatness and beautie. But let no man thinke, that the Pine-wood (which we speake of) had any resemblance with that which we call by that name at this day, or which the merchants to delude their chapmen, sell for the same: For they are like vnto figge-trees, but that they are more white & clearer: which I thought good to manifest in this place, least any man should be deceived thorough ignorance, in discerning the one from the other: because the affaires of *Salomon* haue drawne vs to make mention of this matter. The waight of gold which this nauy brought vnto the king, was six hundred, sixtie and six talents: beside that which the merchants bought themselves; or that which the kings and princes of Arabia had sent vnto him in way of present. This gold caused he to be moulen downe, and made thereof two hundred targets, each one weighing six hundred shiles; and three hundred bucklers, each of them weighing three mines of gold, and placed and hung them in the lodging of the wood of Libanus. He caused also diuers vessels of gold and precious stones to be made for the vse of his table, labored with as elitious conceits as might be; the rest of his necessaries also were of gold: for nothing was either bought or sold for silver. For the king had many ships vpon the sea called *Tharls*, which vpon his command caried diuers merchandise into the remote countries, by vent whereof they brought him home much gold and silver, and much Iuorie and Ethiopian Moores, and Apes, and this nauigation in sailing to and fro, was finished in three yeares. The renowne and fame also of *Salomon*s vertues and wisdom spread furre and neere thorough all nations: so that the kings of what country soeuer they were, had a desire to see his presence, because they beleued not the report, and desired to manifest their affection to him by magnificent presents. They therefore sent him vessels of golde and of silver, scarlet robes, and all sorts of aromatique drugges, horses and chariots, moyles and sumpter horses, wherein (as it was reported vnto them) the King tooke pleasure, by reason of their force and beautie: so that to the number of horses and chariots which he had before, there were annexed foure hundred more, which had bene sent him in way of present. For before that, he had a thousand chariots, and twentie thousand goodly horse, excellent for shape and swiftnesse: so that the like were not to be found, that were comparable with them for beauty and pace. And that which

3 Reg. 10.
Salom^o compelleth the remainder of the Chananites to pay tribute.

The thraldom of the Chananites.
3 Reg. 10.

The queene of Egypt and Aethiope re-
sorth to Salomon.

The queene of Aethiope wondereth at Salomon's wisdom

The year of the world, 2053. before Christ's birth.
The Queene of Aethiope prayeth with Salomon's wisdom.

The Queene giueth Salomon many sumptuous presents.

Salomon remunerateth the Queene's bountie.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7.

The precious timber that was brought to Salomon.

Salomon's ships spent three yeares in their journey.
Many kings present Salomon with sundry presents.
The horses and other gifts presented to Salomon.

gaue

204
The year of the
world, 2953. be-
fore Christs birth,
2011.

gave them the greater grace was, that they had squires to backe them, who were in their pride of youth, of goodly perlonage to behold, and surpassing all other in height, hauing long locks which they daily intermixed with wires of gold, that when as the sunne did reuerberate his beams vpon their heades, they shold be more glorious and bright. The king mounted on his chariot, and apperelled in a white raiment, was accustomed to ride abroad about the sunne rise, inuironed with these yong armed men, hauing bowes and quiuers.

Ittan.

There was a certaine place called Ittan, some eight leagues distant off of Ierusalem, delightfull and enriched with gardens and pleasant fountaines of water, whither he vually and willingly retired himselfe for his pleasure, vying in all things a most admirable prouidence & promptitude, and taking pleasure in those things that were well contriued. Hee forgot not likewise to make cauleys, but caused the hie waies that led to Ierusalem (where he made his abode) to be paved with blacke stone, both to the intent to make them more accessible for those that traualled to and fro, as to shew the magnificence and riches of his gouernment. He then diuided his Chariots, and placed them in such sort, that in euery Citie there was a prefixed number, and some few he kept about himselfe, and those Cities he called the Cities of Chariots: he stored Ierusalem also with abundance of siluer, so that it was as plentifull as stones; and with Cedar wood (whereof before that time there was no quantitie) he so stored the countrey, that it was as plentifull to be had as wilde fig-trees. He commaunded the merchants of Egypt also, to buy him certain chariots drawne by two horses, for the price of six hundred dragmes of siluer, which he sent vnto the kings of Syria, and to those on the other side of Euphrates.

The wayes
about Ierusa-
lem paved
with flint.
The Cities of
Chariots.
The aboun-
dance of siluer
in Salomons
time.
Egyptian
horses.

3. Reg. 11.
Salomon mar-
rying strange
women is le-
duced by the.

Now although he were the most magnificent and intirely beloued of God, surpassing both in prudence and riches all those that before him had the gouernment ouer the Hebrewes; yet continued he not in this estate vntill the end. For, forsaking the obseruation of the ordinances of his fathers, his latter yeeres were not correspondent to his former conuersation, which heretofore we haue declared: for he grew altogether dissolute & immoderately giuen ouer to women, and was not content onely with those of his own countrey, but tooke also strange women for his wiues, as Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammonites, and Idumeans, whereby he transgressed the lawes of marriage instituted by Moses, who inhibited to marrie with those of forraigne nations. Afterwards he began to honour their gods also, to gratifie and expresse the loue, which he bare vnto them: which thing the law-maker foreseeing, hee had forbidden the Israelites to marrie with those that were not of their owne nation, for feare least conforming themselves vnto forraigne fashions, they should fall and transgresse the ordinances of their forefathers; and vndertake to honour those gods, and forsake and forget the honour due vnto the true God. But Salomon transported with these brutish pleasures, made no account of these things, but tooke him wiues of the daughters of Princes and Nobles, to the number of 700. and three hundred concubines, besides the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt: by which meanes he was exceedingly overcome by them, in so much as hee followed their examples, and was forced to giue a testimonie of the goodwill and extreame affection that he bare them, in ording his life according to the fashion of their countries. As therefore he increased in yeares, and his iudgement grew weake, he was in such sort misled, that he could not retaine in memorie the customes of his countrey, but grew more and more in neglect of God, and continued the worship of those gods which were introduced by his wiues. Before all this he chaunced to sinne and default in the obseruation of the law, at such time as he made the similitudes of beasts of brasse to vnderprop the vessell called the great sea, and those of Lyons, which he caused to be set vnto his throne: For that action of his ill befel him, who had a most excellent and domestical example of vertue in the person of his father, besides the glorie that he had left him, by being a faithfull seruant of God; whence it came to passe, that by neglecting to followe his steppes (notwithstanding that God had exhorted him therunto by appearing vnto him at two severall times) he died most ignominiously. There came therefore vnto him a Prophet sent from God, telling him that his sinnes were manifest and notorious in Gods sight, threatening him that ere long he should repent the wickednesse hee had committed. Yet notwithstanding the realme should not be taken from him during this life, because God had promised Dauid that he should be his successor in the same: but after his death his sonne should beare the penaltie of the same, not so as all the people should reuolt, but that hee would giue ten tribes vnto his seruant, and leaue two vnto the grand child of Dauid, because hee had loued God, and by reason of the Citie of Ierusalem where it pleased him to make his habitation.

The punish-
ment inflicted
on Salomon
for honoring
strange gods.

When Salomon heard these things, he sorrowed, and was sore troubled in that all his felicitie (for

The year of the
world, 2964. be-
fore Christs
birth, 2000.
Ader, enemye
to Salomon.

Ader fled into
Egypt.

Ader beseech-
eth Pharaoh to
dismisse him
that he might
returne into
his Country.

Ader return-
eth into Idu-
mea, & from
thence depart-
eth into Syria
Raas & Ader
enemies to
Salomon.

Ieroboam re-
bellet against
Salomon.

Achias the
Prophet, fore-
tellet that he
should be king
ouer the ten
tribes.

Ieroboam fleeth
into Egypt
& remaineth
there vntill Sa-
lomons death.

A (for which he to fore-time was admired) began to decline. Neither passed there long time after this denunciation of the Prophet, but that (God so pleasing) there rose vp an enemye against him, who was called Ader, by nation an Idumean, and of the princelie stock, who vpon this occasi- on grounded his rebellion and insurrection. For, at such time as Iobab generall of Dauids army, had conquered Idumaea, and in the space of sixe moneths defeated all the youth, and those that were capable to beare armes, he fled vnto Pharaoh king of Egypt: who entertained him very curteouslie, and gaue him an house, and lands for his maintenance, and loued him deereely when he came to mans estate: so that he married him with Taphines his wiues sister, on whom he began to sette his sonne, who was brought vp with the Kings children: who hauing intelligence in Egypt of Dauid and Iobabs death, addressed himselfe vnto Pharaoh, and besought him to giue him leaue to repaire into his owne country.

The King asked him what he wanted; or what the cause was that moued him, to be so hasty to forsake him? Notwithstanding therefore that he importuned and requested him diuers times, yet preuailed he nothing with him for that time. But when Salomons fortunes began to decline (by reason of his iniquities aboue mentioned, & the wrath of God prouoked against him) Ader by Gods permission came into Idumaea, after he was licenced by Pharaoh to depart. But being vnable to moue the people to reuolt from Salomon, by reason of the strong garrisons he held, and knowing that without hazard of his owne person, he could moue no alterations or innouation in that place, he departed from thence, and went into Syria: where cōfederating himselfe with a certaine man called Raas (who was fled from his Maister Adarezer, king of Sophene, and liued like an outlaw in that Region) he contracted friendship with him, and a great sort of outlawes & thieues that were his followers, and went into Syria, and taking seizure of that country, proclaimed himselfe king thereof. From whence making excursions into the lands of the Israelites, hee spoiled and pillaged the same, during Salomons life time. Thus were the Hebrewes enforced to sustaine these outrages at Aders hands.

Moreover, a certaine man called Ieroboam, the sonne of Nabat, by nation a Iew, rebelled against Salomon, and raised his hopes about his estate, perswaded thereunto by a prophetic that concerned him, and incited him vnto the action. For being left very young by his father, and carefullie instructed by his mother, as soon as Salomon perceiued him to be of a noble and courageous spirit, he made him Commissarie ouer the building of the walls, at such time as he immured & fortified Ierusalem. In this office he behaued himselfe so well, that the king thought very well thereof, and in way of recompence, gaue him the estate of Generall ouer the tribe of Ioseph. Towards which, whilst he traualled from Ierusalem, a certaine Prophet met him vpon the way (who was of the citie of Silo, called Achias) who appoaching neer vnto him, & saluting him, drew him out of the way into a place, where none but themselves were present, and there renting the garment which he wore vpon his backe into twelue peeces, he commaunded Ieroboam to take tenne, telling him that God had so decreed, and how hee would rent the gouernment from Salomon, and reserve onely one tribe vnto his sonne; with that other which was annexed vnto it, by reason of the promise made vnto Dauid; and to thee (said he) he giueth the other tenne, because Salomon hath offended G O D, and addicted himselfe to the loue of strange women, & the seruice of forraigne Gods.

Now sith thou knowest the cause wherefore God hath taken the kingdom from Salomon, be thou iust, & obserue thou the lawes: for if thou behauest thy selfe in such sort as thou knowest Dauid did, a great reward of thy pietie, and recompence of thy obseruance attendeth thee: so that thou shalt become as mightie as Dauid hath been before thee. Ieroboam confirmed in great hopes by these words of the Prophet, being by nature haughtie, in yeeres young, and besides chur, desirous of authoritie; he tooke no rest, but being possessed of the place of generall, & remembring himselfe of that which had been told him by Achias, hee presently began to perswade the people to reuolt from Salomon, and to chuse him for their King. Salomon, hearing it was of this his deliberation and enterprise, sought the meanes to lay hands on him, and to put him to death: but Ieroboam preuenting him, fled vnto Susac king of Egypt, with whom he remained vntill the death of Salomon. And thus for that time escaped he punishment, and thus was he referred to the fortune of a kingdom.

S. CHAP.

After the death of Salomon the people reuolt from Roboam his sonne, and proclaime Hieroboam king of the tenne tribes.

The death of Salomon. Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 8. al. 4. 3. Reg. 12.

The people require Roboam to mitigate their burthen.

The wholsome aduise of the Elders. The yeare of the world, 3971. before Christ's Nativity, 993. Roboam reiecteth the aduise of the Elders, & followeth the counsaile of the younger.

The Israelites moued with their repulie, reuolt from Roboam.

BUt when Salomon was very old, he died, after he had raigned fourescore yeeres, and liued ninetie foure, and was buried in Ierusalem; of all Kings the most happy, rich, and prudent (except that sinne whereunto hee was drawn by women in his old age) of whom and those calamities that presently after befell the Hebrewes, wee haue sufficiently spoken. After the death of Salomon, as soone as his sonne Roboam (whom he begat vpon an Ammonitish woman called Nooma) succeeded him in the kingdom, the Gouernours of the people sent certaine messengers into Egypt to recall Ieroboam: who arriuing in the Cittie of Sichem, Roboam came thither also, resolving himselfe in that assembly of the Israelites, to take the kingdom vpon him by the peoples consent. To him therefore the Princes of the people resorted with Ieroboam, beseeching him that he would remit somewhat of their seruitude, and shew himselfe more mercifull then his father had been: for that vnder his gouernment they had been sorely oppressed, assuring him that by that meanes his kingdom should be the more assured, if so be he had rather be beloued then feared. He some three daies after promised them to returne an answer to their demands, and by that meanes drew them into suspition, that vpon the motion hee misliked of the offers they had proposed: for they thought it became his yeeres to be affable and ready to deserue well, yet remained there some hope in them, that they had not presently suffered the repulie. Meane while, hee calling about him his fathers friends, consulted vpon the matter, what answer he should giue the people: Who for that they wished his welfare, and knew the nature of the people very well, perswaded him to speake familiarly vnto the people, and remitting a litle of his kinglie austeritie, to apply himselfe to the fauour & good liking of the multitude: for that by this his affabilitie he might the more easily draw their hearts vnto him, because that by a naturall inclination, subiects take delight in those kings that are courteous, who with a certaine decent familiarity, entertaine the selues amongst the. But Roboam reiecteth this counsaile of theirs (which was both good & profitable in all occasions, but especially at such time, when it is vpon the point to be infused in a kingdom): and that not without Gods providence, since contrarie to all reason he neglected the right course, and followed the peruerse: so that calling vnto him certaine young men of his owne humour and disposition, he certified them what the Elders had counsailed him, and willed the to discover their opinion in that matter: but neither their age, nor Gods permission suffered them to knowe that which was expedient. For which cause they counsailed him to answer the people, that his litle finger was more great then the loynes of his father, and that if they had experimented and indured grieuances vnder him, that he would be farre more rigorous, and that if his father had chastised them with the stroke of the whip, that they should expect to be punished by him with rude torments. The king delighted herewith, supposed the answer to be answerable to the dignitie of his Empire. When as therefore the people were assembled on the third day to heare his resolution, and all of them were in suspence, expecting and desirous to heare him speak, from whome they hoped nought else but sweetness: Roboam condemning the counsaile of his friends, proposed vnto himselfe that of the young men. All which happened by the will of God, so the end that which Achias had prophesied might be fulfilled.

They roused by these his answers, no lesse then if they had bin wounded with the sword, conceived a most hartie griefe, and were displeased with him, and no lesse moued, then if they had readilye felt the mischief that was threatened: so that they beganne all of them to cry with a loud voice, That from that time forward, they had nothing to doe with Dauids alliance, neither with his succession, telling him that they would onely leaue the temple his father had builded, vnto his charge, & threatening him to abandon him. Furthermore, they were so haughtily and grieuously incensed, that (Roboam having sent vnto them Aduram the Superintendent of the tribes to pacifie their wrath, and to perswade them to pardon his youth, who had spoken any thing high, and vnrespectfully vnto them) they could not endure to heare him speake, but slew and welnigh ouerwhelmed him with stones. Which when Roboam perceiued (supposing that it was himselfe, who in the person of his officer was put to death, & stoned by the people) hee feared least in effect his life, and the fortune of his kingdom should fall into the like disaster. For which cause he suddenly ascended his chariot & fled to Ierusalem, where the tribe of Iuda, and that of Benjamin (by their

A their common suffrages) made him king. But as touching the rest of the people, from that daie forward they reuolted from the successors of Dauid, & proclaimed Ieroboam king of their estates. Roboam the sonne of Salomon being sore displeased herewith, assembled the two tribes of his obedience, with an intent to muster one hundredth and fourescore thousand chosen men, to make warre on Ieroboam and his people, and to enforce them by warre to acknowledge him for their Soueraigne. But God restrained him by the meanes of a prophet, who forbad him to make war, saying, that it was ill besetting that war should be waged betwixt two parties of one nation, and the rather for that this their reuolt had hapned by the will of God: by which meanes & perswasion he dismissed his army. But first of all I will rehearse that which Ieroboam king of Israel did, and afterwards subsequently I will declare the acts of Roboam King of the two Tribes, and thus shall the course of the historie continue in due order euery waies.

B After that Ieroboam had planted his royall court in the citie of Sichem, he made his ordinarie abode in that place, except that sometimes he sojourned in the Citie of Phanael. Not long after this, the feast of Tabernacles being at hand, Ieroboam (supposing that if hee permitted the people to goe vp and worship God in Ierusalem, & solemnize the feast in that place, they might either repent themselves of the reuolt, or being retained and withdrawne by the temple & seruice that was celebrated therein, they might be perswaded to forsake him, and submit themselves to their first King; and by that meanes hee might bee drawne into danger of his life) practised and plotted this inuention. Hee caused two golden calves to bee cast, and builded two eyerall temples, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan (which is situate neere vnto the source of little

C Iordan.) In each of the chappels of these two townes, he placed one of these calves, and afterwards assembling the ten tribes that were vnder his subiection, he spake vnto them in manner following: My friends and countrey-men, I know that you are not ignorant how God is in all places, and that there cannot bee any place wherein hee asisteth not, nor time wherein hee heareth and beholdeth them not, that serue him with true affection: For which cause I thinke it not convenient, that you go vp vnto Ierusalem at this time, which is a Citie enemy vnto vs; neither that you make so long a iourney in way of deuotion: for it was a man that builded that temple, euen as I haue consecrated two golden calves, the one in Bethel, and the other in Dan; to the end that euery one of you that inhabit neere vnto those Cities, transporting your selues to the same, may adore God. Neither shall you want Priests and Leuites: for I will elect some such among

D you, to the intent you haue no more neede of the tribe of Levi, or the sonnes of Aaron. Whosoever therefore amongst you would bee a priest, let him offer calves and muttrons vnto God: which as it is reported Aaron the first priest did. By such like speeches seduced hee the people, and caused them to fall from their forefathers religion, and transgresse the ordinances of their countrey, and this was the beginning of all those mischiefs that afterwards fell vpon the Hebrewes: by which meanes being ouercome in warre, they fell into captiuitie and subiection of strangers (whereof we wil intreat further in place convenient.) Now when the feast of Tabernacles (which hapned in the seuenth moneth) was at hand, he himselfe intended to celebrate in Bethel after the same maner, as the two other tribes had feasted in Ierusalem, & erected an altar before the calfe, and was himselfe the high priest, ascending vp to the altar being assisted by the priests.

E Now at such time as he was about to sacrifice, & to offer vp burnt offerings in the sight of the people, there came a Prophet and stood by him called Iadon (sent from Ierusalem by the commandement of God, who standing vp in the midst of the people, and in the hearing of the king, turned himselfe towards the altar, and spake after this maner: Thou Altar, Thou Altar (thus saith the Lord) there shall a man rise of the tribe of Dauid called Josias, hee shall kill vpon thee the false prophets of his time, and shall burne the bones of the deceiuers and seducers vpon thee: And to the intent that each man may beleue that this prophetic is true, it shall bee confirmed by a prodigie. This Altar shall sodainly breake, and the fat of the sacrifices that are laid thereon, shall be powred on the ground. Ieroboam displeased with these words of the Prophet, stretched out his hand, commanding them to lay hold on him. But the hand that hee stretched out, became instantly withered, so that he could no more draw it backe againe to himselfe, but held it hanging downe astonished and mortified. On the other side, the altar cleft in twaine, & all that was thereon fell downe, according as the Prophet had foretold.) The King perceiuing that the man had a true and diuine spirit of Prophecie, be sought him to pray vnto God, that his hand might be restored him againe in his full strength and vigor: which he performed: so that his hand recovered againe his naturall abilitie; wherewith Ieroboam was verie much contented, and inuited the Prophet to dine with him. But Iadon answered him and said, that hee neither might enter into his

S ij

house

The yeare of the world, 3971. before Christ's Nativity, 993. Roboam intending to make warre on those tribes that reuolted is inhibited.

The court and place of Ieroboam.

Why Ieroboams calves were made.

Ieroboam perswadeth the people to Idolatrie.

The neglect of Gods seruice is the cause of all euill.

3. Reg. 13. The prophetic against the Altar in Bethel. The prophetic is confirmed by a miracle.

Ieroboams withered hand restored.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 9.

The Prophet is brought back by the subtilie and fraud of the false Prophet.

The disobedience of the Prophet, his punishment and burall.

Iadons prophetic is de-tracted to Iero- boam by the false Pro-phet.

Hedio & Rufinus. chap. 10. Roboams de- fended cities. 2. Paral. 11.

house, nor taste any bread or water within the Citie, because God had prohibited him: further-
 more he told him that it was not lawfull for him to returne the same way that hee came. But the
 King admiring at the continencie of the man, began the more seriously to suspect his estate,
 and (coniciding by those things which hee had both seene and heard) hee diuined the assured
 disaster of his estate and fortunes. There dwelt in that Citie a certaine false Prophet, whom *Ie-
 roboam* held in great honour (in that hee footed him vp in whatsoever was best pleasing to his
 eares.) This man at that time lay sicke vpon his bedde, beinge faint thorow age; and when
 hee was enformed by his sonne that there was a Prophet come from Ierusalem, and what won-
 ders hee had wrought, and how *Ieroboam* by his prayers recovered againe his withered hand;
 hee fearing least the King should make more account of this stranger, then of himselfe, com-
 manded his sonnes presently to saddle his Asse, and to haue him in a readinesse against his de-
 parture. Which when they had hastily performed, hee mounted thereon, and went after the
 Prophet, whom hee ouertooke, where hee rested himselfe vnder a thicke and shadowy Oake,
 and vpon the first encounter, saluted him, and afterwards expostulated with him, for that he had
 not visited him, neither accepted of that hospitalitie which hee willingly would haue afforded
 him. *Iadon* answered him, that God had interdicted and charged him not to taste any kinde of
 sustenance in any mans house, that dwelt within that Citie. Truly, said the other, with methow
 mightest eate, for I also am a Prophet, and honour the same God that thou doest: and now also
 come I vnto thee by his commandement, to conuict thee back again into my house, & to enter-
 taine thee with a friendly dinner. These words of the false Prophet made *Iadon* credulous, for
 he returned backe againe with him. But as they fate at their banquet and were making merrie to-
 gether, God appeared vnto *Iadon* and said vnto him; that since he had broken his commandement,
 hee should suffer punishment for the same: and withall expressed vnto him the manner: which
 was, that in his returne homewards, he should be torne in pieces by a Lion; and that he should
 not be buried in the monument of his fathers. This thing hapned in my opinion by the will of
 God, to the intent that *Ieroboam* should not respect *Iadons* words, who had been found a liar. As
 therefore *Iadon* returned backe to Ierusalem, a Lion met him on the way, and tore him in pieces
 from his Asse and slew him, yet offered he no violence to the Asse that bare him, which hee pre-
 ferued with the body of the prophet, standing fast by the same, vntill such time as certaine pas-
 sengers beholding the spectacle, brought newes thereof into the towne vnto the false Prophet, who
 sent his sonnes to bring backe the body: which by their assistance hee honourably buried, char-
 ging them that after his death they should burie his bodie by him, assuring them that all that
 which he had propheticd against that Citie, against the altar, the Priests, and false prophets, was
 verie true. And as touching himselfe, hee commaunded that after his decease they should burie
 him by him, because that being buried with him, there might no difference bee made betwixt
 their bones, and his toombe might bee more honoured. When as therefore hee had interred
 the prophet and giuen his sonne these things in charge (being other waies a most wicked and im-
 pious man) hee addressed himselfe vnto *Ieroboam*, and said vnto him: Why art thou troubled
 at the words of this mad man? The King told him all that which had hapned about the Altar,
 and his hand, and assured him that hee accounted him a true and diuine prophet, and one sent
 by God. But the false prophet began most maliciously to ouerthrow his opinion, & disguise the
 truth of that which had hapned, by his perswasive words. For he informed himselfe to infer, that
 his hand was astonished thorow the trauel he had taken in bearing the sacrifices, & that after he
 had a little rested, that it came into his own naturall estate againe: & that the altar being freshly
 built, & diuers great sacrifices loaded thereupon, it cleft in twain, & fel down thorow the waigh-
 tinesse of the charge. Consequently hee declared vnto him the death of him, that had foretold
 these signes that were to come, and how he had been slaine by a Lion: For which cause hee per-
 swaded him to thinke that he in no sort was a Prophet, neither any waies partaking with the
 truth of prophetic. By such like allegations hee made the king beleue that which hee said; and
 hauing wholly distracted his thoughts from God and good workes, and obseruation of Gods
 lawes, he drew him to all wickednesse and impietie: by which act of his hee outraged God, and
 offended his lawes, and sought daily after no other thing, then to inuent some new and curied
 wickedness, that was farre more hainous then all that which before time he had attempted. This
 is all that at this time wee haue to write, as concerning *Ieroboam*.

As touching *Roboam Salomons* sonne (who was King of the two Tribes, as wee haue before
 this declared) hee builded these great and strong Cities, Bethleem, Itama, Thecos, Bethsur, So-
 coth, Odolam, Epan, Marefa, Zipha, Adoraim, Lachis, Zipha, Saraim, Elon, and Hebron,
 which

OF THE IEWEES. THE VII. BOOKE.

A which being within the confines of Iuda, hee builded first. Hee builded also other great Cities in
 the countrey of the Beniamites, which hee walled, and placed garrisons and garrisons in euery
 one of them, & great store of corne, wine and oyle, and generally in euery Citie he made a great
 store house with all sorts of provision, and victuals, with an infinite number of targets & lances.
 To him the Priests and Leuites annexed themselves, who were dispersed thorow Iuda, who
 came and dwelt in Ierusalem, for they took no pleasure to adore by compulsion those places
 that *Ieroboam* had erected, and during the terme of three yeeres, they increased the kingdome
 of *Roboam*: who being married to one of his own line had three children, & was afterwards mar-
 ried also with *Machab*, the daughter of *Thamar*, daughter to *Abialan*, who was of hisp marriage
 likewise of whom he begat his sonne called *Abialan*. Hee had also diuers other children by other
 women, but above all the rest hee loued *Machab* most tenderly. Hee had eighteene legitimate wiues,
 married vnto him according to the law, and thirty concubines, hee had eight and twenty sonnes,
 and threecore daughters, & declared for his successor in the kingdome *Abialan* the son of *Machab*,
 and committed all his treasures & strong forres vnto his hands. But *Roboam* was most wholly
 corrupted by the vnward flatteries of waiering fortune, as appeareth by this King. For *Robo-
 am* seeing his kingdome thus increased, he bent himselfe to all vniust and impious actions, and
 contemned the seruice of God: the people also conformed themselves to his impieties. For the
 life of the subiect is oftentimes peruered by reason of the corrupt & dissolute life of their prin-
 ces; and those that are inferiours, beholding the vray of their superiours, willingly bee with-
 drawne from all modestie and follow the vices they professe, as if they had bene their profes-
 sed vertues: for should they doe the contrary, they should seeme to diannull and mislike the ac-
 tions of their Princes: As it hapned vnder the government of *Roboam*, wherein the subiects ad-
 dicted themselves to impietie, and all errors: for they would not make profession of honestie,
 for feare least they should seeme to studie the meanes to be offensive vnto the king.

CHAP. III.

Sufac king of Egypt after the spoile of Ierusalem, transporteth the riches of that
 Citie into Egypt.

BUT God sent *Sufac* king of Egypt to take vengeance for that excesse, which was committ-
 ed against his maiestie by *Roboam* (whose actions *Herodotus* wrongfully ascribeth to
Sesoftris.) For this *Sufac* in the fift yeere of *Roboam*, raigne assembled a huge army of
 diuers thousands of men, and brought them out against *Roboam*: wherein it is reported that he
 had twelue hundred chariots, threecore thousand horsemen, & foure hundred thousand foot-
 men. The greater part of these were Libyans and Ethiopians, breaking in therefore into the
 Hebrewes countrey with this power, without stroke striking hee seized the strongest places of
 the kingdome of *Roboam*, and fortified them, and at last came and incamped before Ierusalem.
 But *Roboam* and his associates, seeing themselves begirt with a strong siege on euery side by *Su-
 facs* army; at last had his recourse vnto prayers: yet could he not moue God to encline & fauour
 him with the victorie. For the prophet *Samas* threatned and told him, that God would aban-
 don both him and his, in like sort, as they had forsaken him and his seruice. Which when they
 heard, they sodainly lost their hearts, and seeing no meanes to escape, they all of them began to
 confesse that God had iustly forsaken them, because they had shewed their impietie against him,
 and had peruered all his lawes. But God seeing them thus disposed, and making confession of
 their sinnes, said vnto the Prophet, that he would utterly destroy them: yet notwithstanding
 that he would deliuer them into the hands of the Egyptians, to the end that they might learne
 whether it were more difficult to serue God, or men. When as therefore king *Sufac* had without
 bloudshed or resist taken and surprised the Citie, and was receiued into the same by discomfited
Roboam; hee kept not those conventions that were made betwixt them, but spoiled the temple,
 and tooke away with him those treasures that were dedicated vnto God, and the seruice of the
 King, rauishing from thence innumerable thousands of golde and of silver, nor leauing any-
 thing behind him. Hee carried away also those Targets and bucklers of gold, which were made
 by King *Salomon*: neither left he behind him the quier of gold, which was offered by *Dauid*, &
 receiued by him of the king of Sophena: Which done, he retired back againe into his own coun-
 trey. Of this expedition *Herodotus* of Halicarnassus make mention (who differeth only in the
 name of the king) and saith that he assailed diuers nations, and subdued Palestina and Syria, and
 tooke

Alias, chap. 9. Sufac inua- deith Iudea with great forces.

Ierusalem be- sieged.

Samas the Prophet re- prehendeth the Iewes of their impietie.

Samas com- forth the people.

Ierusalem and the temple are spoiled.

1. Reg. 14. What Herodo- tus wrote of this expedi- tion.

110

The year of the
world 2975. be-
fore Christ
birth; 989.
Roboam for
the golden
shields and
bucklers, mak-
eth new of
brasse.
Roboam dieth
and Abias
reigneth after
him.
The year of the
world 2988. be-
fore Christ birth
976.
Hedio & Ru-
finus chap. 11.
3. Reg. 14.
Ieroboams
impietie.

Ieroboams
son falleth sick
his mother is
sent to Achias
the Prophet.

The punish-
ment of Iero-
boam and the
miserie of the
people fore-
prophecied.

ooke many men prisoners without any resist: whereby it is manifest that he meant no less the
that our nation hath been overcome by the Egyptian. For hee saith that in their gates who yet
ded themselves vnto him without inforcement, he erected pillars which were figured with the
secret parts of a woman. But our king *Roboam* yielded vnto the Cittie into his hands without con-
tradiction. It is said that the Ethiopians haue learnt of the Egyptians the vie of circucision of the
prepuce. For the Phelicians and Syrians that are in Palestine, confesse that they haue learnt of
the Egyptians. But it is a matter very manifest, that no other are circumcised in Palestine of Sy-
ria, but our selues. But let each one speake of these things, according as his list.

After the death of *Sisac*, king *Roboam* made shields and bucklers of brasse, in stead of those of
gold, and gaue the like number vnto his guard, and in stead of sitting in a braue army, in a roiall &
princely estate, he reigned after a feeble and fearefull manner, being all his lifetime enemy to
Roboam. He died after he had liued fiftie seauen yeeres, whereof hee reigned 17. Hee was a haugh-
tie and vndiscreet man, who lost his estate, because he wold not giue credit to his fathers friends.

Hee was buried in Ierusalem in the sepulcher of the kings, and his sonne *Abias* succeeded him in
his raigne, at such time as *Ieroboam* had already reigned eightene yeeres ouer the tenne tribes.

Thus were these things terminated. It behoueth now at this present to declare that which *Iero-
boam* did afterwards, and how he died. He, obseruing no meane or end of his impietie, imployed
himselfe continually in making of Altars and high places, and presumed to ordaine common sa-
crificers. But God with-held not long time to heape the punishment of those his impieties on the

head of him, and of all his posteritie. Whereas therefore his sonne *Obimes* was sicke about that
time, he commaunded his wife to lay aside her royall garment, and to apparrell herselfe like a co-
mon woman, and afterwards to goe to *Achias* the Prophet, assuring her that hee was admirable
for his knowledge in foretelling things to come, & had foretold him that hee should be king: for
which cause he willed her to repaire vnto him after the manner of a stranger, and enquire of him
if her sonne should escape that sicknes. Whereupon shee disguised her selfe according as her hus-
band had commaunded her, and came vnto the Cittie of Silo where *Achias* dwelt: and as she was
vpon entering his house (notwithstanding hee had lost his sight thorow age) God appeared vnto
him, and certified him in these two points: first that *Ieroboams* wife came vnto him; and next,
all that he should answere to her demaund. At such time therefore as shee entered into his house,

after the guile of a common and strange woman, *Achias* cried with a loud voice, Enter thou wife
of *Ieroboam*, wherefore hidest thou thy selfe? Thou canst not hide thy selfe from God, who hath
certified me of thy coming, and hath informed me what answere I shall giue vnto thee. Hee
therefore said vnto her, that she should returne vnto her husband, and certifie him of Gods an-
swere to this effect: Of little and nothing that thou wert, I haue made thee great; & hauing dis-
membred the kingdom from *Dauids* posteritie, I haue giuen it vnto thee: but thou hast forgot-
ten the same; and hauing forsaken my seruice, hast molten downe new gods, whom thou hono-
rest: so also will I exterminate thee, and abolish all thy posteritie, and cast them off for a prey vn-
to dogs, and fowles of the aire. For I will constitute a king ouer my people that shall leaue no one
of *Ieroboams* race alieue. The people also shall haue part of this punishment, & shall be deprived of
this their fruitfull country, and be scattered among the regions on the other side of Euphrates, be-
cause they haue followed the impieties of their king, and adoring those gods that were forged by
him, haue giuen ouer my sacrifice. And, as concerning thy selfe (O woman) haste thee, and cer-
tifie thy husband of these things. For thou shalt find thy son dead; for no sooner shalt thou en-
ter into the Cittie, but he shall finish his daies. Hee shall be buried with the lamentation of the
whole people in generall. For he onely was good of all the race of *Ieroboam*.

When *Achias* had finished his prophetic, the woman started backe, sore troubled and dis-
maied throw the danger of her son, and went lamenting onward on her way, wounded with the
future death of him, & by reason of her so earnest affection, she was afflicted with incredible tor-
ments. The haste which the vied was importunate, because of her son whom she should see dead;
by so much the sooner she hastened homeward, but it behoued her to vie expedition in the behalfe
of her husband. Whenas therefore she was arrived, she found her sonne expiring, as the Prophet
had foretold her, and recited the rest vnto *Ieroboam*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*Ieroboams expedition against the sonne of Roboam, the overthrow of his armie,
and how Balances reuered out the whole posteritie of Ieroboam, and
made himselfe king.*

B

Ieroboam was nothing moued heere with, but leuied a great armie, with an intent
to make warre against *Abias* the son of *Roboam*, who had obtained his fathers king-
dome ouer the two tribes. For he despised him because he was young in yeeres. This
notwithstanding, the young king was no whit dismayd (although hee vnderstood of

Abias comming) but with greater wisdom then was incident to his yeeres, and beyond all
expectation of his forward aduersarie, he leuied an armie of two tribes, with which hee encoun-
tered *Ieroboam* at the mountaine of Samaria; where incamping his host neere vnto him, hee pro-
vided all things in a readinesse that were requisite for the battell, & had with him foure hundred
thousand fighting men, but *Ieroboam* had twice as many. Now when the armies were arranged,
and expected to giue the allarum and charge, *Abias* stood vp in a certaine high place fro whence
he might be seene and heard, and making a signe with his hand, he required that *Ieroboam* & the
people would first of all heare him peaceably: which granted to him, and each one attending in
silence, he brake out into these words; There is none of you but knoweth, that God hath prom-
ised the kingdom to *Dauid* & his posteritie for euer; I therefore greatly admire how you haue

reuelted from my father, to submit your selues to *Ieroboam* his seruant, whom at this present you
accompany to warre against those whom God hath ordained to raigne, and to take the kingdom
from them, the greater part whereof *Ieroboam* vsurpeth vniuistly euen at this day; and which, as I
suppose he shall not enioy long time. For he shall be punished by God, and shall cease to contra-
dict his lawes, and to dishonour them as hee doth continually, in perswading you to doe the like.

You haue receiued no iniurie at my fathers hands: but by reason that hee was misled by the fini-
ster counsailes of certaine wicked persons, & spake vnto you certaine words which in apparence
seemed vsfitting in your eares, you haue forsaken him in your displeasure: but in effect, you haue
separated your selues from God and his commaundements. Truly you should haue pardoned a
young man vntrained and vntaught in Oratorie, not onely for the rude words which hee vsed,

but although his youth and ignorance should haue moued him to commit some churlish and in-
discreet action and error, yet should you haue endured the same. For the fathers demerits ought
to serue and satisfie the childrens defects. But you haue had no regard of all this, neither then nor
at this present, but lead forth a great armie against vs. But whereupon ground you the hope of
your victorie? Is it on your calues of gold? Is it on your Altars on the mountaines? which are
witnesses of your impietie and irreligion. Is it your great number that surpasseth ours by far, that
maketh you confident? Truly the force of many thousands is of no value, whereas the army fight-
teth in an vniuist quarrell. For in onely iustice and pietie towards God, consisteth the most assured
hope of obtaining victorie ouer a mans enemies: which must needs bee on our side, who obserue
at all times the ordinances and seruices of our God, who mens hands haue not fashioned of cor-
ruptible matter, nor the subtiltie of a cunning king could not forge to deceiue a comunalitie, but
such a one, whose worke is the beginning and ending of all things. I therefore aduise you, that
presentlie you repent your selues, and that taking a better way you desist from your warre, and
acknowledge the lawes of your forefathers; finally, those ordinances, which haue aduanced
you to so great felicitie.

Thus spake *Abias* to the people. But whilst hee yet continued his discourse, *Ieroboam* sent cer-
taine of his souldiers by by-waies to inclose *Abias* within two streights, before his followers
could discouer them. Now when *Abias* was thus inclosed in the midst of his enemies, his
armie began to be discomfited, and to lose their courage: but he encouraged them, & exhorted
them to put their trust in God, who could not be inclosed by his enemies: so that all together ha-
uing called vpon God to assist them, & after that the Priests had sounded the trumpet, they thrust
in amongst their enemies with a great shout, and God so blinded the vnderstanding, & abated the
force of *Ieroboams* souldiers, that they fled: & those on *Abias* side had the vpper hand. Neuer was
there war recorded by the historians either amongst the Greeks or Barbarians, that was pursued
with so great a slaughter as the army of *Ieroboam*: whereby it appeared that this wonderfull and
admirable victorie came fro God. For they discomfited fise hundred thousand of their enemies,
and tooke their most defended places by force and spoiled them. Bethel and Ithan also with their
lands

Abias chap. 5.
The exped-
ition of Ierob-
am against A-
bias king of
Iuda.
Abias leuied
an armie a-
gainst Iero-
boam.

Abias oration
to the He-
brewes, wher-
in he vpbrai-
deth them of
their supersti-
tion, and for-
saking of their
religion.

The year of the world 3008, before Christs birth 954. The death of Abias. 3. Reg. 15. A taking of Iuda. The year of the world 3009, before Christs birth 953. The death of the world 3010, before Christs birth 952. The year of the world 3011, before Christs birth 951.

lands and signories belonging vnto them: so that as long as *Abias* liued, *Ieroboam* was neuer able to get the better of force to raise any power since the losse he receiued. *Abias* suruiued after this his victorie onlie for the space of 3 yeeres; and was buried in Ierusalem, in the Sepulcher of his ancestors, leauing twentie two sonnes and sixteene daughters behind him, all which he began on fortie women. His sonne *Asa* succeeded him in the kingdom; whose mother was called *Maacha*: vnder his government the country of Israel enioyed a firme peace for the terme of ten yeeres. This is that which we haue obserued of *Abias*; sonne of *Roboam*, the sonne of *Solomon*, who reigned in the tenth Tribes died likewise after he had reigned twentie two yeeres, and *Asa* his sonne succeeded him at such time as *Asa* had already reigned two yeeres. The sonne of *Ieroboam* gouerned two yeeres, resembling his father in impietie and wickednesse. During these two yeeres, he made war against *Gabaa*, a Cittie of the Philistines, and encamped thereabout: so that he was forced by being betwixt by the treacherie of a certaine friend of his called *Basa*, the sonne of *Maachabed*. This *Basa* taking possession of the kingdom, exterminated all the posteritie of *Ieroboam*; and it came to passe that they of *Ieroboams* race that did in the Cittie were some in pieces, and deuoured by dogges; and they that were in the fields, were made a prey vnto birds, according as Gods prophet had pronounced. By this meane the house of *Ieroboam* suffered a deserved punishment, for their impietie and wickednesse.

CHAP. VI.

The Ethiopians besiege Ierusalem during the reign of Asa, and are overcome.

Hed to 8. Rub. 6. chap. 11. al. 8. Alias pietie.

R Vt *Asa* king of Ierusalem, was a man of vpright and honest life, and such a one as feared God, neither did he, or enterprised he any thing, that had not a naturall relation to pietie, and the precept of the lawes. Hee corrected whatsoever was vitious and irregular in his kingdom, redressing whatsoever was erroneous in the same, and purging it fro all impietie. Hee had an army of three hundred thousand men of the tribe of Iuda, armed with bucklers and iauelins, and two hundred & fiftie thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, bearing bucklers and bowes. After hee had reigned ten yeeres, *Zareus* king of Ethiopia came out against him, with a great armie of nine hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horsemen, with three hundred chariots, and destroyed all the land as farre as *Marefa*, a Cittie of Iuda: in vvhich place *Asa* came and met with him, and opposed army against army in the valley of *Saphath*, nor farre from the Cittie. Where seeing the great number of the Ethiopians, hee besought God that he would giue him the victorie and slaughter of diuers thousands of his enemies: for he said that he came out against *Zareus*, not assuring himselfe in any other thing, except onely of Gods assistance, who had the power to make a handfull of men superiours ouer many, and the feeble to overcome the mightie.

2. Paral. 14. The year of the world 3008, before Christs birth 954.

Asas victorie.

Whilst *Asa* prayed thus vnto God, a certaine signe of victorie was giuen him; so that, reioyced and confirmed in that God had giuen him a token that he wold assit him, he assailed his enemies, and slew a great number of the Ethiopians: as for the rest that were put to flight, he pursued them as farre as the country of *Gerar*; and after they had conquered their enemies, they sacked the citie of *Gerar*, and brought from thence a great masse of gold, and a huge quantitie of bootie, with Cantels, dromodaries, and herds of diuers kinds of cattell.

The exhortation of Azari as the prophet.

2. Paral. 15.

When *Asa* and his had thus by this meane obtained at Gods hands such a victorie, & so great riches, they returned back againe to Ierusalem: & when they drew neere vnto the citie, the prophet *Azarias* came out to meet them, who staid them, and beganne after this manner to speake vnto them: That sith they had obtained from God so notable a victorie, they ought to behaue themselves like vertuous men, and such as feared God, conforming themselves vnto his will in all things; protesting that if they persisted in the same, God would giue them the continuall victory ouer their enemies; and besides that, happy life: but if they forooke the seruice of God, that all things should fall out contrarie vnto them. That the time should come, when neither true Prophet or priest should be found amongst them, that should instruct them in righteousnesse, when their Citties should be ouerthrowne, & their nation should be scattered ouer the face of the whole earth, and liue like wanderers and vagabonds. In the meane while therefore, while they had time, he counsell'd them to liue vprightly, wishing them that they would not deprime themselves of that fauour which God bare vnto them. When the King and all the people heard these words, they were very ioyfull, and euery one both in generall and particular, were carefull to serue God. The King

A King also sent out certaine Deputies ouer the countrey, who were charged to see the lawes due obserued and executed. In this estate were the affaires of *Asa* king of the two Tribes.

Now will I returne to *Basa* king of the multitude of Israel, who (hauing slaine *Adab* the son of *Ieroboam*) vsurped the kingdom. He made his aboad in the citie of *Therla*, and reigned foure and twentie yeeres, shewing himselfe more wicked & impious, then either *Ieroboam* or his sonne had bin. He plagued the people many waies, & dishonoured God very greatly, who sent the prophet *Gimon* vnto him, to foretell him that his whole race should perill, and that his house should be persecuted with as many miseries as himselfe had inflicted on *Ieroboams* posteritie: because that hauing receiued the government from God, hee shewed himselfe vngratefull vnto him for his goodnesse, and gouerned his people impiously and vnjustly: whereas iustice & pietie are both

B profitable vnto those that practise them, and wel-pleasing vnto God. Further, in that he had conformed himselfe in life, to the dissolute course that *Ieroboam* vsed, and was wholly contaminated with all his vices, hee might assure himselfe that resembling him in wickednesse, hee should undoubtedly equall him in punishment. When *Basa* heard all those euils (that should shortly fall on him and his posteritie, by reason of his wickednesse) hee redeemed not the time, neither deuoured himselfe to gaine the reputation of a reconciled life, or to obtaine pardon at Gods hands, by repenting himselfe of his forepassed sins: but euen as they that haue a recompence propoied vnto them to make them more affectionate in exploiting any thing, do diligently incauour themselves to performe the same: so *Basa*, notwithstanding the Prophet had fore-told him of that which should happen, persisted in his wickednesse as if it had been in vertue, and became worke

C and worse, to the vtter ruine and confusion both of him and his household: & daily added himselfe vnto all wickednesse, with no lesse greedinesse, then if hee had enterprised to beare away the honour in such a combat. In the end he assembled an armie, & assailed *Ramath* once more, which was a great Cittie some foure leagues distant off of Ierusalem: which he tooke, and determined to leaue a garrison therein, and fortified the same; with a resolution, from thence to make his roads into *Asas* kingdom. But *Asa* fearing the inuasion of his enemy, & considering that the souldiers vvho were left in *Ramath*, did most grieuouly spoile all the dominions that were vnder him, sent Embassadors to the king of *Damasco* with gold and siluer, to induce him to a societie in warre, and to renew that amitie betwene them, which was confirmed betwixt both their fathers. Who willingly receiued those treasures that were sent him, and made a league with him, and brake the truce which he had with *Basa*: so that he sent the gouernours of his dominions against those citie that were vnder *Basas* subiection, with commandement to destroy them.

D Of these they burned some, and ranlacked other some, amongst which were *Elon*, *Dan*, and *Abellane*. Which when the King of Israel vnderstood, he gaue ouer the fortifying of *Ramath*, and with all expedition returned to yeeld those of his subiects his assistance, who were vtterly distracted. But *Asa* in the meane while builded two strong townes, *Gabath* and *Maspha*, of that stuffe which *Basa* had prepared to build withall. *Basa* afterwards (preuented by the common debt of death) had no more opportunitie to make warre against *Asa*. He was buried in the Cittie of *Arsane*, and his sonne *Elia* succeeded him in the kingdom: who after he had reigned some two yeeres, was traiterously slaine by *Zamri*, a captain of a halfe regiment of horsemen. For whilst *Elia* banquetted with *Ofa*, vvho was the Steward of his house, *Zamri* wrought so effectually, that he perswaded some of his horsemen to assault *Elia*, who at that time was alone, and destitute of men of war and captaines; for that all of them were at the siege of *Gabathon*, a citie of the Philistines.

CHAP. VII.

Basies offspring being extinct among the Israelites, Zamri reigned in Israel; and after him Amri, and his sonne Achab.

F After that *Elia* was slaine, *Zamri* tooke the kingdom vpon him, & wholly rooted out *Basas* posteritie (according as the prophet *Gimon* had foretold.) For after the same manner was his family vtterly ouerthrowne for their impietie, as *Ieroboams* progenie was extinguished for their iniquitie (as we haue to-fore-time declared.) For the army which besieged *Gabathon*, hearing newes of the kings death, and that *Zamri* had murdered him, and seised the kingdom, they made *Amri* generall of the army, and annointed him for their king: vvho leuying the siege before *Gabathon*, came before the royall citie of *Therla*, which hee besieged & tooke perforce. *Zamri* seeing the citie destitute of defence, had retired himselfe into the most

The year of the world 3008, before Christs birth 954. Religion renewed in Israel. Basas impietie. 3. Reg. 16. A prophetic against Basa.

Basa surprised Ramath, and fortified it. The year of the world 3008, before Christs birth 958. Asa incited those of Damasco to invade Basa. The year of the world 3016, before Christs birth 948. Alias, chap. 9. The death of Basa.

The year of the world 3017, before Christs birth 947. Basas stock destroyed.

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The yeere of the world, 3017. before Christs Natinitie, 947. Diuers factions of the people. Amri king of Israel.

The yeere of the world, 3021. before Christs Natinitie, 943.

Amri dieth, & Achab his son succedeth him.

The yeere of the world, 3028. before Christs birth, 936.

Alias, chap. 10. Ala dieth, Iosaphat succedeth him.

The yeere of the world, 3031. before Christs birth, 933.

Jezebel. 3. Reg. 17. The death of Jezebel prophesied to the Israelites.

The yeere of the world, 3037. before Christs birth, 927.

Crowes feede Elias. The widow of Sareptha entertaining Elias, neither faile.

Menander of the famine during the time of Elias.

most secret and retired place of the palace; where setting it on fire, he burned both himselfe and it, after he had reigned seauen daies. Suddainly after this, the Israelites fell at controuersie amongst themselves, because that some of them sought to preferre *Thaman* to the kingdom, and others were wholly addicted to *Amri*; but they of *Amris* side had the better, and being of the better sort, slew *Thaman*, and made *Amri* soueraigne over the people. The thirteenth yeere of *Asa*, *Amri* began his raigne, and was king for twelue yeeres space; sixe yeeres gouerned he in Thersa; and fixe in Marcon (which the Greekes call Samaria) himselfe imposed this name of Samaria, calling it by the name of Samar, who had giuen him the land on which he builded this Citie. Hee differed in nothing from the other kings his predecessors, but in that he was worse then any of the other; for all of them buied their heads on this thing onely, that by daily impieties they might alienate the people from God. For which cause God being displeased, caused the one of them to cut off the other; and finally extinguished both the posteritie and name of one another. This *Amri* died in Samaria, and *Achab* his sonne was his successor.

Heereby a man may truly and easily perceiue, what care the diuine maiestic hath of humane affaires, & how he loucheth the virtuous, & vicerly rooteth out the vicious. For the kings of Israel, through their impietie, in a short and successiue course the one after the other, were cut off and confounded with all their families. But *Asa* (king of Ierusalem and the two Tribes) liuing happily in the fauour of God, for his pietie and iustice attained to a reuerend and old age: and after he had reigned one and fortie yeeres, he died a good death. And after his decease, *Iosaphat* his sonne (whom hee begat on his mother *Abida*) succeeded him; who in all things that concerned either pietie or fortitude, seemed to emulate & equall his grandfather *Dauid*, according as it shall be declared heereafter. But *Achab* king of Israel made his aboad in Samaria, & gouerned the kingdom for the space of twentie two yeeres, without any alteration of those ordinances which his progenitors kings of Israel had established; but that he exceeded them daily in complotting worse wickednesse. For he imitated all their impieties and wickednesse (but especially the Apostasie of *Ieroboam*) for he adored those calues that were erected by him; and besides that, hee added farre worse impieties then the former. He rooke to wife *Jezebel* the daughter of *Itobal* king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, of whom hee learned to adore the gods of her nation: for shee was a busie and audacious woman, and of such immeasurable madnesse, that shee feared not to build a temple in honour of *Bel* the god of the Tyrians, and to plant a wood furnished with all kind of trees, and to ordaine priests and false prophets also in honor of that god. The king also rooked light to haue these kinds of men oftentimes about him, exceeding all other kings before him in madnesse & malice. To him came a certaine prophet sent by the Almighty God, that was borne in Thesbon in Galaad, telling him that he foreprophesied, that neither dew nor rain should fall on the earth a long time, vntil that himselfe, who was prepared to depart from him, should appeare againe vnto him: and binding the same with an oath (for the better confirmation thereof) he retired himselfe to the Southward, where he liued by a certaine riuer, from whence hee fetcht his drinke: for his meat was daily brought him by certaine Crowes.

Now when the riuer thorow want of raine was waxen dry, God commanded him to repaire vnto Sareptha (a Citie not farre from Sidon and Tyre, and situate in the midst betweene them both) where he should find a widow woman, who should furnish him with food. As soone therefore as he drew neere vnto the gate, he saw a woman that liued by her labour, gathering of sticks; and God gaue him to vnderstand that it was she who should nourish him. Whereupon hee came vnto her and saluted her, praying her that she would bring him some water to coole his thirst; & as she was ready to depart, he called her backe againe, and willed her to bring him some bread also. Whereupon she swore that shee had nothing in her house, but a handfull of flower and a little oyle, and that she was come forth to gather sticks, to the end she might bake the same, and make bread for her selfe and her sonne, and when they had eaten the same, they must needly perish thorow famine, because they had not any thing more left them. Go, said the Prophet, and be of good courage, and conceiue better hopes, and when thou hast prepared meate for me, bring it me: for I tell thee that thy pitcher of meale shall neither faile, nor thy pot of oyle be empty, vntill that God send raine vpon the earth. When the Prophet had spoken thus, shee approached neere vnto him, and performed that which he commanded, and she herselfe had sufficient to feed vpon, and shee gaue the rest vnto her sonne and to the Prophet: so that they wanted nothing so long as the drought continued.

Menander maketh mention of this default of raine, in the acts of *Itobal* king of the Tyrians, speaking after this manner. In this time there was a season without raine, from the moneth of October

A October vntill October in the next yeere after, but vpon his supplication and request there fell great store of thunder. He builded the citie of Botris in Phenicia & Auzate in Libya. Doubtlesse he expressed heereby the drought that hapned in *Achabs* time: for about that time *Itobale* reigned over the Tyrians, as *Menander* testifieth in his historie. This woman (of whom we haue spoken heretofore, that nourished the Prophet) seeing her sonne fallen sick, & lying senselesse, as if he had been already dead, or yielding vp of the ghost; wept, and brake out into such passionate lamentations, as were answerable to her desolate estate; & said, that the cause of her misfortune was, in that the Prophet was come into her house, and had discovered her sinnes, and that for the same cause her sonne was dead. But he recomfited her, and willed her to be of a good courage, and commanded her to bring the child vnto him, assuring her that he would restore him to life.

B Now when she had brought him, hee rooke the child and bare him into his lodging where hee remained, and laid him on his bed, and cried out vnto God, saying, that he had but slenderie recompensed her that had receiued and nourished him, if so be her sonne should be taken from her: he therefore besought him, that he would returne the soule into the body, and restore life vnto the infant. Whereupon, G O D hauing compassion on the mother, and being willing to gratifie the Prophet, and to the intent that no man might suppose that hee came vnto her to endamage her; he restored the child to life beyond all expectation. For which the mother gaue thanks vnto the Prophet, saying, that by this meanes she was thorowly perswaded, that G O D had (spoken vnto him. Not long after, he sought out *Achab*, according as God had commanded him, to let him vnderstand that he should haue raine. At that time the famine reigned over the whole country, Elias is sent by God to prophesie raine to Achab.

C and there was great want of necessary victuals; so that men did not onely faint for want of bread, but the earth also for want of raine, could not bring forth that which was requisite for the sustenance of horses and other cattell. The king therefore calling *Obediah* vnto him (who was the master of his herds) hee commanded him that hee should each way seeke out for fountaines and brookes, willing him that if he found out any grasse, he should mowe the same, and giue it to his cattell for their sustenance. And whereas by his command the Prophet *Elias* was sought in diuers places, and could not be found: he willed *Obediah* also to follow him. So taking both of them seuerall waies, the king followed one, and the maister of the cattell another.

This *Obediah* was a godly and vertuous man, who when the Prophets were put to death, hid one hundred of them in dens, and sustained them with bread and water. After this man was departed from the king, *Elias* met with him and asked him what he was: which when he had certified him, he humbled himselfe on his face before him, *Elias* commanded him to repaire vnto the king, and to certifie him that he was hard at hand. *Obediah* asked him wherein hee had offended him, that he would make him a minister and messenger vnto him, who had sought to kill him, & had by-laid the country to apprehend him? For there was not any streight, whither he sent not some of his men to find out *Elias*, with charge, that if they found him, they should put him to death. Now it may so be (said he) that whilst I repaire vnto the king, the spirit of G O D wherewith thou art fulfilled, will carry thee away, and the king not finding thee heere, and frustrate of his desire, will reuenge himselfe on my head. Be thou not therefore so secure by my danger, whereas thou maist knowe how carefull I am of such holy men as thou art, who haue deliuered a hundred Prophets from *Jezebels* furie, and now at this time conceale and sustaine them in secret places. Notwithstanding all these words, *Elias* commanded him to repaire vnto the king, & to cast off all feare, swearing vnto him by an oath, how that day he would make himselfe seen & known vnto *Achab*.

When *Obediah* had certified the king that *Elias* was at hand, *Achab* went out to meet him, and being fraught with indignation, said vnto him. Is it thou that heapest so much mischief on the Hebrewes heads? Art thou the man that art the cause of this sterilitie? To whom *Elias* replied without flattering him any waies, that it was he and his race that were the occasions of these mischiefs, because they had brought strange Gods into their country; whom they adored, and had forsaken the true God, who was and is onely to be worshipped. He therefore willed him presently to assemble all the people on the mount Carmel, & bring with him his wife and her prophets, whose number he reckoned vp: the Prophets likewise of the woods, who were in number foure hundred. When as therefore all of them being summoned by the king were gathered together in that place: *Elias* stood vp in the midst of them and said; How long will you liue thus, hauing both your soules and opinions dismembered and diuided? For, if you thinke that the Hebrewes God is the true and onely G O D; why follow you him not? and why keepe you not his commandments? But if you thinke that the honor belongeth not to him, but to forraine gods

The yeere of the world, 3037. before Christs Natinitie, 927.

Elias restoreth the widowes sonne to life. 3. Reg. 18.

Elias is sent by God to prophesie raine to Achab. The yeere of the world, 3040. before Christs Natinitie, 924. Achab seeketh for Elias.

Obediah concealeth & sustaineth a hundred prophets.

Achab accuseth Elias of impietie.

Elias reproacheth the superstition of the people.

The voice of the
world, 3c 10. 6c
for Christ's 2c
writing, 2c 7.

gods, follow you them. When *Elias* perceived that the people replied nothing heereunto, hee C
praised them (in confirmation of that infinite and distinct power of God frō that of strange gods)
that whereas he was but one onely Prophet of the true GOD at that time present, and the other
were foure hundred that worshipped the false; that he might take an Oxe and kill the same, and
lay it vpon wood, without putting any fire thereto to consume the sacrifice; and that they also
might doe the like, and call vpon their gods, and beseech them to send downe fire to consume
their sacrifice: which if they should do & confirme the same by miracle, that then the true nature
of their gods should be knowne.

This counsell of his was generally allowed. Whereupon, *Elias* commaunded the false Pro-
phets first of all to chuse themselves an Oxe, and to kill the same, and afterwards to call vpon the
assistance of their gods: and when it manifestly appeared that their prayer and inuocation was of H
no force; *Elias* began to mock them, saying, Why call you not out vpon your gods with aloud
voice? for it may be they are on some voyage, or else happellie they sleep. Whilst thus they had in-
uocated from the morning vntill mid-day (cutting themselves with kniues and launcers, ac-
cording to the custome of their country) *Elias* that was to make his sacrifice, commaunded the false
Prophets to stand aside, willing the people to draw neere vnto him, and obserue, for feare lest
secretlie he should conuey fire vnder the wood. When the people were approached, hee tooke 12

Elias doctrine
and office co-
firmed by mi-
racle.

Fire from hea-
uen deuoureth
the sacrifice.

Re's priests
saine.
Elias forepro-
phetieth raine.

3. Reg. 10.

Elias flieth
from *Iezabel*.

Gods care for
his seruants.

God speaketh
to *Elias* in the
desert.

stones, according to the number of the twelue tribes of Israel, and made an Altar, and digged a
deepe trench round about the same; and afterwards heaping wood vpon the Altar, and laying
his sacrifice thereupon, he commaunded them to fill foure tunnes with fountaine water, and to
poure it vpon the Altar, in such sort as the trench might receiue and drinke vp the water. Which I
done, he began to pray and call vpon God, beseeching him that it might please him to manifest
his power vnto his people, who had so long time run astray: no sooner had he finished his prayer,
but fire fell from heauen vpon the Altar in the sight of all the people, and consumed all the sacri-
fice; so that the water was consumed, and the place dried vp. Which when the Israelites beheld,
they fel down on their faces vpon the earth, adoring one onely God: confessing him to bee the
most mighty & onely true God, & auowing that all other were but forged names, and fruits of an
euil & truthlesse opinion; & laying hands themselves vpon their false Prophets, they slew them by
the commandment of *Elias*. He willed the king also to depart, and take his refection, and to take
care for nothing, because he should very shortly see that God wold send him raine; & thus depart-
ed *Achab* from him. But *Elias* ascended the top of the mount Carmel, and sate him down on the K
earth, leaning his head vpon his knees: whilst thus he sate, hee commaunded his seruant also to get
vp vpon a certaine rock, & to look towards the sea, & to tell him if he saw any cloudes arise in any
part (for till that time the ayre had bin alwaies cleere.) His seruant hauing often ascended the rock,
and returned him answere that hee saw nothing: at length mounting vp the seauenth time, in-
descending he returned him this newes; that hee saw some blacke appearance in the ayre, not much
vnlike vnto a mans footstep. When *Elias* vnderstood this, he sent vnto *Achab*, wishing him to re-
tire himselfe within the Cittie before the raine fel: who had no sooner recouered the cittie of *Iez-
rael*, but that the aire was presently clouded & couered with a shower, & a vehement wind inter-
mixed with raine fell vpon the earth, and the Prophet seised by the spirit of God, ranne vvith the
kings chariot as far as *Iezrael* a citie of Asser. When *Iezabel*, *Achab*s wife, had notice what won-
ders *Elias* had performed, and how he had slaine her prophets, she was sore displeased, & sent mes-
sengers vnto him, threatening him in like sort to reuenge her selfe on him, as he had slaine her Pro-
phets. Vvich for that *Elias* feared, he fled into the citie of Bersabee, which is vpon the borders of
the tribe of Iuda, bounding vpon Idumaea: in which place he left his seruant, & retired himselfe in-
to the desert: where, whilst he praised God that he would take him out of the world, by reason he
was not better then others, for which cause he should desire to liue after them, he fel asleep vnder
a certain tree, & after that some one had awaked him, he arose & found bread & water ready pre-
pared, by him. Vvhen as therefore he had eaten and was recomfited, hee went vnto the Mount
Sinai (where it is said that *Moses* receiued the lawes from God) where finding out a hollow caue,
he entred into it, and remained therein. And being demaunded by a certaine voice which spake M
vnto him, he knew not from whence, wherefore he remained in that place, and forsooke the citi-
tie; He answered, for that he had slaine the prophets of the false gods, and for that he had perswa-
ded the people that there was but one onely God, who ought to be honoured by all men; & that
for this cause he was sought for by the kings wife, that he might be done to death. The voice re-
plied againe, and commaunded him to shew himselfe openly, assuring him that he should vnder-
stand that which it behoued him to performe.

Hereupon,

The year of the
world 3040 be-
fore Christ's birth,
924
Iehu king of
Israel.
*Eli*zeus cal-
ling.

Hereupon as soone as it was day, hee forsooke the caue, hee heard an earthquake, and saw a
light: and after all things were appeased, the heauenly voice which proceeded he knew not from
whence, willed him, that he should in no waies be discomfited with that which he saw: for that
no one of his enemies should haue power to hurt him, charging him to return vnto his house, to
the intent to proclaime *Iehu* the son of *Nimsi* king of the people, and *Azrael* of Damascus king of
the Syrians; certifying him that in his place, *Eli*zeus of the citie of Abela should be Prophet; and
that the wicked people should be destroyed, the one by *Azrael*, & the other by *Iehu*. When *Elias*
had heard these things, he returned into the country of the Hebrewes, and met *Eli*zeus the son
of *Saphat* at the cart, and with him diuers others driuing before them twelue couple of oxen: him
did he approche, and cast vpon him his garment, who instantly began thereupon to propheteize,
so that forsaking his oxen, he followed *Elias*. Yet required he him, that before his departure, hee
might take leaue of his parents; which licence when he had obtained, he committed them vnto
God and followed *Elias*, attending on him during all the terme of his life like his discipule & ser-
uant. This issue had the affaires of this so excellent a Prophet. But a certaine Citizen called *Na-
both* of the Citie of Azar, had a vineyard neere vnto the lands of Achab, who required him that
hee would sell him the same, at what price he thought conuenient at his owne election, to the in-
tent he might annex the same to his owne lands, and make them all but one possession: wishing
him, that if he would not sell it him for siluer, to choose in exchange thereof, any one field of his
that best liked him. *Naboth* answered him, that he would not doe it, but that hee intended to ga-
ther the fruit of his owne land himselfe, which he had receiued as an inheritance from his father.
C The king no lesse tormented then if he had lost his owne inheritance (in that hee might not bee
master of an other mans patrimony) would neither wash nor receiue any sustenance. For which
cause *Iezabel* his wife questioned with him as touching the cause of his discontent, and how it
came to passe that he neither walt, din'd, nor slept: who told her of *Naboth*s rude behaviour,
and how hauing vsed all iust & reasonable composition vnto him, in abasing himselfe more then
his royall authoritie permitted, he had been outraged by him, in that hee obtained nor the thing
which hee requested at his hands. Hereupon *Iezabel* willed him to be of good cheere, aduising
him, that dismissing his displeasure hee should continue his ordinarie entertainment, because she
her selfe would take vpon her to reuenge him on *Naboth*. Whereupon she presently sent letters in
*Achab*s name to the gouernours of the country, whereby she enioyned them to celebrate a fast,
and to assemble the people, charging them that in that place *Naboth* should haue a seate prepared
for him, by reason of his birth & nobilitie; willing them afterwards, that suborning three impu-
dent and false witnesses to depose against him, that he had blasphemed against God and the king:
they should by this means and for this occasion, cause him to be stoned and put to death by the
people. All which was performed, according as the Queene had written, and *Naboth* (conuin-
ced by false witness, for scandalizing both God and the King) was stoned by the people and
put to death. When *Iezabel* had tidings hereof, she repaired to the kings presence, and tolde him
that he should enioy *Naboth*s vineyard, and disburse nothing for the same.

But God displeased with this her wickednesse, sent the Prophet *Elias* purposely to meete with *Elias* proph-
Achab in *Naboth*s ground, and to tell him that hee iniustly possessed the lawfull inheritance of et
a legitimate heire, whom he had done to death. As soone as the king perceiued that he came vn-
to him, supposing it to be vnseemely for a king to be reprov'd, hee first of all confessed the fault,
and offered him to make restitution according to his arbitrement. Then did the Prophet foretel
him that in the same place where *Naboth*s carcasse was consumed by dogs, that both his and his
Queenes blood should be shed, and that all his race should be destroyed, for that they durst com-
mit such an impietie, and so wickedly slaughter (against all law) so good and guiltlesse a Citizen.
At length *Achab* vpon these words was seised with displeasure, and repented for the offence hee
had committed: so that apparelling himselfe in sackcloth, and walking barefoote, he tasted not
any meate, but confessed his sinnes, vnder hope to appease Gods wrath. For which cause God Achab's repen-
certified him by the Prophet, that during his life time the punishment of his race should be defer-
red, because hee had repented him of his misdeeds: but that the threats and menaces should take
effect in his sonnes time; all which *Elias* signified vnto the king.

T

CHAP.

Adad king of Damasco and Syria, fighteth at two severall times with Achab, and is overthrowne by him.

3. Reg. 20.
Adads warre
against Achab

The Syrians
embassage to
Achab.

Whilest Achabs affaires were after this manner disposed, the sonne of Adad (that reigned ouer the Syrians, and those of Damasco) assembled the forces of his whole country, and associated with himselfe two and thirtie other kings, with whom he came and made warre against Achab. Who beinge farre inferiour to him in forces, came not out into the open field to bid him battell, but closing vp his souldiers in his strongest cities, he himselfe retired into Samaria (which was begirt with a very strong wall, and generally very hard to be surprised.) For which cause the Syrian (taking his army with him) resorted to Samaria, and encamping before the same, intended to scale and batter the Citie. But first of all hee sent a Herald to Achab, to require him to giue audience to his embassadours which he would send vnto him, by whom he should be certified what his resolution was. As soone as the King of Israel had granted them free access, the embassadours came, and (according to the kings directions) required that Achabs goods, his children and wife should beate Adads command: which if hee would confesse, and suffer him to seize so many of them as best liked him, hee would leaue the siege and batter the Citie no more. Achab gaue the embassadours commission to certifye the King of Syria, that both himselfe, and all whatsoever was his, was at his commaund. Vpon which answer the King sent a second message vnto Achab, enioyning him the next day to admit such of his seruants, as hee should send vnto him, to search his royall palace, and the houses of his friends and kinsmen, and take from thence that which was best liking, and in greatest estimate with them, and leaue the rest with him whereof they made least reckoning.

His answer to
the Legates.

Adads confi-
dence in his
soldiers.

The Israelites
God promi-
seth victory a-
gainst the Sy-
rians.

Achab amazed at this second embassage of the King of Syria, assembled his people, and certified them, that hee was ready to deliuer vp into the enemies hands his wiues and children, for their safetie and repose; & to abandon all that likewise which was in his possession (for that the Syrian had demanded no lesse at his hands in his first embassage: But that now hee required that his seruants might be admitted to ransacke all their houses, to the end they may leaue nothing therein that was worthy regard; willing by this meanes to take a pretext of making warre, knowing well (said he) that I will spare nothing that is mine for your safety. At this present hee profreth and seeketh occasion of hostilitie, proposing vnto you a thing, which is vnpleasing to you all, as touching your goods: notwithstanding, I will doe whatsoever you shall thinke good of. To this the people answered, that they could not endure that any of his demands should be listened vnto, or respected; but that the King should prepare for warre. Whereupon he called for the embassadours and dismissed them with this answer, That they should report vnto their master, that Achab persisted in those things, which first of all were required by him (because he had a desire of the conseruation of his subjects:) but as touching his second demand, that hee would no waies condescend thereunto: and thus sent he them away. When Adad heard this answer, he was sore moued and sent vnto Achab the third time, threatening him that his soldiers should make a bulwarke more highe then the wals (he so much trusted in) yea though only each of the should bring but a handfull of earth, with them (which boast he vied towards him to terrifie him, & to expresse thereby how great a multitude of men he had to oppose against him.) But Achab answered, that he ought not to glory in his army, but that his true glory was, when he had the better in the battell. When the embassadours were returned backe, they found the king at dinner with 32. kings his allies, to whom they made report of Achabs answer. Hereupon Adad gaue commandement to begirt the City with Palliades, and to raise bulwarks of earth, and busily to intend the siege. Whilest these things were in hand, Achab was grievously troubled, and all the people with him: but at length he grew confident, and cast off all his feare, thorow the arriuall of a certaine Prophet, who said vnto him, that God promised to deliuer all those thousands of souldiers, and his boastfull enemies which hee beheld, into his hands. The same Prophet being afterwards de- maunded by him, by whose meanes this victorie might be gained? He said, that it should bee by the sonnes of the gouernours, whom the king himselfe should lead forth, by reason of their vnex- perience. Achab therefore calling vnto him the gouernours sonnes, found that their number amounted to two hundredth thirty & two: & hauing notice that the Syrians intended nought else but pleasure and banquetting, hee opened the Citie gates, and sent these yoong men out against them. Now when the sentinels of the aduerse part had discouered them, they certified Adad ther- of,

A of, who sent out certaine souldiers against them, commanding them that if they were come out in warlike sort to bid the battell, they should bring them vnto him fast bound; and if they came in peace, they should doe the like. Now had Achab within the Citie arraigned another armie, and kept them in a readines. When as therefore the yoong men had charged the Syrian guard, and slaine a great number of them, and had pursued the rest euen vnto their owne camps, Achab spying his present victory and aduantage, caused his whole armie to breake forth; who giuing an vnlooked charge vpon the enemies, discomfited the Syrians (who little expected for such a stratageme from the Hebrewes) and assailed them disarmed and drunken: so that they left both armour and weapon behind them, and fled from their campe; & their king likewise was so hor- ly pursued, that he scarcely had opportunitie to saue himselfe by the swiftnesse of his horse. Achab made a long chace in following the Syrians and slaughtering them that fled: hee spoiled their campe likewise, and carried thence great riches, and a huge quantitie of gold and siluer. He tooke Adads chariots and horses also, and with them returned backe into the citie.

But whereas by the aduice of the said prophet, he was perswaded to prepare and keepe an armie in readines against the next yeere (for that the Syrian was like, nay rather resolved to charge him againe) the King intermitted no preparation that concerned the warre. For Adad (beinge escaped from the fight with those few forces that remained after the battell) consulted with his friends, how hee might warre against the Israelites. Who aduised him from thenceforth neuer more to fight with the in mountainous places, for that their God was powerful vpon the moun- taines, and for that cause they had bene overcome by them: but if hee fought with them in the Plaine, both hee and his should bee assured to haue the vpper hand. Moreouer they counsell- ed him, that he should dismisst those kings that he had confederated with him, to the end that each of them might returne into his owne country, & that in their steede he should retaine their for- ces, ouer which he should ordaine Chiefetaines: besides (to supply their places that were lost) they aduised him to leuy horsmen and chariots thorow at his country. Adad supposing that they had discreetly counsellled him in this matter, ordered and leuyed his armie according as they had aduised him. And as soone as the spring-time was come, he assembled his army, & led them forth against the Israelites; & arriuing neere vnto the citie of Aphec, he incamped in a plaine hard by. Achab with his forces (marching out to meet with him) pitched his tents and arraigned the bat- tell neer vnto him (although he were far inferiour both in force & number.) To him the prophet **D** appeared anew, telling him that God would once more haue the victorie, to make it knowne that his power was not onely in the mountaines (as the Syrians perswaded themselves) but in the Plaines also. Thus continued both the armies, opposed and encamped the one against the other, for the space of six daies. On the seuenth, when the enemy forooke their trenches early in the morning, and placed themselves in battell ray; Achab drew out his army and affronted them, & presently charged them: whereafter a long and dangerous fight betwene them, the enemies were put to flight, and many of them slaine in the chace. For some of them were intangled with their owne chariots, other some slew one another pell-mell; and some few of them found the meanes to flie vnto their citie of Aphec, who persished likewise to the number of seuen and twenty thousand (beinge slaine by the ruine of the walles that fell vpon them) besides one hundredth thousand men that gaue vp the ghost in that fight. But Adad attended by some of his faithful friends, went and hid himselfe in a certaine caue vnder the ground: who protesting vnto him, and concluding amongst themselves, that the kings of Israel were courteous and mercifull; and that there was hope of pardon to be had (if after the manner of suppliants they might be assured and sent vnto him) Adad permitted them: Whereupon they incontinently presented themselves to Achab clothed in sackcloth; & hauing their heads wreathed about with cords (according to the manner of suppliants amongst the Syrians) telling him that Adad beought his maiesty to grant him his life; promising on his behalfe, that from thenceforth hee would alwaies continue his seruant, and acknowledge his fauour. Achab answered them, that it highly contented him that their king was as yet aliue, & had escaped from the furie of the fight, offering him by them **F** that good will & honour, which one brother ought to shew vnto another. After that they drew an oath from Achab, that he should offer him no wrong, if so be he discouered himselfe vnto him, and withal presently resorted vnto Adad, whom they drew out of the place where hee was hidde, and afterwards brought him vnto Achab, who was mounted vpon a chariot. Adad presented himselfe before him: but Achab stretching out his hand made him incontinently mount vp with him into his chariot, and kissed him, willing him to bee of good courage, assuring him that hee should receiue neither iniurie nor iniustice at his hands. Hereupon Adad gaue him thanks; pro- testing

The year of the world, 3041. before Christ's birth, 923.

Achab was reproved for dismissing Adad.

There reward of learned preachers.

The year of the world, 3042. before Christ's birth, 924. Iosaphat's picture. 3. Paral. 17.

The peace in Iosaphat's time.

Iosaphat's armie.

Iosaphat's expedition with Achab against the Syrians. 3. Reg. 22.

testing that during his life time he would neuer be forgetful of his fauours: promising him moreouer to restore vnto him those cities which his predecessors, kings of Syria, had taken from the Israelites. He likewise gaue him power to come into Damasco (in like manner as before time his ancestors had the credite to repaire vnto Samaria.) When these accords were made and confirmed by oath, Achab gaue him many worthy presents, and sent him backe into his kingdom. Thus ended the warre betwixt Adad and the king of the Israelites. After this a certaine prophet called *Micheas* came vnto another Israelite, commanding him to wound him vpon the head, assuring him that God was so pleased, and had so commanded him. When as this Israelite would in no sort condescend hereunto, hee prophesied vnto him, that since he had disobeyed Gods commandment, he should meet with a Lyon, which should rent him in peeces. Which coming to passe, according as it was foretold, the Prophet addressed himselfe again vnto another, commanding him to do the like: and when hee had wounded him in the head, he bound vp the wound & came vnto the king, telling him that hee had bene in warre, & had receiued a prisoner in charge from his Captaines hands: and how that (his prisoner being fled from him) he feared least he that had committed him to his charge, should for that cause take his life from him; the rather for that he had threatned no lesse. Achab answered him, that he was iustly condemned. Whereupon *Micheas* discovered his head, and made it knowne who he was. And to this intent vsed the prophet this policie, that his words might be of greater force and value. For hee told the king that God would bend himselfe against him, because he had permitted the blasphemous *Adad* to depart unpunished; assuring him, that God would cause him to be slaine by *Adad*, and suffer the people of Israel to be slaughtered by the Syrian armie. The king displeased with the libertie and free speech of the Prophet, commanded him to be cast into prison: and being vehemently affrighted with this his prediction, he departed home vnto his house.

CHAP. IX.

Of Iosaphat King of Ierusalem.

Whereto haue we spoken of Achab's estate: but now I must returne vnto Iosaphat king of Ierusalem, who hauing enlarged his kingdom, and planted garrisons in those cities that were subiect vnto him (& in those likewise which his grandfather *Abiah* had possessed in the portion of *Ephraim*, at such time as *Ieroboam* reigned ouer the ten tribes.) This king had perpetual assistance and fauour at Gods hands, in that he was a iust & vertuous Prince, studying day and night for nothing more, then how he might please & honour God. The kings his neighbors round about him honoured him with presents: so that his riches were great, and his honours excellent. In the third year of his raigne he assembled the gouernours and priests of his country, enioyning them to ride their circuit about the prouinces, and to teach the inhabitants of euerie citie the law of *Moses*, training them vp in the obseruance thereof, and in the studie of piety. Which all the Citizens embraced and entertained so willingly, that they seemed to emulate and strue the one with the other, which of them should exceede the rest in the seruice of God. The Nations likewise that dwelt round about him, loued Iosaphat, and were at peace with him. The Philistines also payed those tributes which were imposed on them. And the Arabians furnished him euerie year with sixe hundred and threescore lambs, and the like number of horses. He fortified also other great cities of importance, and made preparation of munition of war & armes against the enemie. He mustered in the tribe of *Juda* three hundred thousand men, ouer whom he placed *Edraus* Generall, & two hundred thousand vnder the conduct of *Iohanan*. Who besides these had two hundred thousand Archers on foote of the tribe of *Beniamin*. Another Chieftaine called *Ochobaz* leuied and led for the king one hundred and fourescore thousand men armed at assay (besides those which hee sent into defended cities.) Hee married his sonne *Ioram* to *Athalia* the daughter of Achab king of the ten tribes. And not long after (resorting to Samaria) Achab receiued him very curteously, and magnificently entertained his armie with bread, wine, and flesh in all abundance; requiring him to yeeld him his assistance against the king of Syria, to the intent he might recouer the citie of Ramath in the country of Galaad, which *Adads* father had wonne and conquered from his father. Iosaphat promised to assist him: and being no waies inferiour vnto him in force, hee sent his army from Ierusalem to Samaria. When those two kings were departed out of the citie, and each of them were seated vpon their thrones, they distributed their pay to euery one of their souldiers. At that time Iosaphat commanded, that if at that present there were as yet any Prophets amongst them, they might be sent for, to giue notice

The year of the world, 3047. before Christ's birth, 917.

A notice what the issue should be of this their warre against the Syrians; and whether they thought it good to make warre against them; by reason that at that time there was amitie and peace betwixt Achab & the Syrians, confirmed for the space of three years, since the time that he tooke Adad prisoner and deliuered him, to that present.

CHAP. X.

Achab fighteth against the Syrians, and is overcome and slaine in the battell.

Whereupon Achab called for the Prophets (who were in number foure hundredth) and commanded them to enquire of God whether hee would giue him the victory in that battell which he enterprised against Adad or no, and whether hee should recouer the Citie which he intended to besiege? Who answered and counsell'd him to hazard the battell, in that he should haue the vpper hand ouer the Syrian, and should take him prisoner as hee had done before time. Iosaphat vnderstanding by their words that they were false Prophets, asked Achab if he had not any other Prophet of God, who might more exactly certify him of that which might succeede. Achab answered, that he had one as yet remaining, but that he hated him because he prophesied nought else but mishap and misery vnto him, and had foretold him that if he should fight against the Syrian, he should be overcome and slaine; and for that cause he held him at that time in prison, signifying vnto him that his name was *Micheas* the sonne of *Imlah*. Iosaphat required C that he might be brought into his presence (which was accordingly performed by one of his Eunuchs; who by the way certified *Micheas*, that al the other Prophets had prophesied to the king victory.) But *Micheas* told him that it was not lawfull for him to lie against God, but that it concerned him to speake that which God should informe him of, concerning the king. As soon as he came before Achab, and was adured to speake the truth, hee said that God had shewed him the Israelites put to flight, and disperfed by the Syrians, that pursued them no otherwise then sheepe without their shepheard. All which signifieth no lesse (said hee) but that the rest of the people returning home in safetie, Achab onely should be slaine in the battell. When *Micheas* had spoken after this manner, Achab turning himselfe towards Iosaphat, said vnto him I told you before this, how this fellow was affected towards me. But *Micheas* constantly auowed, that he prophesied nothing but that which God had commanded him to speake, assuring Achab that he was solicited by the false prophets vnto war vnder hope of victory, whereas he should assuredly perish in the battell. These words of his made Achab much discomfited. But *Sedechias* one of the false prophets stepped forth, and exhorted him to set light by *Micheas* words, the rather for that he spake vntreuely. And in confirmation of this his allegation he alledged *Elias*, who was a farre more skilfull Prophet in foretelling things to come, then *Micheas* was; yet that the same *Elias* had foretold that the dogs should lick Achab's bloud in the citie of Iezrael in the field of *Naboth*, because *Naboth* had bene stoned to death by the instance of Achab. Whereby it appeared manifestly, that since he contradicted a Prophet so excellent as he was, hee lyed in saying that the king should die within three daies. Moreouer (said hee) it shall appeare whether he be truly sent from God or no, if E as soon as he shall receiue a buffet from me, he cause my hand to wither, according as *Iadon* made *Ieroboams* hand shrinke, at such time as hee thought to apprehend him. For I thinke (said hee) O king, that thou art assuredly informed hereof: which said he strooke him, & for that no inconuenient fell vpon him, by reason of that his audacious attempt, Achab assured himselfe, and recouered his courage, & forwardly set forth against the Assyrian army. For as it is to be supposed, the will of God was of such power, that it caused the false prophets to triumph ouer the true: which was the cause that the false prophets were trusted more then the true, to the intent that Gods preordained wil might be fulfilled. But *Sedechias* made him yron hornes, and said vnto Achab, that God by them signified vnto him that he should ruinate all Syria. But *Micheas* prophesied to the contrary, that within very few daies *Sedechias* should walke from caue to caue to hide himselfe, F and auoid the punishment of his fallhood. Achab displeased hereat, commanded that he should be led thence, and kept prisoner with *Achimon* the gouernour of the citie, yeelding him no other allowance but bread and water for his sustenance. Thus marched these two kings with their armies against Ramath which is in Galaad; which when the king of Syria vnderstood, he drew his army into the field, & came out to meet with them, and incamped neere vnto Ramath. Now was Achab and Iosaphat concluded betwixt these two confederate kings, that Achab should enter the battell in a private habit, and Iosaphat should be inuested with the royall ornaments, and supply Achab's person in the battell,

The false prophets prophesie plausibly.

Micheas the true Prophet.

Hedlo & Rufinus chap. 15.

3. Reg. 22. al. 22. Iosaphat's warre against the Syrian.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

battell, to the intent that *Micheas* prediction might be made frustrate. But notwithstanding this popular disguise, Gods iustice preuented him: For *Adad* king of Syria commanded his army, that they should put no one of the enemy to the sword, but onely the king of Israel.

As loone as charge was giuen, the Syrians perceiuing *Iosaphat* in the front of the army, and coniecturing that it was *Achab*, they made head altogether against him, and hauing inuironed & pressed him very neerely, they perceiued that it was not he: for which cause they retyred backe againe. But although they had fought frō the morning vntill the euening, & had the vpper hand, yet slew they no man (because they fought after no other but *Achab* to put him to the sword) whom notwithstanding they could by no means meet withall. At length one of *Adads* seruants called *Aman*, shot at random amongst the enemies, and by fortune hurt *Achab* in the breast, and shot him thorow the lungs. This hurt of his concealed he from his souldiers, for feare least they should be discomforted. For which cause he commanded his coachman to driue his chariot out of the battell, for that he felt himselfe grievously and mortally wounded: and although hee were terribly pained, yet sat he in his chariot vntill sunneset; at which time his hart failed him, and he gaue vp the ghoste. When night came, the Syrian army withdrew themselves into their camp: and receiuing tidings by an Herault, that *Achab* was dead, euery one retired home vnto his house; but *Achabs* body was conueyed to Samaria, & interred in that place. As for his chariot, it was washed in the fountaine of Iezrael, because it had been bebloudied, by reason of the kings hurt; whereby the truth of *Elias* prediction was ratified, & confirmed: for the dogs lickt his blood; & from that time forward the common women continually washed themselves in that fountaine.

Achab wound-
ed by an ar-
row in the bat-
tell dieth.

The dogs lick
Achabs blood
according to
Elias predi-
ction.

The oracles
of the Pro-
phets are to be
reuerenced.

The match-
lesse necessi-
tie of fate.

He died also in Ramath (according as *Micheas* had foreprophecied.) Whercas therefore all things I befortuned *Achab*, according as two prophets had foretold him, it appeareth that wee ought to honour and magnifie the maistie of God in all places, and to reuerence his prophecies deliuered by them, and to ascribe alwaies more credit vnto them, than to the vaine and plausible speach of such as curry fauour, and no lesse to respect them, than things of infinite profit, since by them wee are diuinely admonished what wee ought to take heed of. It behooueth vs also to consider what force the ordinance of God is of, by examining those things which befell *Achab*. For it is impossible to auoid the preordination of God, notwithstanding that men flatter and nourish themselves with vaine hopes, which inueigle them so far, that finally they are ouertaken in the snares thereof. For this carelesse inconsideration was fatal to king *Achab*, in that he beleued not his death which was foretold him; but being deceiued by the flattering perswasions of false Prophets, ran headlong vpon his owne danger and death. After him succeeded his sonne *Ochozias*.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 9. Booke.

- 1 Ioram Achabs sonne ouercommeth the Moabites in battell.
- 2 Ioram King of Ierusalem obtaining the crowne, killeth his brothers and his fathers friends.
- 3 Iorams armie is ouerthrowne by his enemies, and his sonnes are slaine, onely one excepted, at length he himselfe dieth a miserable death.
- 4 The king of Damasco warreth against the king of Israel.
- 5 Ioram with all his posteritie is slaine by Iehu, Ochozias king of Ierusalem is slaine also.
- 6 Iehu raigeth amongst the Israelites in Samaria, and his posteritie after him till the fourth generation.
- 7 Athalia raigeth five yeares in Ierusalem: and after she is slaine by the high priest, Ioas Ochozias sonne is proclaimed king.
- 8 Azael King of Damasco gathereth an armie, first against the Israelites, and afterwards against Ierusalem.

9 Amasias

OF THE IEWES. THE IX. BOOKE.

- A 9 Amasias King of Ierusalem maketh warre against the Idumeans and Amalechites, and obtaineth the victorie.
- 10 Amasias making warre against Ioas king of the Israelites is overcome.
- 11 Ozias ouercommeth the nations round about him.
- 12 Rasin or Rabe King of Damasco vexeth the inhabitants of Ierusalem with warre. Achaz their king is compelled to call the king of Assyria to assist him.
- 13 The King of Assyria taketh Damasco by force, and slaieth the King, and translateth the people into Media, and planteth other Colonies in the same.
- 14 Salmanazar taking the King of Israel captiue, translateth ten of the twelue Tribes into Media, and causeth the Cutheans to inhabit their region.

B

CHAP. I.

Ioram Achabs sonne, ouercommeth the Moabites in battell.



As loone as King *Iosaphat* was returned back againe to Ierusalem (from the warre wherein he had giuen succour to *Achab* against *Adad* the king of Syria, as we haue heretofore declared) the Prophet *Iehu* (in his returne) came forth and met him, and reproved him because he had giuen *Achab* (who had been a man both impious & wicked) his assistance, assuring him that God was displeased with that his confederacie; yet notwithstanding that he of his goodnes had deliuered him from his enemies, although contrarie vnto his duetie, hee had demeaned himselfe vniustly. After this admonition, *Iosaphat* began to celebrate sacrifices, and to offer vp thanksgiuings and peace offerings vnto God: Which done, he rode in progresse and circuit round about those countries that were vnder his dominion, giuing order that the people should be instructed in those ordinances which were deliuered from God by the hands of *Moses*, and exhorted his subiects to the practise of pietie, contained in the same. Hee planted iudges likewise in euery city, commanding them to execute iustice vnto the people, without respect of any thing, but onely iustice. He charged them likewise, that they should not be corrupted with rewards, or seduced by dignitie, riches, or nobilitie, but that they should doe iustice indifferently vnto all men, knowing that God seeth all things, how secretly soeuer they be carried or contriued. Hauing in this sort ordered euery thing in each Citie of the two Tribes, he returned againe into Ierusalem, where he likewise chose iudges from amongst the Priests & Leuites, and the Elders among the people, exhorting them in all things to giue vp right and exact iudgement. And if they of other cities had any causes of greater consequence (which should be referred to their finall determination) he charged them with earnest industrie, to decide them with as vp right and iust measure as might be: for that it was very conuenient that the most exact and accomplished sentences should be deliuered in that citie, where as God had his temple, & the King made his ordinarie aboad.ouer all these he placed his two friends, *Amasias* the Priest, and *Zabadias* of the tribe of *Iuda*. After this manner did the King dispose of his estate.

About this very time the Moabites and Ammonites (and with them their confederates a great number of Arabians) assaulted and assembled themselves against him, & encamped themselves neere vnto Engaddi (a Citie situate neere vnto the lake Asphaltites, and distant from Ierusalem some three hundred foulds) in which place flourish those goodly & holsome Palm-trees, whence distilleth the pure and perfect liquor of Balme. When *Iosaphat* had intelligence that the enemies had past the lake, & were already farre entred into his country, he was affraid, and assembled the people of Ierusalem in the temple, and standing vp right, and turning his face toward the propitiatorie, hee besought and requested God that hee would giue him power and force to overcome his enemies. For such had been the forme of their supplication, who in times past builded the temple: namely, that it might please him to fight for that Citie, and oppose himselfe against those that durst attempt or assault that place, to the intent to dispossesse them of that country which he himselfe had giuen them in possession; & in pronouncing this praier he wept: and all the people likewise both men, women and children made their requests vnto God. Presently vpon this, a certaine Prophet called *Iaziel* arose vp in the midst of the congregation, and cried out, and certified both the people and the King, that God had heard their praiers, and promised them to fight for them against their enemies, enioyning them the next day to sally out in armes, and go & make head against their aduersaries, whom they should encounter in the moun-
taine

The year of the
world, 3048, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 916.

4. Reg. 3.

2. Paral. 19. 20.

Iehu the Pro-
phet repre-
hended Iosa-
phat for hel-
ping Achab.

Iosaphat re-
neweth the
true seruice of
God.

Iosaphat plac-
ed Iudges &
Magistrates
in euery citie.

The Moabites
and Ammon-
ites warre a-
gainst Iosa-
phat.

Iosaphat
praier in the
temple of Ie-
rusalem for
victory.

Iaziel the pro-
phet assureth
the of victory.

The year of the world, 3048. before Christ's Nativity, 916.

The manner and weapons wherby Iosaphat ouercam his enemies.

The Ammonites and their confederates kill one another.

The spoiles of the Ammonites.

The same and praise of Iosaphat in euerie place.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2. Ochozias Achabs sonne king of Israel.

4. Reg. 1. Ochozias hearing a grievous fall, seeketh to be informed of a false Oracle, and is reproved by Elias.

Elias forme and habit.

Ochozias soldiers sent to fetch Elias are consumed with lightning.

tainie situate betwixt Ierusalem and Engaddi, in a place called the hillocke of *Sis* (which place in Hebrew signifieth Eminency) willing them not to fight against them, but onely to arrest in that place, and see how GOD would fight and make warre for them. When the Prophet had spoken these words, the king & all the people prostrated themselves vpon their faces, giuing thanks vnto God and adoring: meane while the Leuites sung continuall hymnes, with instruments & voices. About the beginning of the day, the king departed into the desert that is vnder the citie of Thecoa, aduising the people to believe all that which the Prophet had said vnto them, and not to arrange themselves in battell ray: hecōmanded the Priests to march before them with their trumpets, and the Leuites that they should sing hymnes & thanksgiuing vnto God, as if (said he) our country were already deliuered from our enemies.

This aduise of the kings seemed pleasing vnto them all; so that they performed whatsoeuer he counselled the. But God sent a great terror & disorder among the Barbarians: so that supposing themselves to be enemies the one against the other, they slew one another in such sort, that of so great and huge an host, there was not one that escaped. But *Iosaphat* looking downe into the valley (wherin the enemies had pitched their tents) & seeing it full of dead men, reioiced greatly at the unexpected succors that God had sent him, who had giuen the victory, not by the dint of their owne swords, but by his prouidence and power onely. He therefore permitted his army to make pillage of the enemies camp, & to spoile the dead; & so great was the multitude of the that were slaine, that scarcely they could gather the spoiles of them in three daies space. On the fourth day, the people assembled together in a valley and hollow place, where they blessed God for the power and succours he had sent them, by reason whereof the place was called the valley of Benediction. From thence the king led back his armie into Ierusalem, & for diuers daies he spent the time in offering sacrifices and making feasts. After this discomfiture of his enemies was published abroad in the eares of forraine nations, they were all of them affraid, supposing that God did manifestly expresse his power, and extend his fauour towards him. And from that time forwards, *Iosaphat* liued in great glory, in iustice, and pietie. Hee likewise was a friend to the king of Israel that reigned at that time, who was *Achabs* sonne, with whom he aduentured in a voyage by sea, intending to traffique with certaine Merchants of Tharsis, but hee had a great losse: for his ships were cast away by reason they were ouer-great; and for this cause hee had neuer more mind to exercise nauigation. Hitherto haue we spoken of *Iosaphat* king of Ierusalem.

But as touching *Ochozias*, *Achabs* sonne, who reigned ouer Israel, and was resident in Samaria, he was a wicked man, and resembled his father and mother euery way in his impieties, and was nothing inferiour to *teroboam* in wickednes, who first fell from God, and made the Israelites revolt from him. The tenth yeare of his raigne, the king of the Moabites rebelled against him, & denied to pay him those tributes which he was wont to pay vnto *Achab* his father. But it came to passe, that as *Ochozias* ascended the staires of his palace, he fell downe from the top thereof: and being sick of the fall, he sent to Accaron vnto the God called the Myiodis or *flie*, to enquire whether hee should recover that sicknesse or no. But the God of the Hebrewes appeared to *Elias* the Prophet, and commanded him to goe and meet those messengers that were sent by *Ochozias*, & to aske the if the people of the Israelites had not a God, but that their king sent to forraigne gods to enquire of his health? and to charge them to returne and declare vnto their king, that he should not escape that sicknesse. *Elias* did that which God had ordained; and the messengers of the king hauing vnderstood that which was declared vnto them, returned backe againe with all expedition vnto him.

Ochozias maruailing much at their suddaine repaire, asked them the cause thereof: who answered him, that a certaine man came vnto them, who forbid them to passe any further, but to shorten their way to let your Maiestie knowe (said they) from God, that your sicknes shall wax worse and worse. Heereupon the king commaunded them to describe what manner of man hee was that spake these words vnto the: who answered, that hee was a hairie man, girded with a leathern belt. And vnderstanding hereby that it was *Elias*, he sent a captain with fiftie soldiers vnto him, commanding him to bring the Prophet prisoner vnto him. This captain that was sent, perceiving *Elias* sitting on the top of a mountaine, commanded him to come downe and repaire vnto the king, who had sent for him; which if he performed not presently and willingly, he threatened him to make him doe it perforce. *Elias* answered & said vnto him: To the end thou maist know by thine owne experience that I am a true Prophet, I will pray that fire may fall from heauen, & consume both thee and thy souldiers. And incontinently after *Elias* had prayed, lightning fell downe from heauen, and consumed both the captain and his souldiers.

When

When the king had tidings of this losse, hee was sore displeased, & sent another captain to *Elias*, with the like number of souldiers as the first had, who threatened the Prophet that if he would not willingly come downe, he would violently pull him thence; but *Elias* priued that fire might fall from heauen, and incontinently both hee and his were consumed in like manner as the first. When the King had vnderstanding likewise how his second messengers had sped, hee sent a third vnto him, who being a discreet man, and courteous in condition, arriuing in the place where by chance *Elias* was, hee saluted him very curteously, and said vnto him, that contrarie to his owne will, and to no other purpose but to fulfill the kings pleasure, he was come vnto him; & that they that were sent with him, came northither voluntarily, but by the same commaund: He therefore required him to haue compassion both of him & of his souldiers, & to vouchsafe to come downe, and to come after them vnto the king. *Elias* tooke pleasure in this his discreet & courteous demeanour, so as he descended and followed him. As soone as hee came before the kings presence, hee prophesied, and told him that God said, that sith hee had despised him, and so lightly accounted of him as if he had bene no God, or else such a one as had no power to foretell him any truth as touching his sicknes, but that hee had sent to the gods of the Accaronites, to demand of them as touching the successe of his sicknesse: Know (said he) that thou shalt die. And not long time after (according to the prophetic) hee died in such manner as *Elias* had fore-told him, and his brother *Ioram* succeeded him in the kingdom, because he departed without issue.

This *Ioram* was a wicked man also, and as impious as his father: for, abandoning the seruice of the true God, he adored strange gods. In all things else he was a man of execution. In his time *Elias* was no more seene amongst men, & vntill this day no man knoweth what his end was. But he left a disciple behind him called *Elizans* (as we haue heeretofore declared.) It is written in Holy writ as touching *Elias*, and *Enoch* who was before the Deluge, that they vanished: for no man hath knowne of their deaths. After that *Ioram* had taken possession of the kingdom, hee resolved to make war vpon *Misa* the king of the Moabites (who paid *Achab* his father before him the tribute of two-hundred-thousand sheepe bearing wooll.) Whenas therefore hee had assembled his forces, he sent vnto *Iosaphat*, requiring him that sith he had been his fathers friend; he would likewise second and lend him aide in his intended warre against the Moabites, who had as then newly revolted from his government. *Iosaphat* not onely promised him to yield him succours, but moreouer he assured him that he would draw the king of Idumæa (who was his subiect) into their association. When *Ioram* vnderstood these things by those whom hee had sent vnto *Iosaphat*, he tooke his army with him and repaired to Ierusalem, where he was magnificently received and entertained by the king of that citie: where, after they had concluded to march thorow the desert of Idumæa, and that way to charge the enemy (in that they expected nothing lesse the to be endangered on that side) these three kings departed together from Ierusalem, namely the king of Ierusalem, the king of Samaria, and the king of Idumæa. Now when they had marched some seauen daies iourney, they found a great scarcitie of water amongst the, both to water their horses, and to refresh their whole army, by reason that their guides had led them astray out of the high way: so that they were in great want, and in especiall *Ioram*, who by reason of the necessitie wherewith hee was pressed, cried vnto God, expostulating with him for what offence of his hee would betray three such kings as were there present, into the hands of the king of Moab without stroke strooken. But *Iosaphat*, who was a vertuous man, encouraged him; and sent into the armie to knowe whether there were any prophet of God that had followed them to the battell, to the intent (said he) that we may vnderstand by God what we ought to doe: and whereas one of the seruants of *Ioram* said, that he had seene *Elizans* the sonne of *Saphat*, the disciple of *Elias*, all the three Kings (by the sollicitation of *Iosaphat*) resorted vnto him. Now when they drew neere vnto the Prophets tent (which he had pitched apart from the rest of the company) they asked him what should become of the army? and *Ioram* in especiall questioned with him: To whom *Elizans* answered, that hee had no reason to sollicit him in this sort, but to repaire vnto his fathers & mothers Prophets, who would certifie him the truth. Notwithstanding, *Ioram* intreated him that he would prophetic, and continue the preseruacion of the army, and the defence of his life: but *Elizans* swore by the liuing GOD, that he would answer him nothing, except for *Iosaphats* sake, who was an vpright man, and such a one as feared God. Afterwards calling vnto the a certain man that could cunningly play vpon instruments (for so had the Prophet commaunded) whilst he sung, *Elizans* was rauished with a diuine spirit, and enioyned the Kings to make certain trenches in the channell of the riuer: for (said he) you shall see the riuer full of water without either wind, clowde, or raine: so that both the whole Armie and all their Cartell shall be saved, and

The year of the world, 3048. before Christ's Nativity, 916.

The year of the world, 3048. before Christ's Nativity, 916. Ochozias dying without issue, Ioram his brother reigned in his steede.

Elias, according as Enoch was taken from the sight of men. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3. 4. Reg. 3. Elizans. Ioram asketh aide against the Moabites.

Want of water in the Hebrew armie.

The kings seeke for comfort at Elizans hands.

Elizans fore-propheticth of water, and their victorie.

The year of the world, 3049, before Christs Nativity 915.

A wonderfull blindness of the enemy grounded on the rednes of the water that flowed.

The victory of the Hebrewes against the Moabites.

The king of the Moabites sacrificeth his owne sonne.

Iosaphats death.

and sufficiently sustained: and God will not onely bestow these benefits on you, but will giue you the vpper hand of your enemies also; and you shall surpriseth the fairest and strongest Cities of the Moabites; and you shall cut downe their trees, ruinate their country, and fill vp their fountaines and riuers. When the Prophet had spoken thus, the next day before sunne rise the river flowed boundantly with water: for some three daies iourney off, God had suffered a very strong and fetled rain to fall in Idumæa; so that both the souldiers and their horses were sufficiently refreshed and watered. When the Moabites were informed that the three kings came out against them, & tooke their way thorow the desert, their king presently assembled his armie, and commanded them to keep the passages of the mountaines, to the end they might hinder the enemy from entering their country vnawares. Who beholding about the sunne rise, that the water of the river was blood red (for at that time it arose in the country of Moab, and at this houre the water is H) they conceived a false opinion, that the three kings being pressed by thirst, had laine one another, and that the river flowed with their blood. Being in this sort seduced with this imagination, they besought the king to giue them leaue to gather their chemies spoiles: which while they had obtained, they altogether considerately marched forth as if to a prey already prepared for them, and came vnto the kings camps vnder hope to find no man to resist them. But their hope deceived them: for their enemies enuironed them round about, and some of them were cut in peeces, the rest turned backe and fled towards their owne country, and the three kings entering into the territories of the Moabites destroyed their Cities, pillaged the champain country, disfigured their inclosures, filling them with stones and mud taken out of the riuer, cut downe their fairest trees, stopped vp the sources of their waters, & leuelled their walles with the ground. The king of the Moabites himselfe, seeing himselfe pursued and besieged, & that his Citie was in danger to be taken perforce, sallied out very valiantly with seven hundred men, hoping by the swiftness of his horse, to breake thorow the Israelites campe on that side where he thought it was least defended. Which when he had attempted and could not execute, because he charged on that side which was best defended, he returned backe againe into the Citie, and committed a desperate & hatefull action: for he tooke his eldest sonne, who ought in right to succede him in the kingdome, and set him on the wall of the Citie, and in the sight of all his enemies offered him for a burnt sacrifice vnto God. The kings beholding this wofull spectacle, were moued with compassion of his necessitie, and ouercome with humanitie and mercie, leuied the siege, and returned backe againe into their countries. After that *Iosaphat* was returned into Ierusalem, he enioyed a peaceable government, but liued not long time after this exploit, but died when he was threescore yeares old, in the five and twentieth year of his raigne, and was magnificently buried in Ierusalem, according as the successe of *Dauids* vertue and kingdome ought to be entombed.

CHAP. II.

Ioram obtaining the kingdome of Ierusalem, slew his brothers and his fathers friends.

The year of the world, 3050, before Christs birth 914.

Ioram Iosaphats sonne king of Ierusalem.

4. Reg. 9.

Elizeus commanded the widow to fill her empty vessels with oyle.

He left behind him diuers children, the eldest of whom he appointed his successor in the kingdome, who was called *Ioram* (as his vnckle was, who was his mothers brother and *Achabs* sonne while king of Israel.) The king of the ten tribes turning backe vnto Samaria, kept with him the prophet *Elizeus*, whose actions I will here recite, because they are notable & deserue to be registered in writing, according as we haue gathered them out of holy scriptures. *Obedias* wife (who was sometime steward of *Achabs* house) came vnto him & told him that hee was not ignorant that in that persecution wherein *Iezabel* sought to murder the prophet, how her husband had slaine one hundred of them, for whose priuate maintenance he had borrowed much money of other men; & that now being dead, his creditors stroue to draw both her and her children into seruitude. For which cause shee besought him in consideration of this act, to haue compassion on her husband, and to yeld her some succour. Hereon *Elizeus* asked her if she had any thing in her house who answered him, that she had nothing but a very little oyle left her in an earthen pot. Whereupon the Prophet commanded her to depart, and to borrow diuers empty vessels of her neighbour: that done, hee willed her to locke vp her doores, and to poure oyle into the vessels, in that it was Gods pleasure to fill them all. The woman did according as he had commanded her, and all the vessels were found full, so as none of them were empty: whereof when shee had certified the Prophet, hee aduised her to goe and deliuer her oyle, and pay her debts, and

The year of the world, 3050, before Christs Nativity 914.

Elizeus aduised Ioram to auoid Adads ambush, who lay in wait to kill him.

4. Reg. 6. Elizeus is besieged in Dothaim by his enemy.

The Angels about Elizeus the Prophet.

Elizeus leade the Syrians blinded into Samaria: where by his perswasion they are cruelly entertained and presented by Ioram, and sent home.

Hedio & Rufinus chap. 4.

Samaria besieged by the Syrians.

A and when all was paid, hee assured her that there would be some remainder, that might serue to sustaine both her and her children.

By this meanes *Elizeus* discharged the widow of her debts, and that trouble which her creditors intended against her. He admonished *Ioram* likewise, by certaine messengers, that hee should take heed of a certaine place wherein the Syrians lay in ambush, intending to slay him: by means of which admonition the king went not out on hunting. But *Adad* being sore displeased, because his ambushment was discovered, began to suspect his owne followers: whereupon calling vnto him his household seruants, hee maliciously tearmed them traitors, and furthermore threatened them with death, for that they had discovered a matter, which was only committed to their trust, vnto his enemy. Whereupon one of the assistants told him, that he ought not to conceiue that false opinion of them, neither suspect that they had discovered his intended ambush to cut off his enemy: but rather that he ought to conceive, that the Prophet *Elizeus* had discovered & discouraged al that which was intended against him. Whereupon he sent out his souldiers with an expresse charge, to know in what Citie *Elizeus* made his ordinary abode: who returning back, brought him newes that hee remained in Dothaim: For which cause *Adad* sent a great number of horse men and chariots to Dothaim to lay hold on *Elizeus*, who begitt the citie by night, and laide warch round about the walles, that no man might escape them. Early in the morning when the Prophets seruant had notice hereof, & was aduertised that the enemies sought to surpriseth *Elizeus*, hee fearefully hastened and discovered their intent to his master, who encouraged him and commanded him to shake off his feare, for that hee held himselfe both secured & assured of Gods help: whereupon he praised God that at that present he would shew his power and assistance both toward the reliefe of his necessitie, and the confirmation and encouragement of his seruant. At that time God hearing his praier, presented to the Prophets seruants sight, a number of chariots, and horsemen that inuironed *Elizeus*; so that hee laid his feare aside, and was assured when hee perceived these succours. That done, *Elizeus* besought God againe that he would blind his enemies eyes, and to cause a thicke cloud to fall vpon them, to the end they might not discover him. Which done, he presently thrust himself amongst the thickest of his enemies, demanding of the whom they came to seeke for? They answered him that they sought for the Prophet *Elizeus*: he promised them to deliuer him into their hands, if so be they would come with him into the Citie where he was. They blinded in eyes, and depraued in vnderstanding by God, followed the Prophet willingly, who marched before them. When as therefore *Elizeus* had brought them into Samaria, he willed king *Ioram* to locke the gates and to inuiron the Syrians with his souldiers. This performed, hee prayed God that he would cleere the Syrians sight, and take away the cloud that obscured their eyes, who being deliuered from their blindness, perceived that they were in the midst of their enemies. Whereat being sore astonished, and vncertaine whence this diuine and vnexpected act had befallen them, King *Ioram* asked the Prophet whether hee should kill them with darts. But *Elizeus* forbad him to doe so: for (said hee) it is a iust and conuenient matter, that they who are taken by order of warre should lose their life, but that they had done no euill vnto his country; but by Gods prouidence came thither without their owne knowledge: for which cause he counsailed him to giue them presents and present them meat, and afterwards to suffer them to depart without any iniurie.

E *Ioram* giuing credit to the Prophets words, entertained the Syrians magnificently and with great humanitie, and sent them backe vnto *Adad* their king, to whom vpon their arriual they declared all that which had hapned vnto them. *Adad* astonished at this vnexpected euent, and wondering at the apparition and power of the God of the Israelites; lastly admiring the Prophet whom God so wondrously assisted; he concluded fro that time forward, neuer more to attempt the king of Israel in secret, because hee feared *Elizeus*; but concluded to make open warre against him, hoping to haue the vpper hand of his enemies, by means of the great number and force of his army: So that he issued out with a mighty power against *Ioram*; who supposing himselfe to be outmatched by the Syrian army, locked himselfe vp within Samaria, putting his trust and confidence in the fortification and strength of the wals therof. *Adad* hoping to surpriseth the citie if not by engins, at leastwise by famine & default of things necessarie, drew neer vnto Samaria to besiege it. But *Ioram* was so destitute of conuenient supplies, that by reason of the incredible want of victuals, an Ases head was sold in Samaria for eightie peeces of siluer, and a measure of pignons dounge at five peeces of siluer, which they vsed in steed of salt: neither was there any thing that more troubled the king, then that hee feared least some one constrained by famine, should deliuer or betray the Citie vnto the enemy. For which cause hee euerie day walked the round

round about the walles, and visited the Sentinels of the citie, for feare least any one should lie hid-
den within: and with all care and diligence he gaue order, that if any one had such a sinister in-
tent, the meanes to execute the same should be taken from him. And whereas a certaine woman
cried out vnto him, Haue mercie vpon me, O King; he incensed with wrath, and supposing that
shee asked him some meat, beganne to raile on her, telling her that hee had neither graunge nor
presse whereby he might any waies supply her necessity.

The woman answered him, that she had no need thereof, and that shee was not troubled for
want of food, but onely desired that he would determine a debate betwixt her and another wo-
man: Whereupon he commaunded her to expresse and declare what shee required. Hereupon
she said, that she had made an accord with another woman her neighbor and friend, that shee
famine and scarcitie was such, as they could find no redresse for the same; that they should kill
their children (for each of them had one) and in this sort should nourish one another euery day.
As for my selfe (said she) I haue first of all strangled mine, and we haue both of vs yesterday eaten
thereof: but now she will not do the like, but breaketh the accord betwixt vs, and concealeth her
child. *Ioram* was grieuouly tormented to heare these words, and rent his garments, and cried out
with a loud voice, and afterwards wholly enraged against the Prophet, hee deuiled in his hart to
put him to death, because he praised not vnto God to grant him meanes to escape those euils that
inuiroined them round about: so that hee sent a man presently to cut off his head; who prepared
himselfe with all expedition to the slaughter. But *Elizeus* was not ignorant of this resolution of
the kings: for sitting at home with his disciples in his house, he told them that *Ioram* the murde-
rers son sent a man to take away his head: but (said he) when as he that hath the matter in charge
shall come hither, suffer him not to enter, but make him attend and stay at the gate; for the king
will follow him, and will resort to me in his owne person, hauing altered his resolution: & they
according as they were commanded, shut him out of the doores whom the king had sent. *Ioram*
repenting himselfe of that displeasure which he had conceived against the prophet, & fearing least
he that had the commission to murder him should speedily execute the same, hastened himselfe all
that he might to hinder the slaughter, and saue *Elizeus*. When as therefore he came into his pre-
sence, he accused him, for that he had not besought God to deliuer them from those many euils
which they suffered; considering that he himselfe was an eye-witnesse, they were miserable con-
sumed by them. *Elizeus* promised him the next day (about the same houre that the king came
vnto him) that he should haue so great abundance of victuals, that two measures of barley should
be sold in the market for a sicke, and a measure of flower for a sicke.

By these words of his, the King with all his attendants were wonderfully comforted, & made
no difficultie to beleeue the prophet, because that before time they had bene ascertained by their
experience of the truth of his prophecies; and the expectation of this day, was the cause that the
necessitie & miserie of the present was more patiently endured. But a certaine friend of the kings,
and the gouernour of the third part of his armie (on whose shoulder the king at that time hapned
familiarily to leane) spake vnto him after this manner: Prophet, thou tellest vs incredible mat-
ters: for as it is impossible that God should raine downe heapes of barley & floure from heauen,
so cannot that which thou speakest come to passe. To whom the Prophet replied: Thou thy selfe
(said he) shalt see the issue hereof, but shalt partake no part thereof. Which prediction of his had a
most certaine effect, according as hereafter it appeareth.

It was a custome in Samaria, that they that were defiled with a leprosie should liue without
the Citie walls, for feare least their conuersation might infect others: and at that time also there
were some who for this cause had their dwelling without the gate. These, for that (by reason of
the extreame famine that rained within the Citie) they receiued no reliefe or sustenance out of
the same, and whether they had licence to returne into the Citie, or whether they contained the-
selves in their houses, they knew that they should assuredly perish by famine; decreed amongst
themselves to submit themselves to the enemies mercie, to the end that if they spared them, they
might liue; and if it hapned otherwise, that they might die with lesse torture. Now hauing resol-
ued vpon this deliberation amongst themselves, they repaired by night vnto the enemies campe.
At that time God began to terrifie and trouble the Syrians, and to fill their cares with a noise of
chariots and armes, as if an army had violently charged them. Whereupon they grew suspicious,
and were so moued, that they forsooke their tents, and ranne vnto *Adad*, & told him that *Ioram*
King of the Israelites had entertained the king of Egypt, and the king of the Hies for his confede-
rates, whom he led out against them, & how already they had heard the noise of them that ap-
proched to bid them the battell. *Adad* (whose cares were filled with no lesse rumor then those of the
people)

people) was amazed and amazed at their sayings: so that all of them abandoned their campe,
their horses, beasts of cariage, and riches, and betooke them to flight with disorder & confusion.
Those lepers that were retired from Samaria into the enemies campe (and of whom wee haue
heretofore made some mention) being neer vnto the camp, perceived that there was great silence
in the same, and no lesse abundance of all things: for which cause approaching the same, and
entering into a tent, they found no body therein: for which cause they fell to eating & drinking,
and that done to beare away a quantity of rayment, and gold which they hid without the camp.
Afterward resorting to an other tent, they bare away likewise that which was therein, & did the
like by foure others without any encounter or contradiction of any man: & coniecturing there-
by that the enemies were rettyred, they began to accuse themselves, because they had not giuen
notice thereof to *Ioram* and the inhabitants of Samaria. For which cause drawing neere vnto the
walles of the Citie, they cried out vnto the watch, giuing them to vnderstand in what state they
had found the enemies campe, who signified no lesse to *Iorams* guard, so that at last it came vnto
his eares. Whereupon he presently sent for his friends and captaines, and told them that the de-
parture of the Syrians made him suspect some stratagem or ambush: for they (said hee) hauing
lost their hope to surpris vs by famine, are retired vnder an intent, that when wee shall issue and
fall a spoiling of their campe, they may come vpon vs, and kill vs; and afterwards take our citie
without any stroke strooken. For which cause (said he) I aduise you to keepe good guard within
the Citie, and let this retreat of our enemies make vs the more considerate. Some one of his
councell praised this aduise of his, and allowed his foresight, aduising him to send out two scouts
vpon horseback, to search euery quarter betwixt that and Iordan, to the end that if they should
be taken and slaine by the enemies ambushment, their fall might bee a president to the whole
army to stand vpon their guard (for feare least they should be surprisid in like manner:) vrging this
for a conclusion, that the losse of two horsemen should not bee very great, since perhaps they
might otherwaies haue been cut off by famine. This aduise of his was allowed by the king, and
ratified by his assistants: so that presently there were two spies sent out, who rode along without
encountering any enemy; but they met with great quantitie of victuals, and armes cast away and
abandoned by the Syrians, to the intent they might flee away the more lightly. Which when
the king vnderstood, hee suffered the people to issue out, and spoile the campe, who recouered
things of no small valew therein, but much gold and silver, and troupes of all sorts of cattell: and
besides that, they found so great a quantitie of wheate & barley, that had they dreamed thereof,
they could not hope or imagine the like. Thus were they deliuered from all their precedent affli-
ctions: for there was so great quantitie of corne, that two measures of barley were sold but for
one sicke, and a measure of wheate flower for a sicke; according as *Elizeus* had prophesied. Now
the measure which we call *Sar* containeth an Italian bushell and the halfe. But the captaine of
the third part of the army, was he only that enioyed no part of this benefit: for being appointed
by the king to haue the keeping of the gate, & to restraine the multitude from headlong preising
out, for feare least thrusting one another, some of them should be troden vnder foote & slaine,
he himselfe was troden vpon and slaine (according as the Prophet had foretold) for that he only
amongst the rest, would not giue credit to that which hee had said, as touching the great abun-
dance of victuals that should hapen.

When *Adad* king of the Syrians was safely returned to Damasco, and knew that God had
suffered such a confusion and feare to fall both on him and his army, and that it had not hapned
by reason that the enemy sallied out vpon him; hee was sore discouraged to see that God was so
displeased with him, and through anguish and agonie of minde fell sicke: And for that (at that
verie time) *Elizeus* was come into Damasco; *Adad* vnderstanding thereof, sent *Axael* (who
was one of his most trustie seruants) vnto him to present him, and consult with him vpon his
sickness, whether he should recouer or no.

Hereupon *Axael* loaded forthie camels with the most fairest and most honourablest presents,
that either Damasco, or the princes royall court affoorded; and repairing to *Elizeus*, saluted
him verie courteously, telling him that hee was sent vnto him by king *Adad*, first of all to present
him, and afterwards to aske counsaile of him as touching his malady, whether hee might easily
be healed. The Prophet commanding the messenger to carry no euill tidings vnto the king, did
notwithstanding tell him that he should die. *Axael* hearing thereof was sore grieued, and *El-
izeus* himselfe began to weepe, so that the teares fell from his eies abundantly, in that he foresaw
how many euils the people should suffer after the decaie of *Adad*. And when as *Axael* deman-
ded him the cause wherefore he was so discomfited; I weepe (said he) for the compasion that I
haue

The lepers
certifie the
Samaritanes
of the flight of
their enemies.

Spies sent a-
broad.

The enemies
campe spoiled
by the Sama-
ritanes.

The truth of
Gods oracles.
The punish-
ment of incre-
dulitie.

4. Reg. 8.

Elizeus is sent
vnto by *Adad*
to enquire
counsaile of
him as touch-
ing his sick-
nesse.

The enemies
flight by rea-
son of a terror
that God sent
among them.

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The yeare of the world, 3055. before Christ's Nativity, 909. The prophecy of Adads death, and Azaels gouernment.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5.

4. Reg. 8.

Iorams impietie.

The yeere of the world, 3057. before Christ's Nativity, 907.

The Idumæans reuolt.

Iorams wickednes reproved by Elias letters.

The expedition of the Arabians against Ioram.

2. Paral. 21. The yeare of the world, 3060. before Christ's birth 904.

haue of the people of Israel, by reason of those calamities which they shall indure by thy means. For thou shalt kill the better sort of them, and shalt burne their strongest Cities: thou shalt murder their infants, and dash them against the stones, and shalt open the womens wombes that are with childe. *Azael* answered, what force is there in me to execute these things? *Elizeus* said vnto him, that God had certified him that hee should bee king of Syria. When *Azael* was returned back vnto *Adad*, he signified nothing vnto him but glad tidings, as touching his sickness: but the next day hee cast a wet net vpon him and strangled him, and seized the kingdome into his owne hands. This Prince was a man of execution, and well beloued among the Syrians, and common people of *Damafco*, who euen vntill this day honour *Adad* and *Azael* his succesor as gods, by reason of their benefits and those temples which were builded by them, which adorne the Citie of *Damafco*. For every day doe they celebrate feasts in memory of these kings, and honour of them, by reason of their antiquitie, not knowing that they were moderne, and such as reigned not pasteleuen hundred yeeres since. But *Ioram* king of Israel hearing of the death of *Adad*, began to giue ouer his feare, and cast off that suspition which he had conceived of him, reioycing that yet at last he might haue libertie to liue in peace. The other *Ioram* king of Ierusalem (for he likewise was so called, as we haue heretofore declared) by murdering of his brethren & his fathers friends, who were gouernours, obtained the kingdome, and became so wicked & impious, as he differed in nothing from the kings of Israel, who transgressed the first lawes and ordinances of the Hebrewes, and peruered the seruice of God. For *Athalia Achab* daughter his wife taught him to execute diuers mischiefs, & amongst the rest to adore strange gods. This notwithstanding God would not altogether abolish his race, by reason of his promise made vnto *Dauid*: yet intermitted hee not daily to introduce new impieties; and soile the ancient lawes of his forefathers with new corruptions. Meane while; it came to passe that the Idumæans reuolted and slue their king, who had bene before time subiect vnto *Iosaphat Ioram* father, and in his place established an other to their owne liking. For which cause *Ioram* inuaded Idumæa by night with his horses and chariots, and spoiled the countrey round about his kingdome, without passing any farther: yet profited hee nothing in so doing; for all of them reuolted from him, and amongst the rest the inhabitants of the countrey of *Libana*.

But so great was the furie of this man, that hee constrained the people to ascend the high mountaines, and adore strange gods. Yet whilst hee behaued himselfe in this manner, and utterly rooted out of his thought the lawes of his forefathers, there was a letter brought vnto him from the Prophet *Elias*, which certified him that God would doe great iustice vpon him, because hee had forsaken the waies of his forefathers, and followed the impieties of the kings of Israel, constraining the Tribe of *Iuda* and the inhabitants of Ierusalem to forsake the pure seruice of their God to serue Idols, as *Achab* had constrained the Israelites to doe: Furthermore, because hee had murdered his brethren, and slaine vpriight and vertuous men. The Prophet likewise certified him by letters, what punishment hee should endure, namely the ruine of his people, the death of his wiues and children, and lastly his owne death: which should happen vnto him by a sickness in his belly, wherewith hee should bee so tormented, that his entrailles strangely rotting within him, should drop out of his belly, & that he himselfe should see his misery, which should be such as neither might bee recovered by medicine, or should cure him vntill hee had finished his daies. These things did *Elias* denounce vnto him by his letters.

CHAP. III.

Iorams armie is discomfited, his sonnes are slaine, except one: and himselfe finally dieth a miserable death.

Not long after, the Arabian armie, that dwel towards *Ethiopia*, confederating themselves with other Barbarians, invaded *Iorams* countrey, and spoiled the same, and ransacked the kings house, and slew his sons and daughters, and left him but one onely sonne called *Ochozias*, who escaped fro his enemies hands. After this aduersitie, he himselfe was sicke with a long sickness, according as the Prophet had foretold him; for God poured his displeasure vpon his entrailles: whereupon he died miserably, seeing them fall out of his belly. The people likewise handled his bodie ignominiously, supposing as I thinke, that becing curd in that sort by Gods

A displeasure, hee was vnworthie of royall funerall, for hee was not buried in the sepulcher of the kings, neither was there any honour done vnto him. Hee liued fortie yeares, and reigned eight: and they of Ierusalem made his sonne *Ochozias* king.

CHAP. IIIII.

The King of Damasco warreth against the king of Israel.



*B*oram king of Israel, hoping after the death of *Adad* to recouer Ramath in Galaad fro the Assyrians, after he had made greater preparation & apparation for the war, hee led his army against the same. In this siege he was hurt by an arrow which was shor by a certaine Syrian, but not vnto the death, & retired himselfe into the Citie of Iezrael vntill he were recovered of his wounds (leauing behind him his whole army at the siege of Ramath vnder the conduct of *Iehu* the sonne of *Nimshi*, who tooke the Citie by force) intending vpon his recouerie to make warre against the Syrians. But the Prophet *Elizeus* sent one of his disciples to Ramath, and gaue him the holy oyle, and willed him to annoint *Iehu*, and to say vnto him that God had chosen and annointed him for king: and after he had informed him likewise in certaine other instructions, he commanded him to depart after the manner of one that flieth, making no man priue of his departurer. When this disciple of his came vnto the appointed citie, hee found *Iehu* sitting in the midst of the captaines at war (according as *Elizeus* had told him) & drawing neere vnto him, he told him that he would communicate certaine secrets with him, for which cause he arose and followed him into his chamber. Whereupon the yong man taking out the oyle poured it on his head, saying, that God had chosen him to exterminate the race of *Achab*, and reuenge the blood of the Prophets vniuistly murdered by *Iezabel*: and that both he and his house might bee brought to nought in like sort, as the sonnes of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nabat*, & the children of *Basa* were extinguished for their impietie; so that no one of the race of *Achab* might suruiue in the world. As soone as he had spoken thus, he issued out of the chamber with all speed, endeavouring that hee might not be discovered by any of the army. Now when as *Iehu* was come out, he returned to his place where he sate with the captaines, who demanded of him, and besought him to declare vnto them, wherefore the yong man came vnto him (alleging that they supposed him to be out of his wits.) Truly (said he) you haue diuined well: for he hath talked vnto mee after the manner of a mad man: wherein (they desirous to vnderstand wherefore he came, & beseeching him to expresse the cause) he told them what he had said vnto him, namely, how God had chosen him to be king over the people.

As soon as he had spoken these words, euery one of them cast off their garments & spred them before him, and founding a trumper, they proclaimed *Iehu* king; who assembling his army, determined to conduct them toward the Citie of Iezrael against *Ioram* (who lay there to recouer his wound which he had receiued at the siege of Ramath in Galaad, as we haue heretofore declared.) Thither also was resorted in the way of friendship and consanguinitie, *Ochozias* king of Ierusalem, both to visit *Ioram*, and to see how hee was recovered of his wound: for he was his nephew and sonne vnto his sister, as we haue said before. *Iehu* desirous to surprise *Ioram* and his followers on the sodaine, made an ordinance, by which he prohibited that none of the souldiers should runne before to giue any intelligence of his repaire vnto *Ioram*; alleging that it should be a manifest demonstration of their good will towards him: whereas contrariwise, they that did otherwile, declared that they held him not for their king.

CHAP. V.

Ioram with all his race is slaine by Iehu: Ochozias king of Ierusalem is likewise slaine with him.

THe men of war were very ioyfull to execute this his ordinance, and garded the waies, to the intent that no man might secretly steale into Iezrael, and beare tidings to the inhabitants of that which had hapned. Meane while, *Iehu* attended by certaine of his choicest horsemen, and mounted in his owne person vpon a chariot, marched towards Iezrael. And when as he drew neere vnto the Citie, the sentinell that was appointed by *Ioram* to discover those that repaired to the Citie, perceived *Iehu* resorting thither with a multitude of attendants, and told *Ioram* that a troupe of horsemen were at hand. Whereupon a scout was sent out to discover who

Iorams death. The yeare of the world, 3060. before Christ's Nativity, 904.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. Iorams expedition against Ramath. 4. Reg. 9.

Iehu by Gods commandment annointed king.

The years of the
world, 3060. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 904.
Ioram's
slughter.
The truth of
Elia's pro-
phetic.
The death of
Ochozias
king of Ieru-
salem, and his
buriall.
 who they were; who drawing neere vnto *Iehu*, asked him what newes there was in the army, tel-
ling him that the king was desirous to know the same: *Iehu* willed him to take no care therof, but
to follow after him. The sentinell perceiuing this, certified *Ioram* that the messenger whom hee
had sent, trouped along with the that came, & followed their generall. Whereupon the king sent
out a messenger the second time; & *Iehu* commanded him to attend him as he did the first: which
the sentinell signified to *Ioram* likewise, who finally mounted his chariot to go out to meet them,
accompanied with *Ochozias* king of Ierusalem, who (as we haue said) was come into the citie, to
see how the king recovered vpon his hurt, because he was neerely allied vnto him. But *Iehu* mar-
ched on softly & in goodly array, till *Ioram* meeting with him in the field of Naboth, asked him
how the army did? Who in steed of answere, reuiled him bitterly, & called him the son of a poiso-
ner & of a harlot. For which cause *Ioram* (fearing his turbulent spirit, & suspecting least he hamme-
ned vpon some sinister intent) turned his back, & fled away as swiftly as his chariot could bee dri-
uen; telling *Ochozias*, that they were both of them craftily surprisid by treason: but *Iehu* flung a
dart at him and pierced him thorow, and cleft his heart. For which cause *Ioram* instantly fell v-
pon his knees, & died. Hereupon *Iehu* commanded *Badac* (who gouerned the third part of his army)
to cast *Ioram*'s body into *Naboth*'s field, remēbring him of the prophecy of *Elia*s foretold by him
to *Achab*, who murdered *Naboth*: namely, that he & his race should die in that field. For sitting
behind *Achab*'s chariot, he heard these words pronounced by the prophet: In effect it so fell out as
he had prophesied. When *Ioram* was fallen downe, *Ochozias* was affraid to be slaine: for which
cause he turned his chariot to take another way, hoping that *Iehu* would not discouer him. But
he was purried and ouertaken in a certaine steepy way, & was hurt with an arrow: whereupon
he forooke his chariot, & being mounted vpon a swift horse, he posted to Maggedo, where after
his wounds had been searched & dressed some few daies, he deceased, and was caried to Ierusalem
and buried there, after he had reigned one yeere, and surpassed his father in wickednes.

The truth of
'Elias pro-
phetic.

**The death of
Ochozias
king of Ieru-
salem, and his
buriall.**

Iehu reigneth over Israel, and keepeth his court in Samaria; and after him his progeny, to the fourth generation.

AT such time as *Iehu* arrived at *Iezrael*, *Iezabel* being on the top of a tower in her princely robes, cried out: O trustie servant (said she) that hath slaine his master! Hee looking vpward, asked her what she was, commanding her to come downe vnto him: at length he charged her Eunuches to cast her downe from the top of the tower; who in her falling be- bloudied the wailes: and no sooner fell she vpon the ground, but that her body was trampled vnder the horses feet, vntill she died. That done, *Iehu* repaired to the palace with his friends; and reposed himselfe therein, commanding his seruants that they should bury *Iezabel* (in respect of the royall race from whence she was descended) but they to whom the charge of the obsequies were committed, found no part of her body, but her hands and head, for all the rest was deuoured by dogs. *Iehu* certified hereof, wondred at the prophecie of *Elias*, who had foretold that *Iezabel* should die in that sort in *Iezrael*.

4. Reg. 10.

Now in that *Achabs* Leuiticall Iohnes were brought vp in Samaria, *Iehu* sent two letters, the one vnto the masters of the infants, the other to the gouernours of the Citie, giuing them to vnderstand, that they should chooe one of the most vertuous amongst *Achabs* children, to raise as king ouer them, because they had a multitude of strong chariots, horses, armor, men, & (strong Cities); to the end that in so doing, they might take reuenge on those that slew their Lord and master. (This did hee vnder a colour to sound how the Samaritans were affected towards him.) When the gouernours and tutors had receiued these letters, they were affraid, and made account that they could preuaile nothing against him, who had preuailed already against two mighty kings. For which cause they wrote backe vnto him, acknowledging him for their soueraigne; and offering themselves in all dutie, to be vnder his subiection. Whereupon *Iehu* sent backe vnto them againe, commanding them, that (to expresse their obedience) they should send him the heads of *Achabs* children, diuided from their shoulders. Which command of his they failed not to execute, but presently packed vp the heads in panniers, and sent them vnto him to Iezrael. As soon as they were brought thither, tidings thereof was carried to *Iehu*, as he sat at supper with his friends, who commanded that they should be laid in two heapes, at the citie gates on either side thereof. Which done, he issued out as soone as it was day, to see them; and beholding them, he

Achabs 70.
childrē flaine
in Samaria.

A began to tell those that accompanied him, that hee had voluntarily armed himselfe against his master, and flew him: but as touching those whom they saw there, hee had no waies laid hands on them. His onely intent was, that all men should know, that al that which hapned vnto *Achabs* race, was done by the ordinance of God; and that his house was destroyed according as *Elias* had foretold. And after he had slaine and dispatched both these and all those that were found to be of *Achabs* race amongst the Israelites, hee went vnto Samaria: and meeting by the way with *Ochezias* houshold seruants (who was king of Ierusalem) he asked the whether they went? who answered him, that they went to salute *Ioram* and their king *Ochozias* (for they knew not as yet that they were both of them slaine.) Hereupon *Iehu* commanded his seruants to lay hands on them, and put them to the sword, notwithstanding they were fortie two in number. After them he met with a vertuous man called *Ionadab* (who in times past had been his ancient friend, who embracing him, praised his forwardnes, in that hee had performed all things according to the will of God, in abolishing *Achabs* house. *Iehu* caused him to mount vp with him in his chariot, and accompany him to Samaria, telling him that he should well perceiue, that hee would spare no one wicked man, but would punish all the false Prophets, and tellers of lies, and abusers of the people, who had made them forsake the true seruice of God, and adore strange gods: because the most laudable and allowed spectacle that might encounter a good mans eye, was to see the punishment of the wicked. *Ionadab* perswaded by these words, mounted vp into his chariot, and went with him to Samaria; and after *Iehu* had sought out *Achabs* kinred, he put them to death: and intending that no one of his false prophets and priests should escape his hands, hee assembled them together by a subtil policy. For gathering the people together, hee protested that hee would haue twise as many gods as *Achab* had had: willing that all the priests & ministers that belonged vnto them, should present themselves, for that he intended to celebrate rich and magnificent sacrifices to *Achabs* gods; protesting that whatsoever Priest should bee absent, hee should lose his head. Now this god whom *Achab* honoured, was called *Baal*. Having in this sort assigned a day wherein he would offer sacrifice, he sent thorow all the country of Israel, charging al *Baals* priests to repaire vnto him, & commanding that each of them might haue their vestments giuen them. As soone as they were apparelled, he resorted to his lodging, accompanied with his friend *Ionadab*, and commanded that a search should be made amongst them; to espie whether any one of contrary quality or condicon were medled with the; for that he intended that no stranger should be amongst the priests. When as therefore hee vnderstood that none but the priests were in that assembly, euen at such time as they begun to offer sacrifice, hee caused them to bee inclosed by fourescore souldiers (whom he esteemed to be most trustie) whom he commanded to kill the false prophets, and to punish them according to the custome of their forefathers, which had alreadie too long time been neglected; dreadfully threatening all those, who should any waies intermit to roore out the name and memorie of these wretches out of the world. They therefore slew all these priests, and inuironed the kings palace; and in so doing, cleered Samaria of forraigne gods. This *Baal* was the God of the Tyrians (for whom *Achab* builded a temple in Samaria, intending thereby to content *Ithobaal* the king of the Tyrians & Sidonians) to whom hee assigned priests, and honoured him with all sorts of sacrifice. After this Idol was exterminated, *Iehu* suffered the Israelites to adore golden calves. When this execution was performed in punishing the wicked, God (to whom this action of his was acceptable) told *Iehu* by his Prophet, that his children should obtaine the kingdome of Israel to the fourth generation. This was *Iehues* estate.

The year of the
world, 3061. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 904.

The rooting
out of Achabs
line.

The slaughter
of Ochozias
servants.
Ionadab.

**The slaughter
of Baals
priests.**

Baal God of the Tyrians.

The kingdom
promised to
leaves polle-
ritic.

*Athalia reigned five yeares in Ierusalem: and after she was slaine by the hie priest,
Ioas is proclaimed king.*

A Thalia Achabs daughter, hearing newes of the death of her brother *Ioram*, and her son *Ochozias*, together with the utter ruin of al the royal posterity, bethought her selfe to extinguishe *Dauids* memory, & in such sort to root it out, that no one of that line should remain aliue to enioy the kingdome hereafter: which when shee had concluded in her heart, she began to put it in execution. Yet notwithstanding one of *Ochozias* sonnes escaped her bloody hands, by this means that influeth. *Ochozias* had a sister by his fathers side, whose name was *Iofabeth*, who was married to *Ioiada* the hie priest; who entring into the kings palace, and finding *Ioa*s at that time but one yeare of age hidden with his nurse amongst the dead, shee tooke both him and his nurse, and locked them vp in a closter within the temple, where *Ioiada* her husband and shee did

Hedio & Ruf-
finus. chap. 7.
4. Reg. 11.
Athalia roo-
teth out all
the royall
bloud, onely
Joas O chozi.
as son is saued.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

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The yeere of the world, 3060. before Christs birth, 904. Ios by Ioiada means, who was the high priest, is created king.

secretly nourish them for the space of five yeares, during which time *Athalia* reigned in Ierusalem ouer the two tribes.

About the seuenth yeere, *Ioiada* entred into discourse with five centurions, and perswaded them to oppose themselves with mutuall consent against *Athalias* proceedings, and to assure the kingdome to little *Ios*. Whereupon giuing and receiuing faithfull promises of secrecie the one vnto the other, they confidently addressed themselves to execute their intended purposes, after this maner: They whom the hic priest had chosen to execute this act, went thorow all the country, and gathered the Priests and Leuites together, with all the gouernours of the tribes, and afterwards returned and brought them to Ierusalem to the hic priest, who made them swear an oth, that they would keepe secret that which he should enforme them of, as a thing that required silence, and men of execution to perform the same. As soone as he had assured them by oth, he brought forth the little child whom he had nourished (who was of *Dauids* line) and said vnto them: Behold your king, who is of that race which (as you know) was chosen by God to raigne ouer you for euer: I therefore thinke it fit that the third part of you guard and keepe him within the temple, and that the fourth make their watch round about the same. An other company shal haue the guard of the great gate that leadeth to the palace: As for the rest of the people, let them remaine disarmed within the temple, and suffer no armed man to enter thereinto, except the priest onely. Hee appointed also an other company of priests and Leuites to bee about the king, with iuelins, and drawne swords, charging them that whosoever durst bee so bold to enter the temple armed, they should presently put him to the sword; and laying all feare aside, to attend the safety and guard of the kings person. They being obedient to that which the hic priest had commanded them, in effect expressed their readinesse: whereupon *Ioiada* opening the Arceall, (which in times past was prepared by *Dauid*) distributed amongst the centurions, Leuites and Priests, all the iuelins, quiuers, and all other sorts of armes that were therein, and disposed all them that were armed, round about the people, ioyned hand in hand to impeach any one from entering in amongst them that were not of their faction. Afterwards bringing out the infant *Ios* into the midst of the company, they set the royall crowne on his head, and *Ioiada* after he had anointed him with oyle, proclaimed him king: whereupon all the people reioiced, and clapping their hands, cried out, God saue the King.

The yeere of the world, 3067. before Christs birth, 897.

Athalias punishment.

Athalia hearing this noise and applause, beyond all hope, was greatly troubled, and with those souldiers which she had about her, she hastily issued out of the palace, and arriuing in the temple the priests admitted her: as for the rest of the men of warre that followed her, they that by the hic priests ordinance circuted the temple, would not suffer them to enter with her. Now when *Athalia* saw the child standing before the Tabernacle with the royall crowne on his head, she rent her garments, and storming thorow despite, she cried out and commanded that the traitor should be slaine, that had thus betrayed her and sought to dispossesse her of her kingdome. But *Ioiada* called the centurions, and commanded them to carie *Athalia* out vnto the brooke Cedron, and there to kill her (because he would not permit that the temple should be defiled with her curied blood.) Moreouer he charged them, that if any one should attempt to rescue her, they should kill them likewise. Hereupon, they (that were appointed to execute this his command) tooke her, and led her without the gate of the kings mules, and there slew her. After that *Athalia* was in this manner executed, *Ioiada* assembled the people and the men of warre in the temple, binding

The king and the people ioyned by oth to serue God.

The restoring of Gods seruice.

Ios picture during Ioiadas time.

them all by an oth, to yeeld the king their faithfull seruice, and to procure the prosperity, and increafe of his kingdome. Secondly, he made the king swear in like maner, that he would maintaine the seruice of God, and in no manner disannull *Moses* lawes. That done, they ranne vnto *Baals* temple (which *Athalia* and her husband *Ioram* had built to the dishonour of God, and their forefathers, and for the honour of *Achab*) and leuelled it with the ground, and put to death their high priest called *Mathan*. The charge and guard of the temple, *Ioiada* committed to the Priests and Leuites, according to the order establisht by *Dauid*, with commaundement twice a day to offer their ordinarie burnt offerings, & consequently to make perfumes according to the lawe. He appointed also certaine of the Leuites to bee porters to guard the temple, to the intent that no vncleane thing should enter the same vnepied: and after hee had ordained these things with the Centurions and gouernours and with all the people, he tooke *Ios* & led him out of the temple, and attended him to the palace, and hauing placed him in his royall throane, all the people cried, God saue the king, & banquetted & feasted for diuers daies. Thus after the death of *Athalia* the citie was in quiet. *Ios* was 7. yeeres old at such time as he was made king, his mother was called *Sabia*, & was of the towne Bersabee. He carefully obserued the lawes, & highly affected the

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A the seruice of God all his life time: and when he grew to mans estate he married two wiues, which the high Priest gaue him, by whom he had sons & daughters. This is all that I haue thought good to declare as concerning *Ios*, both how hee escaped *Athalias* treasons, and obtained the kingdome. 897. 4. Reg. 12.

CHAP. VIII.

Azael King of Damasco leuieth an army, and first of all assaulteth the Israelites, and after marcheth forward against Ierusalem.

BUT *Azael* king of Syria making war against the Israelites, & against their king *Iehu*, destroyed the country on the other side of Iordan, and all the easterne tract inhabited by the Rubenites, Gadites, and Manasites. Furthermore, he burnt and spoiled Galaad, and *Bathanaz*, violenting and outraging all those that hee met withall. For *Iehu* went not out against him to resist him, but (being become a contemner of God, and a despiser of pietie, and his lawes) he died after he had reigned seauen and twenty yeeres ouer the Israelites: he was buried in Samaria, and left behind him *Ios* his sonne to succeed him in the kingdome. But *Ios* King of Ierusalem conceived a certaine desire to renewe the Temple: for which cause, calling vnto him *Ioiada* the high Priest, he commanded him to send thorow all the country the Leuites and Priests, and to leue vpon euery one of their heads halfe a sicle of siluer for the building and reparation of the Temple, which was fallen into decay in *Ioram*, *Athalia*, and her followers times. But the high Priest would not obey him heerein, knowing well that no man would willingly disburse mony. But in the three and twentieth yeere of his raigne, the king sent both for *Ioiada*, & the Leuites also, and expostulated with them for disobeying his commaundement, enioyning the from that time forth to provide for the building of the Temple. Whereupon the high Priest vsed present dispatch in leuying the money, wherewith the people were highly contented. Hee therefore made a chest of wood closed on euery side (except that on the vpper lidde therof, there was a little craniclest open) which he placed neer vnto the Altar, commaunding that euery one should offer according to his deuotion, and put in his offering thorow the cranney into the coffer, to be employed in the repairing of the Temple; whereunto all the people shewed themselves affectionate: so that they gathered together a great quantitie of gold and siluer, with great zeale; and when the coffer was filled it was emptied, and the account thereof taken and sumd vp by the Secretarie, and high Priest in the kings presence, & afterwards all was brought together into one assigned place: which order was obserued euery day. And when as it was supposed that there was sufficient money gathered, the high Priest *Ioiada* and King *Ios* hired masons, & carpenters, & prepared great beames of excellent timber.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8. 4. Reg. 12. 13. The warre between Azael and Iehu.

The yeere of the world, 3089. before Christs birth, 875.

The restoring of the temple.

After that the temple was repaired, they imploied the remainder of gold and siluer (vvhich was of no small quantitie) to make cups, pots, and vessels, and other vtenils: and euery day offered they sacrifice of great value vpon the Altar, and this custome was continued so long as *Ioiada* liued. But after his decease (which hapned in the hundred and thirtieth yeere of his age, after hee had liued a iust and vpright life, & was interred in the sepulcher of *Dauid* in Ierusalem, because hee had established the kingdom in *Dauids* posteritie) king *Ios* had no more care to serue God, and with him the rest of the Gouernours of the people were corrupted in contradiction of the lawes and ordinances, which they knew were very conuenient for them. For which cause, God being prouoked by this change, and incensed against the king and the rest, sent his Prophets vnto them, to protest, to expostulate with them for their offences, & to withdraw them from their iniquitie. But they pursued sin the more vehemently; so that neither the punishments, by which they, who had offended GOD before times, had been plagued, with all their posterities; neither all the aduertisements giuen them by the Prophets, could induce them to amend, or to forsake those finnes wherein they were engaged: but that which is worst; king *Ios* stoned *Zachary* *Ioiadas* son, and put him to death in the temple, forgetting himselfe most vngratefully of the benefits hee had receiued by his father. And the occasion was, for that *Zachary* hauing receiued a charge frō God to prophecy, came into the midst of the people, & counselled both them & him to follow iustice, foretelling the that they should be grievously punished, except they did belieue. This *Zachary* did at his death cal God to witnes & iudge of those calamities he endured, in dying grievously & violently for the good counsell which he had giuen the, & the benefits which his father had in times past done vnto *Ios*. But many daies passed not before the king suffered due punishment for these misdeeds.

Ios impietie after Ioiadas death, & how he was reproved by the Prophet, 2. Paral. 28.

Zachary stoned to death.

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The yeere of the world 3089, before Christ's birth 875.

The spoile of the temple.

Ioas death.

The yeere of the world 3105, before Christ's birth, 859.

deeds. For *Azrael* king of the Syrians invaded his country, & after hee had first of all ruinated *Gir-cta*, hee marched forward with an intent to besiege him at last in *Ierusalem*. *Ioas* desperate of all succours, emptied all the treasures of God, and those of the kings, and tooke away the presents that were hung vp in the Temple, & sent them to the Syrian, redeeming the siege by this means, least he should be drawne into hazard to lose all. The Syrian pacified with such & so great riches, & abundant treasure, suffered not his army to passe to *Ierusalem*. After this, *Ioas* was seized with a grievous sickness, & (to the intent that the death of *Zachary* the son of *Ioas* might not escape vnreueged) his friends conspired against him, and he died by their hands. He was entombed in *Ierusalem*, but not in the sepulcher of his ancestors, because hee had fallen from God: Hee liued seauen and fortie yeeres.

CHAP. IX.

Amasias king of Ierusalem made warre against the Idumaans and Amalechites, and obtained the victorie.

4. Reg. 14. Amasias king of Ierusalem.

The forces of Israel weakened by God.

The yeere of the world 3109, before Christ's birth 855.

Amasias his sonne succeeded him in the kingdom. But in the 21 yeere of *Ioas* raigne, *Ioachas*, the sonne of *Iehu*, tooke possession of the kingdom of Israel in Samaria, & was seized thereof for the space of seuenteen yeeres. But he followed not his fathers steps, but rather behauing himselfe impiously, according as his predecessors in the kingdom, and contemners of God had done: For which cause the king of Syria subdued him, & cut off a great part of his dominions, and tooke his greatest cities from him, & defeated his armies: I so that at length he had but ten thousand footmen, and fise hundred horsemen. All which happened to the Israelites (according to the prophetic of *Elizeus*, which he foretold vnto *Azrael* at such time as he prophced vnto him, that he should raigne ouer the Syrians, and them of *Damasco*, after that he had murdered his maister. *Ioachas* beeing in this extremitie, had his recourse to God in prayer and supplication, beseeching him that it might please him to deliuer him fro the hands of *Azrael*, and not to suffer him to be vnder subiection and thraldome vnto him.

God (that respecteth the repentant, as if they had been innocent, & that gently checketh those whom he might utterly exterminate, if he so pleased) gaue him assurance against this war & danger, so that the country (hauing obtained peace) recovered presently her former estate and prosperitie. When *Ioachas* was dead, his sonne succeeded him in the gouernment, & began to raigne K ouer the Israelites in Samaria, in the 37 yeere of *Ioas* king of Iuda. (For this king of Israel was called *Ioas*, as well as he that rained in *Ierusalem*) he gouerned the kingdom sixteen yeeres. Hee was a good man, and had no correspondence with his father in disposition. About this time *Elizeus* the Prophet was very old, and fell sick: to him resorted the king of Israel to visit him, and finding him in the extremitie, and past hope of recouerie, hee began to weepe and lament himselfe, calling him his father, and his armour, because that during his life, he had neuer occasion to vse the sword against the enemy; but that by meanes of his predictions, he had alwaies the vpper hand of them without stroke striking: that now he departed this life, and left him disarmed to the mercie of the Syrians, and other his enemies; so that hee had neither securitie of libertie, nor life, but that he rather wished to die with him, then to liue in those dangers.

Elizeus beeing mouued with these complaints, comforted the king that lamented in this sort, and commanding him to draw his boaw that hee had brought with him (for the king had bent the same) *Elizeus* said vnto him, Draw: and hee shot three arrowes, & gaue ouer at the fourth. Oh said *Elizeus*, if thou hadst shot more arrowes, thou hadst utterly ruinated the kingdom of the Syrians: and sith thou hast contented thy selfe with three shoots onely, thou shalt overthrow the Syrians in three battels, which thou shalt fight against them, and shalt recouer the country they haue taken from thy father. After the king vnderstood these things he departed, and not long after the prophet died (who was renowned for his iustice, and manifestlie beloued of GOD, who shewed miraculous and incredible works by his prophecies, and such and so woorthie as the Hebrewes ought to keepe them in perpetuall remembrance) and was buried magnificentlie (according as it behooued a man, who was so highly fauoured by God as himselfe.)

It chanced about that time, that certaine thieues hauing cast the body of a man that was murdered by the vpon the body of the prophet where he lay buried, the dead body returned to life. This is all that we haue to speake as touching *Elizeus*, both in respect of his prophecies during his life time, as of that which hapned after his death, in witness of his diuine power. After the death of *Azrael* king of Syria, *Adad* his sonne obtained the kingdom, against whom *Ioas* king of Israel made

Ioas trebble victory.

Elizeus death & the raising of a dead man to life that was cast into his tombe.

Elizeus foretelleth that *Ioas* should overcome the Syrians thrice.

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The yeere of the world 3109, before Christ's birth 855.

A made war, and hauing overcome him three times, hee recovered all that country, those Cities, and townes of the country of Israel, that *Azrael* his father had conquered before him. (All which came to passe according as *Elizeus* had prophced.) After that *Ioas* had forsaken this world for another, the kingdom fell to *Ieroboam* his sonne.

CHAP. X.

Amasias making warre against Ioas king of Israel, is overcome.

In the tenth yeere of the raigne of *Ioas* king of Israel, *Amasias* rained ouer the Tribe of *Iuda* in *Ierusalem*: his mother was called *Iudan*, & was a citizen of *Ierusalem*. He was wondrously carefull to maintaine iustice (notwithstanding he was very young.) And hauing taken vpon him the gouernment of the kingdom, hee resolved with himselfe, that he ought first of all to reuenge the death of his father *Ioas*, who was traiterously slaine by his friends: he therefore laid hands on them, and put them all to the sword (yet extended he not his displeasure to their children, but conformed his actions according to the lawes of *Moses*; vvhich saith, that it is not lawfull to punish the children for their fathers offences.) He afterwards leuied an army of the tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, & chose the men that were in their flowring yeeres, and about twenty yeeres of age: the number of whom amounted to three hundred thousand men, whom he diuided into Centuries. Hee sent also to the king of Israel, and waged a hundred thousand of his armed men for a hundred talents of siluer, because hee intended to make war vpon the Amalechites, Idumaans, and Gabelites. Now whilst hee made this preparation; and was in a readines to vnder take this exploit; a certaine prophet couelled him to dismis the Israelites that hee had with him, because they had no pietie in them, signifying vnto him from God, that if he were followed by them in that warre, he should be overcome: and contrariwise, that he should haue the vpper hand ouer his enemies, if hee fought with a few men, according to Gods direction. Heerupon the king was fore moued (because he had already paid the Israelites their vvages) but the prophet ceased not to exhort him to do that which was pleasant in Gods sight, who would giue him siluer in abundance. For this cause hee dismissed them, telling them that hee freely gaue them their pay; and hee with the forces of his kingdom marched our against those nations, and D fought with them, and overcame them, and slew tenne thousand of them, & took no lesse number of prisoners aloue (whom he afterwards caused to bee led to a high rocke that bounded vpon Arabia, and from thence cast them downe headlong) and from all these nations hee recovered a great bootie, and brought home much riches.

Whilst *Amasias* stood vpon these tearmes, the Israelites (that had taken wages of him, and were cashiered by him) conceived a displeasure against him, supposing themselves to be iniured by him, as if he had dismissed them for men of small resolution. For which cause they invaded his country, and spoiled it as farre as *Bethfemer*, and carried away a great quantitie of cattell, & slew three thousand men. This victory and prosperitie made *Amasias* proud, so that he began to forget God, who was the author thereof, and continued the honor of those gods which he brought E from the country of the Amalechites. For which cause a prophet came vnto him and said, that hee wondered that he should esteeme them for gods, who had so little auailed them who honoured them, and had deliuered them into his hands; so that diuers of them were put to death, & diuers led away prisoners, which they themselves had brought vnto *Ierusalem*, according to the custome of warre. These words moued the King vnto displeasure, so that hee commaunded the prophet to silence, threatening him to punish him, if he intermedled with his affaires any more. Who answered him, that he would no further vrge him; yet withall hee foreprophecied vnto him; that God would not suffer this his inuouation to rest unpunished. Anon after, *Amasias* (not able to keepe a moderation amidst his affluence & prosperitie: but waxing more insolent against almighty God, by whom he possessed the blessings he enioyed) in height of his pride wrote to *Ioas* king F of Israel, commanding him and his to yield him homage, according as in times past the Israelites were subiect to *Dauid* and *Salomon*; threatening him, that if he refused to doe him voluntarie seruice, he would enforce him to decide the different by armes: to whom the Israelite replied thus. King *Ioas* to King *Amasias*. There was in the mountain of *Libanus* a Cypres tree of great height, to whom a little thistle wrote, demanding of him his daughter in marriage for his son. But during this interparlee betwixt them, there came a certaine wilde beast, that trod downe the thistle. Let this example admonish & dissuade thee from attempting of too mighty matters, neither grow- ing

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. Amasias king of Ierusalem.

4. Reg. 14. Deut. 24.

The yeere of the world 3106, before Christ's birth 858.

The dismissal of the Israelites. 2. Paral. 25. Amasias victorie ouer the Amalechites.

Amasias is reprehended by a prophet for his idolatry.

ing proud of thy last victory against the Amalechites, least thorow thy presumption thou expose both thy life and fortune to the incertaine hazard of warre. When *Amasias* had perused this answer of his, he was the more whetted vnto warre (God also as it seemed pricked him forward, to the intent to chastise those iniquities that were committed by him.) When as therefore hee had drawne his army into the field, & both the armies were vpon the point to wage the battell, a sudden feare & discouragement seized him (such as God in his displeasure is accustomed to inflict) which made *Amasias* army turne their backs: so that (by the apprehension they had conceived) they were scattered before they came to handy strokes; and *Amasias* being left alone, was taken prisoner. Him did *Iosias* threaten, that except he perswaded the inhabitants of Ierusalem to open their gates, and to receiue both him and his armie into the cittie, he would put him to death. For which cause *Amasias* (constrained by necessity and feare of death) wrought so much as his enemies were receiued into Ierusalem, who made a breach of three hundred cubits in their wall; & there-thorow *Amasias* was led captiue into Ierusalem. In this manner was *Iosias* made master of the Cittie, who afterwards carried away the treasures of the temple, & tooke away the gold and siluer that *Amasias* had in his Palace: and hauing in this sort ransomed him from captiuitie, he returned backe againe into Samaria. This hapned in the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Amasias*, who afterwards fled into the Cittie of *Lachis*, to auoid the conspiracie of his domesticall friends, by whom notwithstanding hee was surprised, and slaine by them that were sent to doe the deed: his body was brought and royally entombed in Ierusalem. Thus died *Amasias* for introducing innovations in contempt of God; he liued fiftie foure yeeres, and reigned twentie and nine: his sonne *Ozias* succeeded him in the kingdome.

CHAP. XI.

How Ozias ouercame his neighbour Nations.

IN the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of *Amasias*, *Ieroboam*, *Iosias* son, began to raigne ouer the Israelites in Samaria, and enioyed the kingdome for the space of forty yeeres. This king dishonoured God, and offended him grievously in obseruance of Idols, & diuers absurd and strange actions, by which hee heaped ten thousand mischiefs and miseries on the Israelites heads. To him came there a certaine prophet called *Ionas*, who prophesied vnto him, that he should make war against the Syrians, and that he should ouercome them, and enlarge his kingdom to the Northward, as farre as the Cittie of *Amatha*; and to the Southward as far as the lake *Alphalites* (for these in times past were the limits of the country of *Chanaan*, according as the generall *Iosuah* had confined them.) *Ieroboam* encouraged by this propheticke, led forth his armie against the Syrians, & spoiled all their country (according to the propheticke of *Ionas*.) And for that I haue promised to yeeld an exact historie in writing of all those things that hapned in our nation, me thinks it shal not be amiss to declare that, which I haue found written of this prophet in our Hebrew Chronicles. This man (being commaunded by God to repaire vnto the kingdome of *Ninus*, & to proclaime that which should happen to the cittie of *Niniue*; namely, that the government thereof should be abolished) thorow feare which he conceived, repaired not thither, but fled from Gods presence into a cittie called *Ioppa*; where finding a shippe, he entred the same, and sailed towards *Tharsis* in Cilicia. But there arose so vehement a tempest vpon the sea, that the vessell was ready to be drowned, and both the Mariners, Master, and Owners of the ship, made their vow of thanksgiving vnto God, if they might escape from this tempest: but *Ionas* hid himselfe, & covered his face, performing no such matter as the rest had done. Whereas therefore the turbulent waves incensed by violent windes, increased more and more; the mariners and passengers beganne to imagine amongst themselves, that some one of them in that Barke had caused that tempest: whereupon they agreed amongst themselves to cast lots, to knowe which of them were the occasion of their danger. Which done, the lot fell vpon *Ionas*: who being demaunded whence he was, and for what businesse he travelled: answered them, that he was an Hebrew by nation, and a Prophet of the most high God; and counsell'd them, that if they would be warrant'd from that danger, they should cast him into the sea, because it was he onely that was the cause of that tempest. Notwithstanding this confession of his, they durst not performe that which he desired, supposing that it would be an act of great impietie, in that sort to thrust a stranger into that manifest perdition, whose life had been committed to their trust. But for that the storme more and more increased, and grew so vehement, that they vnted very little of imminent shipwrack; and being besides that incited by *Ionas* himselfe, and whetted on likewise

likewise by the feare they conceived, to lose their liues, they cast him into the sea: whereupon suddenly the storme ceased. It is likewise said, that being swallowed vp by a great fish (for the space of three daies and three nights) hee was at the last vomited out, and cast by the same fish vpon the shore of the *Euxine* sea aliue, and without any maime in any of his members. There be sought he GOD that he would pardon him the sinne which he had committed: and afterwards hee resorted to the Cittie of *Niniue*, where ascending a place from whence hee might be heard, hee published with a loud voice vnto them, that they should lose the Empire of Asia: which after hee had pronounced, he returned back againe. This recitall haue I made according as I haue found it registered in writing.

King *Ieroboam* hauing passed all his life time in prosperitie, and reigned for the space of fortie yeeres, departed this life, and was entombed in Samaria, and *Zachary* his sonne succeeded him in his kingdome. At the same time, *Ozias* the sonne of *Amasias* reigned in Ierusalem ouer the *Ieroboams* tribes, after that *Ieroboam* had already reigned foureteene yeeres; his mother was called *Achia*, and was of the Cittie of Ierusalem. He was a man of a good nature, & such a one as loued iustice, of noble courage, and very laborious in providing for all occurrences: he made warre against the *Philistines*, & after he had ouercome them in battell, he tooke *Ita*, and *Amnia*, two of their strong forts, and raced them. This exploit done, he set vpon the Arabians that neighbored vpon Egypt, and after that (hauing built a cittie vpon the red sea) he planted a garriſon therein. He afterwards discomfited the *Ammonites*, constraining them to pay him tribute, and subdued all as farre as the marches of Egypt. After that, he began to prouide for the city of Ierusalem: for he built it anew, and repaired the walles thereof, that had been beaten downe or decayed, either by continuance of time, or by the negligence of those kings who were his predecessors: he repaired those also which the King of Israel had beaten downe, at such time as hauing taken *Amasias* prisoner, hee rode in triumph into the Cittie. Besides this, he erected a number of towers, each of them one hundred and fiftie cubits hie. These inclosed he with walles to set garriſons therein, & in diuers barren places he caused diuers fountaine-heads to be made: for he had an infinite multitude of beasts of carriage and other cattell, in that the country was fit for pasture. He tooke pleasure also in tillage, for which cause he was often busied about his land, in trimming, sowing, and planting the same. Hee had about him a chosen army, to the number of three hundred and seauenty thousand fighting men, whose Generals, Conductors, and Captaines, were valiant and inuincible men, and were in number two thousand.

Hee taught his souldiers to march in a square battell (in manner of the Macedonian Phalanx) arming each of them with swords, targets, and corselets of brasſe, with arrowes and darts. Hee made also great preparation of diuers engines to batter Citties, and to shoote stons and darts, besides diuers hookes, and other such like instruments. But whilst hee was intent on these studies & preparations, he grew insolent and proud, and being puffed vp with mortall arrogance, he contemned the immortall force, which endureth for euer (which is pietie towards God, and the obseruation of his commandements.) For which cause he was ouerthrowne by his prosperitie, and fell into his fathers sinnes, thorow the happinesse and greatnesse of his estate, wherein he could not moderately containe himselfe. So that vpon a certaine solemne feast day wherein all the people were assembled together, hee attired himselfe in the high Priests vestments, and entred into the temple to offer sacrifice vnto God vpon the golden altar; which notwithstanding the high Priest *Azarias* (accompanied with fourescore Priests) inhibited him the same, telling him that it was not lawfull for him to sacrifice, in that it was onely allowed in those that were of the posteritie of the high Priest *Aaron*.

Whilst after this manner *Azarias* expostulated with him, commaunding him to goe out of the Temple; and not to contradict the ordinances of God; the king waxed wroth, and threatned to take his life from him, except he kept himselfe quiet. Whereupon there fell a great trembling and earthquake, and the temple clef in twaine, and a great light of the sunne entred thereinto, and reflected on the kings face in such manner, that all his body was instantly couered with a leprosie, and before the Cittie (in a place called *Bergo*) the halfe of a mountaine (that stood to the Eastward) brake and fell, and rowled and remoued for the space of foure stadia, towards the orientall mountaine, where it rested: so that the publike waies were shut vp, and choaked, and the kings gardens of pleasure were wholly ruined & disfigured. When the Priests beheld the kings face couered with a leprosie, they told him what inconuenient had hapned vnto him, and enioyned him to depart out of the towne, according to the custome of men that were polluted. Whereupon hee (wholly confused at so grievous an accident; and hauing no more audacitie to speake) obeyed

The yeere of the world, 3106, before Christs Nativity, 848.
Amasias expedition against Iosias king of Israel.

Medio & Rufinus, chap. 11.
4. Reg. 14.
The enlargement of the kingdom of Israel.

Ionas 1.
Ionas sent vnto Ninive, & the presence of God, and ascending a ship, is cast in a storme into the sea.

The yeere of the world, 3120, before Christs Nativity, 844.
Ionas cast into the sea, is deuoured by a whale, and cast vpon the coast of Ninive, foretelling the losse of their empire.

Ionas 2.3.
4. Reg. 14. 15.

Ieroboams death.
Ozias king of Iuda.

The yeere of the world, 3136, before Christs birth, 828.
Ozias expedition, and the repairing of the Cittie.

2. Paral. 26.
The yeere of the world, 3150, before Christs birth, 814.
Ozias riches and armie.

Ozias transgresseth his vocation, & is punished with a leprosie and compelled to depart out of the cittie.

The yeere of the world, 3170, before Christs Nativity, 794.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

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The yeere of the
world, 3190, be-
fore Christ's birth
774.

obeyed the commandment that was giuen him, enduring a pittifull and lamentable punishment for being elate and proud more then became humanitie, and for that he committed such impietie against God. He therefore remained without the Cittie for a certaine time, and led a priuate life, and his sonne *Iotham* succeeded him in the kingdome. Finally, he died thorow griefe and discontent, after he had accomplished threelcore and eight yeeres, whereof he reigned fifty two, & was onely buried in his garden.

Zacharias
slaughter.
4. Reg. 35.

Zachary, *Ieroboams* sonne, hauing raigned six moneths ouer the Israelites, was slaine by treason comploted against him by a familiar friend of his called *Sellum*, the sonne of *Iabes*, who possessed the kingdom after him, enioyed not the same about thirty daies. For the General *Manahem*, beeing at that time in the Cittie of *Tharla*, and vnderstanding of that which had hapned to *Zachary*, departed thence with all his force, and came to *Samaria*, and in a battell which hee fought, he slew *Sellum*: And afterwards obtayning the crowne, he went from thence towards the Cittie of *Tapfi*, the inhabitants whereof locked and barred their gates against him, and would not receiue him: in reuenge whereof he spoiled all the countrey round about, and tooke the Cittie by force, and (beeing highly incensed against the *Tapfians* for their insolence) he put them all to the sword, not sparing their little children (which was an incredible and barbarous crueltie in him.) *Manahem* raigned in this manner for the space of tenne yeeres, continuing a most cruell and vbridled tyrannic ouer the people. Afterwards being assailed by *Phul* king of the *Syrians*, he went not out against him, neither practiced to resist him, but procured his peace for the sum of a thousand talents of siluer, which in way of composition hee paid vnto him. The people furnished *Manahem* with this sum, in way of contribution, paying fiftie drachmes apeece.

Manahem
king of Israel.
The yeere of the
world, 3174, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tinitie, 790.
The *Tapfians*
slaughter.Peace bought
with money.
The yeere of the
world, 3184, be-
fore Christ's birth
779.
Phaceias.
The translation
of the Israelites

Anon after hee died, and was buried in *Samaria*, leauing behind him a sonne to succeed him in the kingdome, whose name was *Phaceias*, who imitating his fathers crueltie, possessed the soueraigntie but two yeeres: for he was slaine at a feast in the midst of his friends, by a treason practiced against him by *Phaceias* the sonne of *Romelias*, who enioyed the kingdom for the space of 20 yeeres, adding himselfe to all impietie and wickednes. But *Teglaphalasser* king of *Assyria*, led forth his armie against the Israelites, and spoiled all the country of *Galaad*, and that beyond *Jordan*, and *Galilee*, *Cydda* and *Asor* also, and led all the inhabitants thereof prisoners, & transported the kingdome to himselfe. This is that which we haue thought good to write as touching the king of *Assyria*.

The yeere of the
world, 3187, be-
fore Christ's Na-
tinitie, 777.
Iotham's piety

Iotham the sonne of *Ozias* raigned in *Ierusalem* ouer the tribe of *Juda*: hee was the sonne of a daughter of *Ierusalem* called *Ierafa*. There was no vertue deficient in this king, for hee was deuout towards God, iust towards men, & carefull to reparaire the Cittie: for he willingly imploied himselfe in restoring that which had need of reparation and ornament. Hee built galleries & porches about the Temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen downe: he erected huge and impregnable towers: in a word, he restored all that which was deficient in his kingdom. He made warre vpon the *Ammonites*; and ouercomming them in battell, he made all their nation tributarie, and constrained them to pay him yeerely a hundred talents, & ten thousand Cores of wheat, and as many of barley: and his kingdome in such sort increased, as he was redoubted abroad, and happy at home. Now about the same time there liued a certaine Prophet called *Naum*, who prophced the ouerthrow of the *Assyrians*, and of the Cittie of *Niniue*, and spake to this effect. All the people thereof shall be tossed and troubled, and be put to flight; and shall say the one vnto the other: Stay and abide, take gold and siluer, and there shall be none that will receiue it. For they

Hedio & Ruf-
finus chap. 7.
The prophcie
of the destruc-
tion of *Niniue*.
Naum.

shall haue more care to saue their bodies, then their goods: for there shall be a great debate amongst them with lamentation: their members shall lose their vigour, and their faces shall be altogether swart thorow feare: where shall the reparaire of the Lions be? or where shall the mother of Lions whelp reft her? *Niniue* (God saith vnto thee) I will destroy thee, neither shall the Lyons that issue from thee, gouerne the world any more. To this effect did he prophcie, and spake many other things to this intent, which it concerneth not to repeat. For I haue omitted it purposely, because I would not be troublesome to the Readers. But all those things which hee forespoke as touching *Niniue*, came to passe one hundred and fiftene yeeres after. But this is sufficient for the manifestation of this matter.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XII.

Rafin King of *Damasco* maketh warre against *Ierusalem*: *Achaz* sendeth for the King of *Assyria* to Assist him.

After that *Iotham* had liued one and fortie yeeres, and raigned fiftene, hee died, and was buried in the sepulchre of the kings: after him the kingdome fell to *Achaz* his sonne, who was a contemner of God, and a transgressour of the ordinances of his forefathers, and conformed himselfe to the customes of the Kings of *Israel*: for he erected Altars in the Citie of *Ierusalem*, and sacrificed vnto Idols, offering vp his owne sonne vnto them (after the manner of the *Chanaanites*) and perpetrated diuerse such like offences. During these impious idolatries of his, *Rafin* King of *Syria* and *Damasco*, and *Phaceias* King of *Israel* made warre against him (for these two were confederates) leading therefore both their armies against *Ierusalem*, they besieged it a long time, yet profited nothing, by reason the wallles were verie strong. But the King of *Syria* hauing seized the Citie of *Elath*, nere vnto the red sea, and slaine all the inhabitants thereof, planted *Syrians* therein, putting all the garrisons likewise to the sword, and all the Iewes rounde about, and carried away with him a great bootie into *Damasco*, and afterwarde returned home with his armie. The King of *Ierusalem* vnderstanding that the *Syrians* were retyred, and supposing himselfe to be sufficient to fight against the King of *Israel*, ledde forth his forces against him, and was overcome in battell (because that God was incensed against him for his wickednesses, which were both detestable and infinite.) For in that battell the Israelites slue about sixscore thousand men: amongst whom was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Achaz*, whom the generall of the armie of the Israelites called *Amias* slue, with *Ericam* the gouernour of the whole Realme, and hee tooke *Elcan* the generall of the tribe of *Juda* prisoner also. They ledde away likewise a great number of women, and children, with a great bootie, and afterwarde returned vnto *Samaria*. At that time there was a certaine Prophet liuing in *Samaria*, whose name was *Obel*, who comming out to meete the armie, cried with a loud voice vnto the people, that the victorie which they had, did not happen vnto them thorow their valour, but by reason of the wrath of God conceived against *Achaz* king of *Juda*. He furthermore reproued them, for that not contenting themselves with the good hap of that victorie, they had so furre presumed as to hold them of *Juda* and *Beniamin* prisoners, who were of their owne alliance: he therefore counselled them to send them backe vnto their houses, without any iniurie by iniustice offered vnto them; threatening them, that if they did the contrary, they be might assured that God would punish them.

The punish-
ment of im-
pietie.
Esa. 7.

4. Reg. 16.

The slaughter
of the armie
of *Juda*.

After this admonition, the Israelites assembled themselves together to consult vpon this matter, at which time *Baruchias* (one of the principall Gouernours of the state, and three others with him alleadged, that it was not lawfull for the Citizens to lead their prisoners into the Citie, for feare (as they said) that God should vtterly extinguish them all. For those sinnes (said they) which we haue already committed, and against which the Prophets haue exclaimed, are cause enough to incense God; so that wee haue no cause to annexe newe impieties to the prece-
dent. When the souldiers heard these words, they permitted them to execute all that which they held conuenient to be done. For which cause the aboue named tooke the prisoners, and discharged them, and entertained them courteously, and gaue them meanes and money to furnish them in their iourney, and sent them home without offence: and besides that, these foure persons conducted them onwards of their iourney, as farre as *Iericho*; and when they drew nere vnto *Ierusalem*, they returned backe to *Samaria*.

4. Reg. 16.
The Israelite
by the pro-
phets aduice
dismissed those
prisoners they
had takē of the
tribes of *Juda*,
and *Beniamin*.

CHAP. XIII.

The King of *Assyria* taketh *Damasco* by force, killeth their King, translateth the people into *Media*, and planteth new colonies in *Damasco*.

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When King *Achaz* had receiued this ouerthrow by the Israelites, he sent vnto *Theglaphalassar* king of *Assyria*, requiring him to assit him in the warre, which he intended against the Israelites, *Syrians* and them of *Damasco*, promising to giue him great sums of money, and at that present also he sent him verie bountifull presents. Who after he had considered on the embassy, came forth with his armie to assit *Achaz*: and spoyleing *Syria*, and sacking *Damasco*,

The yeere of the
world, 3207, be-
fore Christ's birth
757.

Aa

masco,

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The yeare of the world, 3170. before Christs birth 794.

Zacharias
slaughter.
4. Reg. 35.Manahem
king of Israel.
The yeare of the world, 3174. before Christs birth 790. The Taphians slaughter.Peace bought
with money.
The yeare of the world, 3184. before Christs birth 779. Phaceias.
The translation of the Israelites

The yeare of the world, 3187. before Christs birth 777. Iothams piety

Hedio & Rufinus chap. 7.
The prophecy of the destruction of Ninive.
Naum. 2.

obeyed the commandement that was giuen him, enduring a pittifull and lamentable punishment for being elate and proud more then became humanitie, and for that he committed such impietie against God. He therefore remained without the Cittie for a certaine time, and led a private life, and his sonne *Iotham* succeeded him in the kingdome. Finally, he died thorow griefe and discontent, after he had accomplished threelcore and eight yeeres, whereof he reigned fifty two, & was onely buried in his garden.

Zachary, *Ieroboams* sonne, hauing reigned six moneths ouer the Israelites, was slaine by treason plotted against him by a familiar friend of his called *Sellum*, the sonne of *Iabes*, who possessed the kingdom after him, enioyed not the same about thirty daies. For the General *Manahem*, beeing at that time in the Cittie of Tharia, and vnderstanding of that which had hapned to *Zachary*, departed thence with all his force, and came to Samaria, and in a battell which hee fought, he slew *Sellum*: And afterwards obtaining the crowne, he went from thence towards the Cittie of Tapha, the inhabitants whereof locked and barred their gates against him, and would not receiue him: in reuenge whereof he spoiled all the country round about, and tooke the Cittie by force, and (beeing highly incensed against the Taphians for their insolence) he put them all to the sword, not sparing their little children (which was an incredible and barbarous crueltie in him.) *Manahem* reigned in this manner for the space of tenne yeeres, continuing a most cruell and vbridled tyrannic ouer the people. Afterwards being assailed by *Phul* king of the Syrians, he went not out against him, neither practiced to resist him, but procured his peace for the sum of a thousand talents of siluer, which in way of composition hee paid vnto him. The people furnished *Manahem* with this sum, in way of contribution, paying fiftie drachmes apeece.

Anon after hee died, and was buried in Samaria, leauing behind him a sonne to succeed him in the kingdome, whose name was *Phaceias*, who imitating his fathers crueltie, possessed the foueraigntie but two yeeres: for he was slaine at a feast in the midst of his friends, by a treason practiced against him by *Phaceias* the sonne of *Romelias*, who enioyed the kingdom for the space of 20 yeeres, addicting himselfe to all impietie and wickednes. But *Teglaphalasser* king of Assyria, led forth his armie against the Israelites, and spoiled all the country of Galaad, and that beyond Iordan, and Galilee, Cydida and Afor also, and led all the inhabitants thereof prisoners, & transported the kingdome to himselfe. This is that which we haue thought good to write as touching the king of Assyria.

Iotham the sonne of *Ozias* reigned in Ierusalem ouer the tribe of Iuda: hee was the sonne of a daughter of Ierusalem called *Ierusa*. There was no vertue deficient in this king, for hee was deuout towards God, iust towards men, & carefull to repaire the Cittie: for he willingly imploied himselfe in restoring that which had need of reparation and ornament. Hee built galleries & porches about the Temple, and repaired the walls that were fallen downe: he erected high and impregnable towers: in a word, he restored all that which was deficient in his kingdom. He made warre vpon the Ammonites; and ouercomming them in battell, he made all their nation tributarie, and constrained them to pay him yeerely a hundred talents, & ten thousand Cores of wheat, and as many of barley: and his kingdome in such sort increased, as he was redoubted abroad, and happy at home. Now about the same time there liued a certaine Prophet called *Naum*, who prophesied the ouerthrow of the Assyrians, and of the Cittie of Ninive, and spake to this effect. All the people thereof shall be tossed and troubled, and be put to flight; and shall say the one vnto the other: Stay and abide, take gold and siluer, and there shall be none that will receiue it. For they shall haue more care to saue their bodies, then their goods: for there shall bee a great debate amongst them with lamentation: their members shall lose their vigour, and their faces shall be altogether swart thorow feare: where shall the repaire of the Lions be? or where shall the mother of Lions whelp rest her? Ninive (God saith vnto thee) I will destroy thee, neither shall the Lyons that issue from thee, gouerne the world any more. To this effect did he prophesie, and spake many other things to this intent, which it concerneth not to repeat. For I haue omitted it purposely, because I would not be troublesome to the Readers. But all those things which hee forspoke as touching Ninive, came to passe one hundred and fiftene yeeres after. But this is sufficient for the manifestation of this matter.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XII.

Rasin King of Damasco maketh warre against Ierusalem: Achaz sendeth for the King of Assyria to assist him.

After that *Iotham* had liued one and fortie yeeres, and reigned sixteene, hee died, and was buried in the sepulchre of the kings: after him the kingdome fell to *Achaz* his sonne, who was a contemner of God, and a transgressour of the ordinances of his forefathers, and conformed himselfe to the customes of the Kings of Israel: for he erected Altars in the Cittie of Ierusalem, and sacrificed vnto Idols, offering vp his owne sonne vnto them (after the manner of the Chanaanites) and perpetrated diuerse such like offences. During these impiou idolatries of his, *Rasin* King of Syria and Damasco, and *Phaceias* King of Israel made warre against him (for these two were confederates) leading therefore both their armies against Ierusalem, they besieged it a long time, yet profited nothing, by reason the walles were verie strong. But the King of Syria hauing seized the Cittie of Elath, nere vnto the red sea, and slaine all the inhabitants thereof, planted Syrians therein, putting all the garrisons likewise to the sword, and all the Iewes rounde about, and carried away with him a great bootie into Damasco, and afterwarde returned home with his armie. The King of Ierusalem vnderstanding that the Syrians were rettyred, and supposing himselfe to bee sufficient to fight against the King of Israel, ledde forth his forces against him, and was ouercome in battell (because that God was incensed against him for his wickednes, which were both detestable and infinite.) For in that battell the Israelites slue about sixscore thousand men: amongst whom was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Achaz*, whom the generall of the armie of the Israelites called *Amias* the tribe of Iuda prisoner also. They ledde away likewise a great number of women, and children, with a great bootie, and afterwarde returned vnto Samaria. At that time there was a certaine Prophet liuing in Samaria, whose name was *Obel*, who comming out to meete the armie, cried with a loud voice vnto the people, that the victorie which they had, did not happen vnto them thorow their valour, but by reason of the wrath of God conceived against *Achaz* king of Iuda. He furthermore reprobued them, for that not contenting themselves with the good hap of that victorie, they had so furre presumed as to hold them of Iuda and *Beniamin* prisoners, who were of their owne alliance: he therefore counselled them to send them backe vnto their houses, without any iniurie by iniustice offered vnto them; threatening them, that if they did the contrary, they be might assured that God would punish them.

After this admonition, the Israelites assembled themselves together to consult vpon this matter, at which time *Barachias* (one of the principall Gouernours of the state, and three others with him alleadged, that it was not lawfull for the Citizens to lead their prisoners into the Cittie, for feare (as they said) that God should vtterly extinguish them all. For those sinnes (said they) which we haue already committed, and against which the Prophets haue exclaimed, are cause enough to incense God; so that wee haue no cause to annexe newe impieties to the prece- dent. When the souldiers heard these words, they permitted them to execute all that which they held conuenient to be done. For which cause the abouenamed tooke the prisoners, and discharged them, and entertained them courteously, and gaue them meates and money to furnish them in their iourney, and sent them home without offence: and besides that, these foure persons conducted them on wards of their iourney, as farre as Iericho; and when they drew nere vnto Ierusalem, they returned backe to Samaria.

CHAP. XIII.

The King of Assyria taketh Damasco by force, killeth their King, translateth the people into Media, and planteth new colonies in Damasco.

When King *Achaz* had receiued this ouerthrow by the Israelites, he sent vnto *Theglaphalassar* king of Assyria, requiring him to assist him in the warre, which he intended against the Israelites, Syrians and them of Damasco; promising to giue him great sums of mony, and at that present also he sent him verie bountifull presents. Who after he had considered on the embassage, came forth with his armie to assist *Achaz*: and spoiling Syria, and sack- ing Damasco,

The yeare of the world, 3207. before Christs birth 757.

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The year of the world, 3207. before Christ's birth, 752.
The translation of the high priest Achaz, and the king of the temple of the Assyrians.

Achaz shutteth the doores of the Gods temple, and honoureth strange gods. Achaz death. The year of the world, 3215. before Christ's birth, 749.
Oleas impietie against him.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14. 4. Reg. 17. The piety of Ezechias king of Iuda.

Ezechias embassadours that were sent to the Israelites to exhort them to celebrate the feast of unleavened bread, are slain by the

The word of God is never without fruit.

maſco, hee ſlew *Raſes* their king alſo, and transported them of *Damaſco* into the higher *Media*, and ſent certaine people of *Aſſyria* into *Damaſco*. Hee wrought much miſchiefe likewiſe in the countrey of *Iſrael*, and led away a great number of priſoners from thence. After that the *Syrians* had been ſubdued and weakned after this manner, *Achaz* took all the gold and ſiluer that was in the kings treaſury, and in the temple of God, and caried it vnto *Damaſco*, and gaue it to the king of *Aſſyria*, according to thoſe promiſes he had made him, and after much gratuity and thankſgiuing, he returned backe againe to *Ieruſalem*.

This King was ſo ſenſeleſſe and ignorant of his owne profit, that although he were ouerpreſſed by warre by the *Syrians*, yet cealed he not to adore their gods, but perſiſted in their honour, as if he expected the victory by their meanes. And although he were overcome againe, yet intended he the honor of the *Aſſyrian* gods; chooſing rather to reuerence any, then the true God, whom his forefathers worſhipped: Yea ſo farre grew he in contempt and neglect of all true pietie, that at length he ſhut vp the temple gates, and prohibited the ordinary ſacrifices, hauing before that taken all the precious preſents out of the ſame. After hee had in this ſort committed theſe outrages againſt God, he died, when he was thirty & ſix yeeres old; and after he had reigned ſixtene yeeres, and left his ſonne *Ezechias* to ſucceed him in the kingdom. At that very time died *Phaceias* King of the *Iſraelites*, by the meanes of a certaine conſpiracy, which *Oſeas* his intended friend, wrought againſt him: who held the kingdom for the ſpace of nine yeeres, ſhewing himſelfe both to be wicked, and a contemner of God. Againſt him *Salmanaſar* King of *Aſſyria* moued warre, and ouercame him becauſe God was not fauourable vnto him, neither aſſiſtant in his enterpriſes: hee was therefore ſubdued, and conſtrained to pay a certaine tribute impoſed vpon him. The fourth yeere of the raigne of *Oſeas*, *Ezechias* the ſonne of *Achaz*, and *Abia* a Citizen of *Ieruſalem*, reigned ouer the two tribes. He was a man of a virtuous diſpoſition, and one that loued iuſtice and pietie: for as ſoone as he came vnto the kingdom; hee reſolued with himſelfe firſt of all that the chieft and moſt neceſſary and moſt profitable thing that might bee, was the eſtabliſhment of the ſeruice of God. When as therefore he aſſembled the people, the *Prieſts*, and the *Leuites*, hee beganne to diſcoure and deuife with them, in theſe or ſuch like wordes. There is no one of you but knoweth, that for my fathers offences, and for your irrecurent regard and ſeruice towards God, ye are fallen into many and mighty calamities, becauſe thorow your extreame madneſſe, you haue ſuffered your ſelues to be perſwaded to adore thoſe, whom hee eſteemed to be gods. Since therefore you haue learnt (to your owne miſery) how pernicious a thing impietie is, I exhort you, that (forgetting the ſame) you purifie both your ſelues, your *Prieſts*, and your *Leuites* from your former pollutions, that yet at length you may aſſemble together, and open the temple and cleaſe the ſame with ordinary ſacrifices, to the end it may be reſtored to the ancient honour which earſt it poſſeſſed: for by this meanes wee ſhall haue God fauourable vnto vs, when his wrath ſhall be appeaſed that was kindled againſt vs. As ſoon as the king had ſpoken after this manner; the *Prieſts* opened the temple, and after they had gathered the ſacred veſſels, and caſt all vnleaneſſe out of the ſame, they offered ſacrifice vpon the altar, according to the cuſtom. Afterwards the king ſent to all the prouinces vnder his dominion, and gathered together the people of *Ieruſalem*, to celebrate the feaſt of vnleavened bread (which had been intermitted a long time thorow the impietie of the kings his predeceſſors.) He ſent alſo vnto the *Iſraelites*, exhorting them to forſake the cuſtoms which of long time they had wickedly obſerued, and to returne to the true and ancient manner of ſeruing God, certifying them that he would permit them to repaire to *Ieruſalem*, to celebrate the feaſt of vnleavened bread, promiſing them that he himſelfe would ſolemnize the ſame with them alſo: proteſting that hee did this, not in reſpect of his owne profit, but thorow the deſire he had to further their felicitie, who ſhould bee happy if they obeyed this his counſaile.

When *Ezechias* embassadours came vnto the *Iſraelites*, and had deliuered vnto them the meſſage that they had in charge: ſo farre were they from conformity, that they mocked them, and eſteemed them to be mad, and ſpit vpon thoſe *Prophets* that exhorted them to piety, and foretold them the euils they ſhould ſuffer, vnleſſe they ſubſcribed to the ſeruice of God; and finally they layd hold on them, and put them to the ſword. And not contenting themſelues with this preſumption, they yet attempted ſurre worſer things; and neuer gaue ouer vntill that God (in puniſhment of their impietie) made them ſubiect vnder the hands of their enemies, as ſhall appeare manifeſtly hereafter. But diuers of the tribes of *Manaſſes*, *Zabulen* & *Iſſachar* (reſpecting the good counſailes of the *Prophets*) ſubmitted themſelues to the ſeruice of God, and repaired altogether to *Ieruſalem* to King *Ezechias* to honour God. As ſoone as they were arrived there,

Ezechias

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The year of the world, 3218. before Christ's birth, 746.
Ezechias sacrifice.

Reformation of Gods ſeruice.

The year of the world, 3224. before Christ's birth, 740.

The king overcommeth the Philistines. Ezechias forsaketh the seruice of the king of Assyria

Ezechias aſcended into the temple accompanied with the gouernours, and all the people, and offered there ſeuē bulles, ſeuē rammes, and as many goates: and after that he, and all the gouernours had laid their hands vpon the heads of the ſacrifice, they deliuered them to the *Prieſt*, according as it appertained to them, and they ſacrificed and made burnt offerings of them. The *Leuites* alſo (aſſiſting round about with instruments of Muſicke) ſung hymnes and ſongs vnto God, according as they had bene taught by the ordinance of *Dauid*. The other *Prieſts* had trumpets, with which they reported to the tune of their hymnes. Which done, the King and all the people caſt themſelues proſtrate vpon the ground, and adored God; and afterwards ſacrificed ſeuētie oxen, a hundreth ſheepe, and two hundreth lambes. The King likewiſe beſtowed ſix hundreth oxen, and three thouſand ſheepe vpon the people to eaſt withall. And when as the *Prieſts* had ioiſfully performed all things (according to the cuſtome contained in the law) the King tooke great pleaſure and banquetted with the people, giuing thanks vnto God. And when the feaſt of vnleavened bread was come, they ſacrificed the Paſſeouer, and during the ſeuē other daies, they offered vp their other ſacrifices. The King gaue in way of gratuitie vnto the people (beſides that which had bene offered) two thouſand oxen, and ſeuē thouſand ſheepe. The gouernours did the like, and gaue the people a thouſand buls, and one thouſand foure hundreth ſheepe: and thus was the feaſt ſolemnized, which had bene ſo magnificently and devoutly celebrated ſince *Salomons* time. When the ſolemnitie of this feaſt was paſt, they iourneyed and went thorow the countrey, and purified it. They purged the Citie likewiſe of all vnleaneſſe of Idols, and the King ordained that the dayly ſacrifices ſhould be made according to the law, vpon his charge. Hee enacted alſo that the people ſhould pay the tents to the *Prieſts*, and *Leuites*, with the firſt fruites, to the intent they might wholly intend pietie, and neuer eſtrange themſelues from the ſeruice of God. By which meanes it came to paſſe, that the people brought all kinde of fruit to the *prieſts*, and *Leuites*: which the King put vp in certaine ſtorehouſes, which he had built, to be diſtributed to euerie one of them, their wiues, and children, and by this meanes they returned againe to their former puritie in religion. After the King had diſpoſed all things in this ſort, hee made warre vpon the *Philiftines*, and ouercame them, and ſeiſed all their Citie (betweene *Gaza*, and *Geth*). About this time the King of *Aſſyria* ſent vnto him, and threatened him, that if hee would not pay him thoſe tributes which his father before him had paide vnto him, he would deſtroy all his countrey. Neuertheleſſe *Ezechias* ſet light by his threats, aſſuring himſelfe in that pietie and zeale hee bore towards God, and in the *Prophet* *Eſay*, by whom he was exactly inſtructed as touching all thoſe things that were to ſucceede. And for this preſent it ſhall ſuffice that wee haue ſpoken thus much of this king.

CHAP. XIII.

Salmanaſar ſlayeth the King of Iſrael, and leadeth the Iſraelites captiue into the countrey of Media.

When tidings was brought to *Salmanaſar* King of *Aſſyria*, that the King of *Iſrael* had priuily ſent vnto *Soan* king of *Egypt*, to requeſt his aſſiſtance in warre againſt the *Aſſyrian*, he was ſore diſpleaſed, and drew forth his armie againſt *Samaria*, in the ſeuēth yeere of the raigne of *Oſeas*. But the King of *Iſrael* withſtoode his entrance into the Citie, by which meanes he was beſieged therein for three yeeres ſpace, and finally *Samaria* was taken by force, in the ninth yeere of *Oſeas*, and the ſeuēth of *Ezechias* raigne. At which time all the kingdom of *Iſrael* was deſtroyed, and all the people transported into the countrees of *Media*, and *Perſia*; and amongst the reſt King *Oſeas* was taken priſoner. The King of *Aſſyria* cauſed certaine Nations of a Countrey, which (by reaſon it abutted vpon a certaine riuer in *Perſia* called by that name) was called *Chut*, to remove their habitation, and to dwell in *Samaria*, and inhabite the Countrey of *Iſrael*. As for the ten Tribes of *Iſrael*, they were transported out of their Countrey (nine hundreth ſortie ſeuē yeeres, ſince their predeceſſors (departing out of *Egypt*) poſſeſſed the Countrey of *Chanaan*; eight hundreth yeeres after the gouernment of *Iofuah*; and two hundreth and ſortie yeeres, ſeuē moneths, and ſeuē dayes, ſince they reuolted from *Roboam* *Dauids* nephew, to giue the kingdom to *Ieroboam*.) This was the end of the *Iſraelites*, who tranſgreſſed the lawes, and diſobeyed the prophets, who foretolde them of that calamitie which ſhould happen vnto them, except they repented them of their impieties. The ſedition that they moued againſt *Roboam*, eſtabliſhing his ſeruant for their King, was the originall of their miſchiefs. For *Ieroboam* committing impietie againſt God, and they imitating his wickedneſſe, preuailed ſo much, as the maieltie of God

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 15.

4. Reg. 17.

The Iſraelites, removed from their poſſeſſions are tranſlated into the region of the Cuſhites.

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The Tyrians
Chronicles
touch upon
the wars of Salma-
nazar as a part
the Tyrians
written by Me-
tandrus.

God grew displeased with them, so that he punished them according as they deserved. But the King of Assyria ravaged and spoiled all Syria, & Phoenicia with his armie, & his name is found written in the Chronicles of the Tyrians: for he made warre against the Tyrians, at such time as *Elulat* reigned in Tyre, whereof *Menander* maketh mention, who wrote the history of Tyre, and hath translated their Pantarches into the Greeke tongue. The King *Elulat* (said he) reigned six and thirtie yeares, and pursued the Cutheans that were revolted from him by sea, and made them subiect. Against whom the King of Assyria sent forth his armie, and invaded all Phoenicia, and afterwarde hauing couenanted a peace with them, hee returned backe againe. The Cities of Sidon, Arce, and Paletyr, and diuerse other cities revolted from the Tyrians, & submitted themselves to the king of Assyria. For this cause, and for that they of Tyre did not obey him, hee drew his armie forth once more against them; and hee was furnished by the Phoenicians with sixtie ships, and eight hundred rowers. The Tyrians charging these ships with twelue of their vessels, ouerthrew the naue of the Assyrians, and tooke about fise hundred men prisoners: which act of theirs, wonderfully increased their honour. But the king of Assyria returning backe againe, planted a garrison vpon the riuier, and fortified the fountaine heades, to the intent the Tyrians might draw no water; which act of his (continuing for the space of fise yeares) they were enforced to find & dig new fountaines to sustaine themselves. These things are written in the Registers of the Tyrians themselves, as also the exploits of the King of Assyria against them. But these Chuteans & new inhabitants of Samaria (for to this day their name remaineth there, as hauing bin brought from the Region of Chut which is in Persia, where there is a Riuier of that name) for that they were of fise nations, they brought with them each of them the god whom they honoured in their nation, to the number of fise gods, whom they serued after the manner of their Countrey. Wherevpon the true and supreme God was grievously displeased, and prouoked against them: for a plague fell amongst them, that consumed them in such sort, that they could finde no remedie, vntill such time as they had notice that it behooued them to adore the great God, and that therein consisted their safetie. They therefore sent vnto the King of Assyria, requiring him to send them Priests from amongst the Israelites, whom he had led away prisoners in warre. Which done, they learning the law, and the manner of Gods seruice by them, began verie diligently to obserue both: by which meanes the plague ceased sodainly. And now euen vnto this day continue they in the same Religion, and are called by the Hebrewes Chuteans, and Samaritanes by the Greekes. These as often as they find the Iewes in prosperitie, call them their cousins (according to the variety and changes of time) but if they perceiue their fortunes to bee on the declining hand, then abiure they consanguinitie, and renounce any lawfull parentage or amity, and say that they were planted in the countrey, and drawne thither from a forraigne nation. But in time and place conuenient, we shall speake of them more amply.

Gods displea-
sure against the
idolatrious
Chuteans.

The Chuteans
embrace the
seruice of God
and in prosperi-
ty claime
kinred of their
Iewes.

THE TENTH BOOKE

OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 10. Booke.

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5. Iosias death in battell, who hindered the King of Aegypt from leading his army against the Babylonians, and the euent thereof.
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The year of the
world, 3221. be-
fore Christ birth
733.

CHAP. I.

Senacharib King of Assyria besiegeth Ezechias in Ierusalem.



- B** N the fourteenth yeere of the raigne of *Ezechias* King of the two Tribes, *Senacharib* King of Assyria drewe forth a huge army against him, and surprised all the Cities of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* by strong hand. To him *Ezechias* sent Embassadours, promising him obedience, and such a tribute as it should please him to impose. When *Senacharib* had heard and considered vpon the embassadours instructions, he resolved on peace, and accepted *Ezechias* offer, promising that he would depart in peace as soone as hee had receiued three hundred talents of siluer, and thirty talents of gold: swearing an oth vnto the embassadours, that vnder these conditions he would depart away without offering any outrage. *Ezechias* giuing credit to these wordes of his, emptied the treasures, and sent the prefixed summe to *Senacharib*, hoping to be deliuered from his enemy, and the hazard wherein his countrey stood. But the Assyrians hauing receiued the money, serlight by their promises, so that *Senacharib* went in person to make warre against the Aegyptians and Aethiopians, and left *Rabfaces* his generall in *Iudæa* with a great power, accompanied with two of his chiefeft minions and courtiers, with commision to spoyle Ierusalem: The names of these two were *Tharata* & *Anachares*. As soon as they were encamped neere vnto the walles, they sent vnto *Ezechias* and commaunded him to come and speake with them: but hee thorow feare which he had conceiued, went not vnto them, but sent three of his most familiar friends, *Eliacim* the superintendent of his realme, *Sobna* and *Ioachus* that had the commision of his registers. These three presented themselves before the chiefeftaines of the Assyrian army: whom when *Rabfaces* had beheld, he commaunded them to returne vnto their master, and to tell him that the great king *Senacharib* was desirous to know vnder what hope he thus neglected his government, & obstinately refused to obey him and receiue his army into the City? Is it perhaps, because he hopeth the Aegyptians will haue the vpper hand of the kings army? If that be his hope, doubtlesse he is deceiued, shewing himselfe to be like vnto a man that stayeth himselfe vpon a broken reede; by which hee is not onely not sustayned, but in his fall also, hath his hand pierced therewith. He likewise withheld him to conceiue, that this his expedition was not without the will of God, who, as in times past hath giuen them victorie ouer the Israelites; so now also is pleased to humble *Ezechias*, and to make both him and his subiects stoope vnder the Assyrian government. Whilest *Rabfaces* spake thus in the Hebrew language (wherein he was very skilfull) *Eliacim* (fearing least the multitude should be stricken with feare vpon the hearing of these wordes) besought him to speake in the Syriack toong. But he sufficiently instructed what it was that he feared, answered him with a lowder voice in the hebrewe toong, and tolde them that they ought to giue care vnto the Kings commaundement, and to yeelde themselves to his mercie, because it concerned their securitie. I am not ignorant (sayd he) that both you and your King do persvade the people vnder a vaine hope, and fraudulently allure them to beare armes against vs. But if your valour be ought at all, and you suppose that you can leuy the siege from your walles, I am ready to furnish you with two thousand horse, giue you vs so many horsemen to approue their valors: but you cannot giue them that you haue not. Why therefore delay you? why yeelde you not to those that are too strong for you? and are able euen in spite of your resist to ransack your city? whereas you know that a willing submission is alwaies secure: contrariwise whereas duety is enforced, there wanteth no perill of calamity.

4. Reg. 18.
The destruction
of Iudæa.

The oth of Senacharib, and his breach thereof.

Rabfaces persuasion, to cause *Ezechias* submit.

When both the Embassadours and the people had heard that which the Assyrian had spoken, they reported the same to *Ezechias*, who incontinently cast his royal garments off, and clothed himselfe in sackcloth, carrying the countenance of a disconsolate man, and casting himselfe prostrate vpon the earth after the manner of their countrey, he besought God to be assistant vnto him, since all other hope was vaine. He sent also certaine of his friends, and some Priests vnto the Prophet *Ezra*, requiring him to pray vnto God, that since the sacrifice was offered vnto him

4. Reg. 19.
Ezechias in adueritie hath recourse to God, he is comforted by *Ezra*.

for publicke securitie, it might please him to frustrate the enemies hopes, and to haue pitie and compasion on his people. When the Prophet had performed no lesse then he required, he receiued an answer from God, by which he assured the King, and all them that were about him, foretelling them that the enemies should be ouercome without stroke strooken, & should retire with shame, and not with that aduantage which they bragd of at this present, because God had already determined how they should be ouerthrowne. Hee foreprophecied also that *Zenacharib* himselfe (the King of Assyria) should faile of his enterprise in Aegypt, and that vpon his return to his owne court, he should be slaine. At that very time the Assyrian wrote letters to *Ezechias*, in which he called him foole and mad man, to thinke that he could warrantize himselfe from being his slaue, yea his in especiall, who had conquered diuers and far greater nations: threatening him with vter ruine at such time as he should surpriseth the Citie, if hee opened not the gates of Ierusalem willingly, to entertaine his armie. When *Ezechias* had read these letters, he set light by them, by reason of the confidence he had in God: and hauing opened them, he spred them in the temple. And whilest he renewed his praiers vnto God for the saluation of the City, and his subiects, *Esay* the Prophet told him that his prayer was heard: that hereafter likewise they should manure their lands in peace & securitie, & should enioy their possessions without feare. Not long after, the king of Assyria hauing but cold successe in his expedition against Aegypt, turned back againe without doing any thing, for this cause that ensueth. Hee had lost much time in the siege of Pelusium: & at such time as he had already raised certaine bulwarks as by as the wall, so that he wanted nothing but to giue the assault; news was brought him that *Tharices* king of Aethiopia brought an army to rescue the Aegyptians, with an intent to take his way thorow the desert, and sodainly to charge the Assyrian armie. *Senacharib* troubled with these tidings, speedily departed thence with his army. But *Herodotus* saith, that he made waire with *Vulcan* priest, especially for that he was both a king and a priest: Besieging Pelusium (sayde hee) for this cause he gaue ouer the siege. The King of Aegypt called to his God for assistance, by whose power the Arabians suffered much miserie. But in this also he erreth, in that he setteth downe the Arabian for the Assyrian. In one night (sayd he) there was such a multitude of mice, that they gnaw all the enemies bowes and other arms: whence it came to passe that the King being disarmed withdrew his siege from Pelusium. But *Berosus* a writer among the Chaldees maketh mention of *Senacharib*, and how he reigned amongst the Assyrians, and troubled both Asia and Aegypt with warre, and declareth the manner in these words. But *Senacharib* returning from the Aegyptian warre came before Ierusalem, and receiued the army that was there, at the hands of his gouernour *Rhabaze*, and God caused a pestilent sicknesse to fall vpon his army, which was so violent that the first night of the siege there died one hundreth fourescore and fise thousand men, with their gouernors and chieftains. With which losse he was so affrighted, and troubled, that fearing to lose his army, he fled with those that remained, & retired himselfe into his kingdome to the Citie called Ninieue, where after he had liued for a time, he was traiterously slaine by *Adramelech*, and *Selenar* his two elder sons: and being dead, was caried into his owne temple called *Aruche*, and his children were driuen out of the kingdom for committing the murder, and retired themselves into Armenia, and *Afferadochus* succeeded *Senacharib*. Such was the end of the Assyrian army that came before Ierusalem.

CHAP. II.

Ezechias hauing for a time remained in peace, dieth: & leaueth his son Manasses to succeed him.

R King *Ezechias* (being in this sort beyond all hope deliuered fro his fears) offered thanksgiving & sacrifices vnto God, with all the people, acknowledging that there was no other cause that had slain part of his enemies, and put the rest to mortall feare, neither that had deliuered Ierusalem from thraldom, but only Gods succour and assistance. And whilst he altogether intended and was occupied about the seruice of God, he fell sicke of a grievous discale, so as the Physicians despaired of his health, and his friends expected nothing but his death. This ticknes of his was accompanied with a grievous cure, because he had no children, and saw that he was now to depart the world, and to leaue his house desert, & his kingdom desolate. Being therefore in this sort toyled with discontents, he lamented and besought God, that it would please him to lengthen his life a little time, vntill he had children to succeed him, and that he would vouchsafe that his soule might not be taken from him, before hee were the father of a sonne.

A sonne. Herupon God taking compasion of him (and the rather, because he was not grieved for that the pleasures of his kingdome were taken from him; but for that he sought for a lawful heire to succeed him in the principedome) he sent the Prophet *Esay* vnto him, to assure him, that after three daies he should be recovered of his sicknesse: and that after he had liued some fifteen yeers more, he should depart out of this life, and leaue a lawfull heire behinde him. When the Prophet (according as he was commanded) had brought these tidings to the king; he doubted both the vnexpected messenger, and the mightinesse of his discale: for which cause he required some prodigious signe at *Esaias* hands, to the intent that he might certainly beleue, that he was sent as a messenger from God vnto him: for the truth of those things, which either exceede our hope, or reason, are wont to be confirmed by these meanes. Whereupon *Esay* asked him what signe he required, and it should be giuen him. For which cause hee requested, that since the declining sun had already aduanced his shadow ten degrees within the royall lodging, he would cause it to return vnto the place where it was before, and ouerrun againe the same lines of shadow. On this occasion the Prophet besought God, that it would please him to confirme the king by this miracle: who seeing that which he desired, was sodainly deliuered from his sicknesse, and ascended the temple to worship and praise God. At that time it hapned, that the monarchy of the Assyrians was destroyed by the Medes, (whereof I will speake in another place.) Anon after, *Balad* King of Babylon sent an Embassadour to *Ezechias* with presents, calling him his ally and friend: who receiuing his messengers, willingly feasted them, and shewed them his treasures, his arcanall, and all other magnificence that he had of gold and precious stones: and after he had giuen them presents for *Balad*, he dismissed them. Whereupon the Prophet *Esay* came vnto him, asking him from whence those Embassadours came? To whom *Ezechias* answered, that they were of Babylon, & came vnto him from the king, telling the Prophet how he had shewed them all that which he had, to the end that hauing seene and obserued his riches and power, they might afterwarde certifie their king thereof. Whereunto the Prophet replied, saying: Know thou that within a little time thy riches shall be transported into Babylon, and thy children shall be made Eunuches and (being no more men) shall be slaues vnto the King of Babylon. All which God gaue him to vnderstand before it hapned. For which cause *Ezechias* was sore troubled, to heare these tidings, saying, that he desired that his people might not fall into those miseries: but since it was impossible to change the decree of God, he required that he might haue peace during his life time. Of this *Balad* king of Babylon, *Berosus* maketh mention. This Prophet truly diuine, and admirable for the verity of his prophecies, is accounted to haue spoken nothing that was vntrue, but to haue left in writing all that which he prophecied: the truth whereof hath afterwards in effect appeared to posteritie. Neither did he alone performe this much; but besides him, twelue others haue done the like: and all that which is hapned vnto vs, either good or euill, hath fallen out truly according to their prophecies. But hereafter we will speake of euery one of them. Now when as *Ezechias* had liued his prefixed time (according as we haue forespoken) and gouerned his kingdome in peace, he died when he was fifty foure yeeres olde, and in the nine and twentieth yeere of his raigne.

CHAP. III.

The Kings of Chaldaea and Babylon warre against Manasses, and take him prisoner.

Isonne *Manasses* (the sonne of *Achiba*, a woman borne in Ierusalem (succeeded him in the kingdome. This man forooke his fathers waies, and followed sinister customes, expressing in his manners all kinds of mischiefe, nor omitting any impietie, but adding himselfe to all the iniquities of the Israelites, who were destroyed because of their finnes committed against God. Hee was so impudent as hee spared not to pollute the very temple of God, the Citie, and the whole countrey: for making his entrie, in despite of God, he slew afterwards all those that were vertuous men among the Hebrews. And although he had no want of Prophets; yet so it is, that he killed euery day some: so that Ierusalem was ouerflowne with blood. For which cause God being prouoked vnto wrath by these his so hainous offences, sent diuers Prophets the one after the other, both to the king and to the people, by whom he threatened to inflict the same calamities vpon them, which (for contempt of religion) the Israelites their brethren had a little before that suffered. But they vnwilling to giue trust to these speeches of theirs (whose admonitions had they respected they might haue auoided their imminent euills) at length in effect experimented

The year of the world, 3347. before Christs birth, 717. Manasses surprised and led prisoner into Babylon, and after his repentance restored to his kingdom the year of the world, 3388. before Christs birth, 676. Manasses purified the City & consecrated the temple againe.

The year of the world, 3302. before the birth of Christs, 660. Manasses death. Amos king of Iuda & wicked Prince.

The year of the world, 3304. before Christs birth, 660. Josias king of Iuda. 4. Reg. 22. Josias restoreth the true service of God. The year of the world, 3307. before Christs birth, 657. Josias rooteth out Idolatry. The year of the world, 3321. before Christs birth, 643. Josias dies. The year of the world, 3321. before Christs birth, 643. Josias dies.

Josias rooteth out Idolatry. The year of the world, 3321. before Christs birth, 643. Josias dies. The year of the world, 3321. before Christs birth, 643. Josias dies.

rimented the truth thereof. For whereas they persevered in their accustomed and dissolute manners, God incensed the king of Chaldaea and Babylon against them; who sending his army into Iudaea, and spoiling the whole region, at length surprised and led away *Manasses* prisoner, and made him subiect to what punishment it should please them to inflict vpon him. At last the wretch (taught by his owne mischiefe) acknowledged his sinne, and humbly besought God in prayer, that he would make his enemy courteous and mercifull: neither did God shew himself inexorable; but hauing compassion on his miseries, gaue care vnto him; and after some space of time, the Babylonian sending him home, restored him to his former gouernment. As soone as he was returned backe to Ierusalem, he began (as much as in him lay) to shew the fruits of repentance, and to feare God in all things, cleansing his spirit of all those sinnes, whereunto before time he was addicted. Hee purged the temple also, and cleansed the Citie; and from that time forward, he addicted himselfe wholly to thinke how he might giue God thanks, for that he had thus retired him from ruine, and how he might passe all the remnant of his life in his fauour. He taught the people likewise to doe the like, telling them what miseries they had endured within a few yeers, for that they had demeaned themselves impiously. Hee repaired the altar also, and according to *Moses* precept offered thereon solemne sacrifices: and after that hee had puraued those things that concerned the seruice of God, as it appertained; hee bethought himselfe likewise of the security of the City of Ierusalem, and carefully repaired the old and ruined wals, annexing also an other inclosure thereunto, and erecting high towers likewise, furnishing the same with munition and victuall sufficient for a City of defence. And so much was hee changed during the rest of his life, that he was held most happy; and after the time he began to serue God, I diuers tooke example of vertue by imitating him. After he had liued sixtie and seauen yeers, he dyed in the fiftie and fiftieth yeere of his raigne, and was buried in his garden. His kingdom came into the hands of his sonne *Amos*, the sonne of *Emalsema*, of the Citie of Iabath, who imitating his fathers youthly course, was slaine in his owne house, by a conspiracy plotted by his owne household seruants, after he had accomplished the yeers of foure and twenty, and reigned two. After his death the people slew his murderers, and he was buried with his father, and the kingdom was giuen to his son *Josias*, who was only eight yeers olde.

CHAP. III.

The History of Josias.

Josias mother was of the City of Boiceth, and was called *Seda*: hee was a man of a good nature, and of his owne insinck inclined to vertue, conforming himselfe to the customs and manners of his progenitor *Dauid*, both in the scope and rule of all his life. When he grew to betwelve yeers old, he gaue manifest approbation of his pietie and iustice: for hee drew the people to a conformable course of life, and to the detestation and abolishing of Idols, that were no gods, and to the seruice of the onely and true God of their forefathers. And considering the actions of his predecessors, he began to rectifie them in that wherein they were deficient, with no lesse circumspection, then if he had been an olde man; and that which he found to be correspondent and aduicely done by them, that did hee both maintaine and imitate. All these things did hee both by reason of his innatred wisdom, as also by the admonishments and counsailes of the elders: for following orderly the lawes (both in respect of publike policie, as also in religion) he walked vprightly, in that by obseruing them hee could not erre. For circuiting both the City & the whole country, the king rased down and defaced the woods that were made for strange gods, and overthrew their altars; and all those gifts that had been offered vnto them by his predecessors, were defaced in a mockerie: and in this manner caused hee the people to returne to the seruice of God, and to forsake the honour they did vnto Idols. Hee offered likewise the ordinary sacrifices and burnt offerings vpon the altar, and established Iudges and magistrates to determine publike debates, and to doe each man right, charging them to haue no lesse respect of equity, then they had of their owne liues. He sent also thorow all the countrey, M commanding all those that would be contributors, either in gold or siluer, towards the reparation of the temple, should bring in their beneuolence according to their wils, and faculties. And when all the money was gathered together, hee appointed superintendents, both ouer the temple, as also ouer the charges that were defraied in the reparation thereof: namely, *Amasias*, who was already gouernor of the City, and *Saphan* the secretary, and *Iosia* Committee ouer the registers, with the high Priest *Eloia*: who with al expedition and diligence prouided workmen, and all that which

A which was requisite for the building, and began the work. This sodaine and speedy reparation of the temple gaue a manifest testimonie of the kings pietie: who when he had attained to the eighteenth yeere of his age, sent *Eloia* the high Priest, and caused him to melt downe the remainder of the money that was giuen towards the building of the temple, and to make vessels, cups, and ewers, for the seruice of the Altar. He commaunded also, that all the gold and siluer that was in the treasure should be brought forth, and emploied after the like manner in cups, and other vessels. Now whilst the high Priest searched the treasure, hee found the sacred bookes of *Moses* in the temple, which he brought and deliuered to the Scribe *Saphan*: who after he had perused the same, presented them vnto the King, giuing him to vnderstand, that all that which hee had commaunded was accomplished: besides that, he read the bookes vnto him; which when the king had heard, he rent his clothes, and called *Eloia* the high Priest vnto him, and the Scribe *Saphan*, with certain other of his inward friends, and sent them vnto the Prophetesse *Olda*, the wife of *Sallum*, a man in high dignitie, and famous, by reason of his nobilitie: commanding them that when they came vnto her, they should endeuour to appease Gods wrath, and labour to recouer his fauour; because it was to be feared, that by reason that their ancestors had transgressed the laws of *Moses*, they should be in danger to be dispossessed of their countrey; and abandoned by all men, should at length perish miserably.

When the Prophetesse had heard the kings commandement, shee willed those that were sent vnto her to returne vnto the king, and to certifie him from her, that God had giuen a sentence against them, which might not be reuoked, by any prayers whatsoever; namely, that since they had transgressed the law of *Moses*, the people should perish, and should be cast out of their country, & deprived of all their goods that they had, and for that they haue not growne to amendment in so long time; notwithstanding the Prophets had exhorted them to repentance, and had foretold the punishment of their impieties, which should happen vnto them, to the end that they might beleeue that God is God, & that he faileth not in anything that he hath foretold by his prophets. Furthermore she said, that he forbore as yet to send these afflictions vpon them, for *Josias* sake, who was a more vertuous man: but that after his decess God would poure his intended punishments vpon the people. This prophetic of the woman they signified vnto the king: who sent into all parts, & assembled the people in Ierusalem, commanding the priests and Levites, and generally all men without distinction of age, or person, to be present in that conuention. Now when they were assembled, hee first of all caused the sacred bookes to be read, and afterwards standing aloft vpon his throne, hee caused all the people to sweare and promise that they would serue God, and keepe *Moses* lawes. Whereupon all of them did willingly approue whatsoever he said, promising to doe that whereunto they were exhorted. And therewithall offering vp present sacrifices vnto God, they besought him to shew himselfe fauourable and mercifull towards them. The king likewise commanded the high Priest, that if there were any necessarie in the temple which were made by his predecessors, in honour of Idols and strange Gods, he should cast it out. And after that a great quantitie was found therein, all of it was gathered together and burnt, and the ashes afterwards were scattered here and there. And as touching the Priests (that appertained to Idols that were not of the race of *Aaron*) he put them to death. When these things were thus executed in Ierusalem, he came afterwards to the plaine countrey; and all that which *Ieroboam* had erected there in honour of Idols, he utterly defaced it, and the bones of the false prophets were burnt vpon the Altar that *Ieroboam* had builded. This had the prophet foretold that came to *Ieroboam*, at such time as he offered sacrifice, and told him in the presence of all the people, all that which should happen: namely, that one of *Dauids* posteritie called *Josias*, should doe those aboue named things: which propheticooke effect three hundredth, sixtie and one yeere after. After this, king *Josias* transported himselfe to the Israelites (who had auoided the captiuitie and seruitude of the Assyrians) and perswaded them to forsake their impieties, and the seruices they had performed to strange Gods, and to honour the soveraigne and true God of their fathers, and to cleaue vnto him. Hee made a search also thorow euerie house, borough, and citie, fearing least as yet there should bee any Idoll hidden. Hee likewise sought out the chariots that were made by his ancestors, in honour of the sunne, and all that which was adored whatsoever it were, and utterly abolished the same. After hee had in this sort purged the countrey, hee assembled all the people in Ierusalem, where hee celebrated the feast of vbleauened bread, and the solemnitie of Easter. Towards the performance whereof, he gaue the people young kiddes and lambes, to the number of thirtie thousand, and three thousand bullockes for burnt offerings: and the chiefe amongst the Levites distributed amongst the other Levites fiftie hundredth lambes, and fiftie hundredth bullockes. Hauing therefore such an abundance

The year of the world, 3321. before Christs birth, 643.

Moses sacred bookes found in the temple.

Olda the Prophetesse sent vnto Josias.

The Prophecie of the Iewes miserie.

4. Reg. 23. A lively image of a godly prince.

The truth of the diuine oracles. 3. Reg. 13.

The celebration of the Passover.

The year of the world, 3314, before Christ's birth, 639.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9.
Alias chap. 7.

dance of beasts they sacrificed according to the law of *Moses*, (the Priests taking charge thereof, G and confirming the rest of the people by their example.) Neither was there euer such a solemnitie kept by the Hebrewes since the time of *Samuel* the Prophet; because all things were done according to the lawes and auncient customes, which were obserued in the time of their fathers. After this, *Iofias* liued in peace, riches, honour, and estimation amongst all men: and thus finished his life.

CHAP. V.

Diuers exploits of *Nechao*.

The year of the world, 3314, before Christ's birth, 639.
The Egyptians worke their passage thow Iudæa.

4. Reg. 23.

Iofias death.

An Epitaph written by *Ieremy* on *Iofias*

2. Paral. 25.
Ieremy prophesieth the captiuitie of Babylon.
In what time *Ieremy* liued.
Iozaz king of Iuda.
4. Reg. 23.
2. Paral. 26.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7.
Alias chap. 6.
Ezechiel called *Iochim* in the king of Iuda.
The year of the world, 3335, before Christ's birth, 629.

Nechao King of Egypt hauing gathered great forces, conducted his army towards the flood Euphrates, to warre against the Medes and Babylonians, who had destroyed the Emphyre of Assyria: for *Nechao* affected the gouernment of all Asia. Now when he drew neere vnto the Citie of Mende (which was vnder *Iofias* subiection) king *Iofias* denied him passage, & would not suffer his armie to march thorow his country. For which cause *Nechao* sent a herald vnto him, to let him vnderstand, that it was not against him that he made war, but that he bent his course towards Euphrates: for which cause hee wished him in no sort to hinder his intended iourney, least thereby he should be constrained to make warre vpon him. But *Iofias* respected not this demaund of his, but resolved himselfe to hinder his passage thorowe his country: And truly I suppose that the destinies pricked him forward to this arrogance, to the end he might haue some occasion to doe some thing against *Nechao*. For whilest hee disposed his armie, and rode from one band to another, being mounted vpon his chariot, hee was strooken with an arrow that was shot by a certaine Egyptian, which cooled and tempered the spleene hee had in warre. For feeling himselfe sorely oppressed with paine, by reason of his wound, hee commanded his armie to retyre, and returned himselfe to Ierusalem, where he died of his wound, and was buried with his fathers with great magnificence, after hee had liued nine and thirtie yeares, and reigned thirtie and one. For him the people mourned with great heauinesse, lamenting and sorrowing for many dayes. The Prophet *Ieremy* also made a deploation ouer him in lamentable verse, which is as yet extant euen in these dayes. This prophet left in writing those euils that should afterwards happen vnto the citie, and the captiuitie wherewith wee are intangled at this present, and the surprisall of Babylon. Neither hath hee alone foretolde the same: but the Prophet *Ezechiel* hath likewise done the like; who first left two bookes written of the same argument. These two prophets were of the race of the priests. But *Ieremy* kept in Ierusalem, from the fourteenth yeare of the raigne of *Iofias*, vntill the destruction of the Citie and Temple; as in time and place convenient wee will declare, setting downe those occurrences that hapned to this prophet. After the death of *Iofias* (heretofore mentioned) his sonne *Iozaz* succeeded him in the kingdome, at such time as he was twentie and three yeeres old, who reigned in Ierusalem; his mother's name was *Ametala*: hee was a man full of impietie, and of a malignant and peruerse nature. The King of Egypt returning from the warre, sent vnto *Iozaz*, commanding him to meet with him in Samath a Citie of Syria, where he was no sooner arrived, but hee kept him prisoner, committing the kingdome to *Eliacim* his brother (on the fathers side) who was his elder brother likewise. L He changed his name also, and called him *Iochim*: hee imposed a tribute also on Iudæa, of one hundred talents of siluer, and a talent of gold, which *Iochim* paid. And as touching *Iozaz*, hee led him into Egypt, where he finished his dayes, after hee had bene king three moneths, and ten dayes. Now *Iochim's* mother was called *Zabuda*, of the Citie of Abuma. He was a wicked person, and of a malignant nature, hauing neither pietie towards God, nor respect of equitie towards men.

CHAP. VI.

Nabuchodonosor's armie commeth into Syria.

The year of the world, 3336, before Christ's birth, 627.
Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon warreth against the Egyptians.

IN the fourth yeare of his raigne, a certaine man called *Nabuchodonosor*, possessed the kingdome of Babylon; who at that time went out with a great armie against *Carchabab* (a Citie situate neere vnto Euphrates) resolving with himselfe to fight against *Nechao* King of Aegypt, vnder whose power all Syria was subiect. *Nechao* vnderstanding of the Babylonians intent, and how great his armie was, made verie little account thereof, but with a huge armie addrested himselfe towards Euphrates, with an intent to repulse *Nabuchodonosor*. But he was

The year of the world, 3336, before Christ's birth, 627.

As was overcome in battell, and lost diuers thousands of his men. VWhereupon, the Babylonian (palsing Euphrates) seized all Syria as far as Pelusium (Iudæa only excepted.) The fourth yeare that *Nabuchodonosor* reigned ouer these conquered countries, & the eight yeare of the raigne of *Iochim* ouer the Hebrewes, the Babylonian led forth his army against the Iewes, with a mighty power, threatening them to vse all hostility, except *Iochim* would pay him tribute. *Iochim* fearing his threats bought his peace with siluer, and paid for three yeeres space the tributes that were imposed on him. But in the third yeare (vnderstanding that the Aegyptian was vp in armes against the Babylonian) he denied the payment of the tribute; notwithstanding he was frustrated of his hope, for the Aegyptians were not so hardy as to make warre. All which the Prophet *Ieremie* daily foretold him, signifying vnto him that he builded his hope in vain vpon the Aegyptians, and that it would fall out that the Citie should be ouerthrown by the king of Babylon, and *Iochim* himselfe should be deliuered prisoner into his hands. But because there was no means for them to escape this iustice, all that which he said was nothing auailable. For notwithstanding the people and gouernours heard therof, yet made they no reckoning of the same; but were displeased with those counsailes, which he proposed vnto them, accusing *Ieremy* as if he took pleasure to vtter and publish ominous and aduerser presages against the king: they likewise called him in question before the kings counsell, and required that he might be condemned. VWhereupon some of them gaue sentence against him: the rest reprouing the aduise of the elders that were thus addicted, tooke a more discrete course, and caused the Prophet to depart out of the kings house, forbidding his aduersaries to doe him any mischief: they protesting that he had not only foretolde the future calamities of the citie, but that many before him had done the like, as *Micheas* and diuers others; & yet that no one of them had suffered any euill by the kings of their time, but that contrariwise *Micheas* had been honored as a Prophet sent from God. By these words they appeased the people, and deliuered *Ieremy* from the death intended against him. This man wrote all his prophecies; and read them to the people in their fasts, and assembled them in the temple in the ninth moneth of the fift yeare yeare of the raigne of *Iochim*, which book he had composed touching that which should happen vnto the Citie, the temple, and the people. VWhen the gouernours heard the same, they took the booke from him, and commanded that both hee and his secretary *Baruch* should withdraw themselves out of the sight of men: and they took the booke, and presented it vnto the king; who in the presence of his friends, commaunded his secretary to read the same: and after he had heard the contents therof, he waxed wondrous wroth, and rending it in pieces, cast it into the fire, intending that it should neuer be seene. He sent out likewise a strict commission to seek out *Ieremy* and his secretary *Baruch*, and to lead them out to be punished: But they had preuented his indignation.

Iochim paid Nabuchodonosor tribute.
4. Reg. 24.

The year of the world, 3343, before Christ's birth, 622.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8.
Iochim sent forth from the king of Babylon.

The year of the world, 3345, before Christ's birth, 620.
Ieremy foretelleth the destruction of Ierusalem.
Iere. 22.

CHAP. VII.

Nabuchodonosor putteth *Iochim* to death, and establisheth *Iochim* in the kingdome.

Not long after this, he went out to meete the king of Babylon, who was marched out to make warre against him: and being incredulous and carelesse of the Prophets predictions, he opened the gates vnto him, supposing that he intended him no euill: But when the Babylonians were entred into the Citie, the king obserued not his promises, but put all such to death as were in the flower and beaurie of their yeeres, and spared none of the inhabitants of Ierusalem: with them also he slew their king *Iochim*, and caused his body to be cast from the top of the wals, and vouchsafed him no sepulture, establishing *Iochim* his sonne king of the country, and of the citie. Moreover he tooke three thousand of the most honorable Citizens of Ierusalem prisoners, and led them to Babylon with him, amongst whom was the Prophet *Ezechiel*, at that time very young in years. This was the end of king *Iochim*, who liued thirty six years, and reigned eleuen. *Iochim* that succeeded him in the kingdome was the sonne of *Nossa* of Ierusalem, and reigned three moneths and ten daies.

Nabuchodonosor's entertainment into the city, & his cruelty.
4. Reg. 24.
2. Paral. 36.
Iochim or *Iechonias* king of Iuda.

CHAP.

Nabuchodonosor *changeth his purpose, and besiegeth Iochan, and receiueth him vnder composition.*

Uelto & Ruf-
fous, chap. 9.

4 Reg. 25.

Nabuchodon-
osor for a true
breake.

AS soone as the Babylonian had bestowed the kingdome of Iudaa on *Iochan*, hee was seised with a sodaine feare, which made him suspect least *Iochan* remembering himselfe of the iniuries he had done vnto him by the murder of his father, might draw the countrey into rebellion, and reuolt against him. For which cause he sent out certaine forces and besieged *Iochan* in Ierusalem: who being a man of a good nature, and of an vpright heart, was loath to forsake the Citie in that danger without a gouernour, considering that it was for his cause that the common weale was in that hazard. For which cause, taking his wife, and his neereft kin with him, he deliuered them into the hands of the captaines that were sent against him, receiuing an oath from them, that neither they nor the Citie should receiue any harme. But this promise continued not a yeare: for the king of Babylon obserued it not, but commanded his captaines to imprison all the youth and artificers that were in the Citie, and to bring them bound vnto him. The number of them was ten thousand, eight hundred thirtie and two persons, besides *Iochan*, his mother, and his neere allies, whom they tooke prisoners.

CHAP. IX.

Sedechias is made King ouer Ierusalem, by the Babylonian.

Sedechias king
of Ierusalem
reduced by his
cousens and
false prophets,
gave no care
to Ieremie.

Ieremie pro-
phesied the
destruction of
the temple.

Sedechias re-
sisteth the
Babylonian;
Hebe & Ruf-
fous chap. 10.
The king of
Babylon re-
fused to receiue
the king of Ie-
rusalem, in out-
throwe by
Nabuchodon-
osor with all
his army, and
drew out of
Syria.

IN stead of *Iochan*, hee appointed *Sedechias* his Vnckle King of Ierusalem, whom hee bound by an oath that he should gouerne the countrey without any innouation, or partiall fauour towards the Egyptians. This *Sedechias* was one and twentie yeares old at such time as he came vnto the kingdome; & was *Iochans* brother by the mothers side: he was a contemner of all lawes, and a peruerter of ordinances. For the young men that were about him were without the feare of God, and all the people vnder his dominions committed whatsoeuer outrages were best liking vnto them. For this cause the Prophet *Ieremie* came vnto him, protesting oftentimes against him, and denouncing, that if he remained not all those impieties, and iniquities he vied, and addid not himselfe to that which was ill (but gave care vnto his gouernours, amongst which there were many wicked men, and to those false prophets that misled him, trusting that the Babylonians should not make warre against his Citie; but that the Egyptians should leue an armie and ouercome them) that then he should die a miserable death: for (said he) they haue no truth in their sayings, and those things also which they pronounce, are not to be spoken. Whilest *Sedechias* gave care to these discourses of the Prophet, he was perswaded, and acknowledged all that to be true which he had spoken, & very profitable both for him, & his people: but anon after his friends corrupted him, & directed him according to their owne opinions. *Ezechiel* also at the same time, had prophesied in Babylon all those calamities which were to fall vpon the temple, & sent notice to Ierusalem of that which he had receiued fro God. Notwithstanding, *Sedechias* gave no credit to his prophecies, by reason that all the Prophets were accustomed to report in all things the one with the other, touching the fall of the Citie, and the imprisonment of *Sedechias*: but *Ezechiel* differed in this, that he said that *Sedechias* should not see Babylon; notwithstanding that *Ieremie* had prophesied, that the king of Babylon should lead him away prisoner in bonds: because therefore these were in discord in their sayings, he concluded that the manner wherein they agreed, was of no consequence. Notwithstanding all things hap- ping vnto him according as the Prophets had pronounced, hee would not declare his discontent: place. At that time hee had continued his alliance and friendship with the king of Babylon for the space of eight yeares, he brake the league that was betwene them, and conspired with the Egyptians (vnder hope that they should ouercome the Babylonians). Which when the king of Babylon vnderstood, he led forth his armie against him, and destroyed his army in the vntermost: so that after he had taken his Citie of defence, hee finally placed his gins about the Citie of Ierusalem. The Egyptian perceiuing the estate wherein his allye *Sedechias* was, leuied a huge armie, and came into Iudaa with an intent to raise the siege. Whereupon the Babylonian withdrew his armie from Ierusalem to encounter with the Egyptian, and fought with him, and ouer- came him in battell, and pursued him with such alacritie, that he put him to flight, and draue him altogether out of Syria. As soone as the Babylonian was dislodged from Ierusalem, the false pro- phets

A phets deceived *Sedechias*, telling him that the Babylonian should neuer more returne, to make warre either against him, or his nation, and that he should neuer any more depart from his house in Babylon; and that they who had beene led away captiues, should returne home againe, laden with those vessels of the Temple which the king of Babylon had taken from them.

But the Prophet *Ieremie* presenting himselfe before the king, prophesied the contrary to these impostors, assuring both him and the people, that no profit could befall them by meanes of the Egyptians; for that the Babylonians should ouercome them, and should returne and encampe before Ierusalem, and besiege the same, and destroy the people by famine, and lead them away prisoners that were remaining, and carry away all their substance; & that after they were seized of the riches of their temple, they should finally burne the same. As for the Citie, they should raise it: and (said he) they shall keepe vs captiue for the space of seuentie yeares: And from this seruitude the Persians and Medes shall deliuer vs, at such time as they haue gotten the Empire out of the hands of the Babylonians: then shall they send vs backe againe into our countrey, and we shall build our temple anew, and establish the Citie of Ierusalem. Diuerse men gaue credit to these words of *Ieremie*; but the gouernours and contemners of God, intricated him verie cruelly, as if he had beene a man transported out of his sense. And whereas he had an intent to visit his native countrey Anathoth, some twentie stounds off of Ierusalem, one of the Magistrates encountering him in his iourney, & laying hold on him, retained him, loading him with this slander, that he went & stole away to submit himselfe to the Babylonians. But *Ieremie* answered that he was falsely accused, & that he repaired onely to the place where he was borne. This Prince giuing him no credit, arrested him, and brought him before the iudgement seat, where he sustained all sorts of outrages and torments, & was shut vp in prison to be punished, & remained there for a time, suffering the extremities of wrong and iniurie. The ninth yeare of the raigne of *Sedechias*, and on the tenth day of the ninth month, the king of Babylon came and encamped the second time before Ierusalem, and entrenched himselfe round about the same, for the space of eightene moneths, and laid batterie and siege thereto, with as great spleene as might be possible: And they that were besieged therein, were encountered with two most hainous afflictions, famine, and most grievous pestilence. At this time the Prophet *Ieremie* being in prison, held not his peace, but cried with a loud voice, and preached, and exhorted the people, willing them to entertaine the Babylonians, and to open their gates vnto them: because that in so doing they might warrantize themselves withall their families, whereas otherwise they were assured of destruction. He foretold them also, that if any one remained in the Citie, he should most assuredly, either perish by famine, or the enemies furie: but if so be they submitted themselves to the enemies mercie, they should escape from death. But those gouernours that heard him speake after this sort, gaue him no credit; in that they were not as yet pressed with the danger: for which cause they came vnto the king, and after a dispitefull manner, told him all that which had beene spoken, accusing *Ieremie*, and reprouing him for a mad man; vrging this, that hee had abated their courage, and by his wofull predictions, had weakened the hearts of the people, which were otherwise readie to fight for him and their country, by reason that he flying vnto the enemy, menaced them with the surprisall and utter ruine of their Citie. But the king in regard of the naturall humanitie and iustice that was in him, was not any waies whetted in respect of his owne interest, yet to the intent he might not seeme to be utterly opposed to the gouernours, by contradicting them, he deliuered the Prophet into their hands, to deale with him howsoeuer they pleased. Who hauing obtained this libertie from the king, entred the prison on the sodaine, and laying hold on *Ieremie*, they let him downe into a pit full of mud, to the intent hee might die in that place, and be strangled by the ordure: in effect, he was set therein vp to the necke. But one of the kings seruants (an Aethiopian by nation) certified the king of the Prophets affliction, assuring him that his friends and gouernours did not iustly, so to thrust and burie the Prophet in the mud, & cursedly to conspire against him, tying him with bonds and tortures worse then death. For which cause the king hearing this newes, was sorie that he had deliuered the Prophet to the Gouernours; and commanded the Aethiopian to tak thirtie men of his court with him (with cords and such other things necessarie, as might concerne the safetie of the Prophet) charging him with all expedition to deliuer him from that captiuitie. Hereupon the Aethiopian furnished with men and necessarie meanes, drew the Prophet out of the mud, and dismissed him without any gard. That done, the king sent for him in secret, demanding of him if he had any message to deliuer him from God, praying him to let him vnderstand whatsoeuer he knew as touching the successe of the siege. The Prophets answer was, that although he should tel him, yet it would not be beleecued; & that if he should ex-

The yeare of the
world, 3346. be-
fore Christs birth,
618.
Sedechias se-
duced by
false prophets
the prophecy
of the captiui-
tie of Babylon
and the deli-
uerie.
1st. 25. 29. 37.

The yeare of the
world, 3346. be-
fore Christs birth
610.
Ierusalem be-
sieged.
4. Reg. 25.
Iere. 39.
Two mightie
enemies,
famine and
pestilence.
Ieremie per-
swadeth them
to yeild.

The reward of
godly prea-
chers in this
life.

Sedechias
neglecteth
the Prophets
good counsell
for feare of the
gouernours.

The year of the
world, 3354 be-
fore Christ's birth
610.

CHAP. X.

Jerusalem be-
sieged eigh-
teen moneths
and at length
taken.

The year of the world, 3356. before Christ's Nativity, 608.

Sedechias fleeth by night, and is surprised by the enemy.

The yeere of the
world 3356, be-
fore Christs birth
608.

ls Sedechias hath
o his eyes pulled
e out, and his
n children flaine
before his face.

How many &
how long the
kings reigned
that were of
Dauids line,

The temple, the palace, and the citie spoyled and burnt.

The captivity
of Babylon.

The high
Priests in Jeru-
salem.

Sedechias death.

Hedio & Ruf.,
finus, chap. 21.

The year of the
world 3356.
Before Christes
birth, 608.
Godolias cap-
taine of the Ju-
dians.
Jeremy set at
liberty by the
Babylonians,
and richly vi-
sited and pre-
sented.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Baruch dismi-
ssed out of pris-
on. The Jewes re-
solved to Ma-
phath to Go-
doliass.

pointed *Godolias* the sonne of *Aicam* gouernour (a man that was both vpright and noble) com-
manding them to till the land, and to pay their assigned tribute to the king. Hee drew the Pro-
phet *Jeremy* also out of prison, perswading him to repaire with him to the king of Babylon, tel-
ling him that hee had receiued expresse commaundement from the king, to furnish him with
all things necessarie for that iourney: but if hee were not contented to repaire to Babylon, hee
should declare vnto him in what place hee would make his aboad, to the intent hee might certi-
fie the king thereof. But the Prophet would not follow him, neither depart or sojourn in any o-
ther place, desiring rather to liue amidst the ruines of his countrey, and among the pitious reli-
ques of his poore nation.

When the generall *Nabuzardan* vnderstood his resolution, he gaue charge to the gouernour
Godolias (whom he left in Iudæa) to haue care of him, and to furnish him with all that which he
wanted, and after he had gratified him with presents, hee departed. Meane while *Jeremy* dwelt in
the Citie of *Maphath*, praying *Nabuzardan* that hee would lend him his discipule *Baruch* (the son
of *Neria*, a man of a noble family, and excellently learned in that countrey language.) Now
when as these that during the siege of Ierusalem were retired out of the Citie, vnderstood of the
retreat of the Babylonians, they assembled together from all parts, and came to *Maphath* to
Godolias, vnder the conduct of *Iohn* the son of *Careas*, and *Iezanias* and *Sareas*, and others. And
besides these, a certaine man called *Ismael* of the blood royall, a wicked and fraudulent man, who
during the siege of the Citie, had retired himselfe to *Bathal* king of the Ammonites, and had
sojourned with him during all the troubles. Who being in this sort assembled before him, *Go-
doliass* counselled to remaine in that countrey without any feare of the Babylonians, promising
that in manuring their land they should incur no inconuenience. All which he confirmed vnto
them by an oth; adding further, that if any disturbance were offered to any man, hee would
readily assist him. Hee gaue each one this aduice likewise, to inhabit any Citie that best liked
them; promising them to send them thither, with such things as appertained to them, to build
their houses and turnish their habitations; promising them that when time serued, hee would
make their prouision of come, wine, and oyle for their maintenance during the winter time:
which when hee had proposed these conditions vnto them, hee gaue them leaue to depart, and
inhabite the countrey wherfoeuer they best liked. Now when the rumour ran amongst the peo-
ple of Iudæa, that *Godolias* had thus curteously entertained those that were fugitiues, & how he
had permitted them to inhabit & till the countrey (provided that they payd their tribute to the
Babylonian) diuers of them repaired incontinently to him, and inhabited the countrey. And
Iohn and the other gouernours being with him, and assured both of his clemencie and courtesie,
began intirely to loue him. For which cause they told him, that *Bathal* king of the Ammonites
had sent *Ismael* to murder him by som treacherie, that by that means he might haue the domini-
on ouer the Israelites that remained, in that he was of the blood royall. Assuring him that the means
of his deliuerance from that treason, was, if so be he would commaund them to kill *Ismael* in se-
cret: assuring him on the contrary side, that they feared, that if *Ismael* should happen to kill him,
their whole nation that remained, was like to fall to vter ruine. But *Godolias* tolde them plainly,
that these stratagems they intended, were practised against a man that had receiued pleasure at
his hands; and that it was not likely that hee whom hee had succoured during the time of his ne-
cessitie, would be so wicked or impious against his benefactor, as to attempt to murder him,
whome in any occasion or necessitie hee could not but to his great shame and indignitie, either
sle or forsake. Yea, said he, although those things were true which you informe me of, yet had I
rather die, then oppress a man that hath committed his life to my trust. For which cause *Iohn*
and the rest (seeing their perswasions were in vaine) departed from him. Some thirtie dayes after,
Ismael (accompanied with ten men) came to *Maphath* to *Godolias*, who receiued them with pre-
sents and magnificent entertainment, so that to expresse to *Ismael* and his companions how har-
tily they were welcome, *Godolias* drunke so hard that he was somewhat ouerseene with wine. Now
when *Ismael* perceiued him to be in that key, and overloden with drinke and sleepe, hee stept
vnto him with his ten associates, & cut both his throat and theirs, who kept him companie at the
banquet: after which murder, hee issued out by night and slew all the Jewes that were left in the
citie, & those Babylonian soldiers also that were left in garrison in that place. The next day there
came fourescore men of the countrey to *Godolias* with presents, being vterly ignorant of that
which had hapned. *Ismael* knowing them, called them vnto him, as if he intended to bring them
to *Godolias*, and as loone as they were entred, hee locked the court and slew them, and afterwards
cast their bodies into a deep ditch, to the intent they might not be discouered. Of this number
there

The year of the
world 3356, be-
fore Christis birth
608.

A there were some that escaped, who brought him that they might not be put to death, before
they had deliuered, as vaine trifles; garments and come that they had hidden in the field:
which when *Ismael* understood, he spared them: but he kept them prisoners that were in *Ma-
phath*, with their wives and children, the number of whom were the daughters of *Sedechias*,
whom *Nabuzardan* had left with *Godolias*. This done, he retired backe againe to the king of the
Ammonites, *Iohn* and the gouernours of his companie, vnderstanding of the act committed by
Ismael in *Maphath*, and about all of the murder of *Godolias*; they were wonderfully displeased:
so that each of them assembling his priuate force, issued forth to pursue and persecute *Ismael*; who
they ouerooke neere vnto a fountaine in Hebron. The prisoners that were with *Ismael*, seeing
Iohn his confederates, took courage, supposing that it was some succors that came to help them,
and forsooke him that led them, and began to ioyne with *Iohns* followers; and thus fled *Ismael*
with his eight men, to the king of the Ammonites. *Iohn* gathering together all those whom he
had released from *Ismaels* hands, both Euauches, women, and children; retired into a certaine
place called *Mandra*, where he sojourned all that day, resolving from thence to depart into Aeg-
ypt, fearing least the Babylonians should put him to death; if they should remaine in Iudæa,
for that they would be displeased with the death of *Godolias*, whom they had planted in the go-
uernment.

Iohn released
Ismaels cap-
tiues.

Being thus plunged and perplexed with these deliberations, they addressed themselves to the
Prophet *Jeremy*, beseeching him to Enquire of God, and to certifie them, what it behoued them
to do in this their doubtfull estate, binding themselves by an oath to do that which *Jeremy* should
G commaund them. Herevpon the Prophet promised that hee would aske counsell of God for
them, and some ten daies after, God appeared vnto him, and willed him to certifie *Iohn*, the go-
uernour, and the rest of the people, that if they inhabited Iudæa he would assist them; and haue
care of them, and keepe them so, as the Babylonians (whom they feared) should doe them no
harm: but if they departed into Aegypt, he would abandon them, and would be so incensed a-
gainst them, that he would thrall them in the like miserie, as their brethren had indured in times
past. Whilest the Prophet thus warned them from God, they would not beleue him, in that he
commanded them to remaine in that place: by Gods precript. ordinance: but they imagined
that vnder a false pretext of Gods commaund, he had counselled them therto, but that in effect
he spake in fauour of his discipule *Baruch*, perswading them to stay there, to the end they might be
D consumed by the Babylonians: Contemning therefore the counsell which God gaue them by
the Prophet, both *Iohn*, and the rest of the multitude went into Aegypt, and led with them both
Baruch and *Jeremie*. Whither they were no sooner come, but God told the prophet that the Ba-
bylonia should lead his army into Aegypt, for which cause he willed him to foretel the people that
Aegypt should be destroyed, and that they should partly be slain in that place, and partly led cap-
tiue to Babylon. Which came in like mannerto passe: for in the fift yeare after the destruction of
Ierusalem (which was the three and twentieth yeare of the raigne of *Nabuchodonosor*) *Nabuchodo-
nosor* in his owne person led his army into Coelosyria, and hauing conquered the same, hee made
waite vpon the Ammonites and Moabites. And after he had brought these nations vnder his o-
beisance, he went and fought against the king of Aegypt, and ouercame him: and after hee had
E slaine their king that gouerned at that time, and planted another in his place, hee afterwards
tooke the Jewes that he found in that countrey, and carried them prisoners into Babylon. By
this meanes we haue learned, that the state of the Hebrews being brought to this point, hath bin
translated twise to the other side of Euphrates. For the people of the two tribes were captiued
by the Assyrians, during the raigne of *Osai*; and consequently that of the two tribes, vnder *Na-
buchodonosor* king of the Babylonians and Chaldees, vpon the taking in of Ierusalem. True it is
that *Salmatazar*, after he had displaced the Israelites, planted the Cutheans in their place; who
before time inhabited the innermost of the countreies of Persia and Media, and were called Sama-
ritanes, according to the name of the place which they inhabited; but the Babylonian hauing
led the two tribes prisoners, hath not planted any other people in their places.

Iohn asked
counsaile of
God, and be-
ing informed
releaseth the
same.

Iere. 43. 45.

The prophecy
of the Babylo-
nian armie,
and the Jewes
captiuitie.

The year of the
world, 3361, be-
fore Christis birth,
603.

F For this cause, Iudæa, Ierusalem, and the Temple, remained desert for the space of seuentie
yeares: and all the time that passed betweene the captiuitie of the Israelites, vntill the destruction
of the two tribes, was a hundred and thirtie yeares, six moneths, and ten daies. But *Nabuchodon-
osor* chose the most noblest young men amongst the Jewes (and such as were allied to King *Se-
dechias*, and esteemed likewise for the good disposition and faire proportion of their bodies and
faces) and committed them to masters to be instructed, commanding that euerie one of them
should be gelded, according as they were accustomed to deale with yong children of other Na-
tions;

The years of the world 3363. before Christ's birth 603. Hedio & Rufinus chap. 12. Dan. 1. Daniels forwardnes and his fellows towards in studying wisdom and good letters.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

tions, whom he subdued by force. He allowed them victuall from his owne table, and they were taught and instructed in the discipline of the countrey, and in the Chaldean tongue. These were verie apt to learne wisdom: and for that cause he commaunded that they should be trained vp in the exercise therof. Of these there were foure of Zedechias kindred, faire in bodie, and vertuous in nature, who were called *Daniel*, *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*; whose names the Babylonians changed, and willed them to be called by other names, different from their owne. *Daniel* was called *Balthasar*; *Ananias*, *Sidrach*; *Misael*, *Misack*; and *Azarias*, *Abdennago*. These did the king esteeme very highly for their excellent nature, and for the great affection that they had to attaine vnto learning and wisdom, wherein they profited greatly, and were for that cause highly reckoned of by him. And whereas *Daniel* and his kinsmen thought good to liue chastely, and to abstaine from those meates that came from the kings table; and in general from all things that had life, they went vnto *Askenas* the Eunuch (who had the care and charge over them) beseeching him to conuert those meates to his owne vse, which were sent them from the kings table, and allow them herbes and dates, and such things as had no life; because they intended to hold that course of life, and to forsake all others. *Askenas* told them, that he was ready to condescend vnto their demaunds; but that he feared, least being called for by the king, they should be found to be leane in bodie, and discoloured in face (for without doubt in following that diet, they must needly lose their colours, and bee lesse disposd in comparisn of others) which might be the cause to bring him into hazard of his head. They perceiuing that *Askenas* intended nought else but his securitie, perswaded him to allow them but ten daies of approbation, vnder condition that if by that regiment of diet their habitude of bodie should not be any waies altered, they might continue in that fashion of life and diet, which they had intended from that day forwards: but if they should be found leane and weak, and lesse proportionable (then they that fed vpon the kings allowance) that then they should returne to their accustomed diet. Now it so fell out, that not onely their bodies were better in growth, but they seemed rather better fed, and of a taller stature then the rest: so that they that liued vpon the kings ordinarie, seemed leane and wearish; whereas *Daniel* and his companions made shewe, as if they had beene nourished with dainties, and brought vp in abundance. From that time forward, *Askenas* took all that which was allowed the foure young men from the kings table, and boldly kept it to him selfe, giuing them in stead thereof, the diet that they chose and delighted in. They hauing their spirits more pure and subtill, so comprehend their masters instructions, and their bodies more strong to endure labour (for their spirits were not charged with diuersitie of meates, nor their bodies effeminated for the same cause) attained the more readily to all that doctrine that was taught them by the Hebrewes and Chaldees: *Daniel* especially hauing profited in wisdom, studied the interpretation of dreames, and God appeared vnto him. Two years after the surprisall of Aegypt, king *Nabuchodonosor* dreamed a wonderful dreame, the issue whereof God made him see in a dreame: but he forgate the same when he arose out of his bed. And for that cause sent he for his Chaldees and diuines, telling them that hee had dreamed a dreame, but that hee had forgot the same, commanding them to declare vnto him what the dreame was, and the signification therof also. Whereunto they answered, that it was impossible for men to sound out the secret therof; notwithstanding they promised him, that if he would declare his vision vnto them, they would cause him to vnderstand the signification thereof. Hereupon *Nabuchodonosor* threatened them with death, except they represented his dreame vnto him; and they protesting that they could not fulfill his request, he commaunded them all to bee slaine. But *Daniel* hearing how the King had condemned all the Sages to death, and knowing that both he and his companions had part in that danger, addressed himselfe to *Ariochus* the captaine of the Kings guard, requiring him to informe him, for what cause the King had adiudged the Chaldees and Sages to be put to death: And hauing intelligence what had hapned as touching the dream, & how the king by forgetting the same, had charged them to informe him therein, & how they had answered that it was impossible for them to perform the same, and how thereby they had prouoked the king to displeasure: he besought *Ariochus* to goe vnto the king, and to procure one nights reprieue in the behalfe of the Egyptians and Chaldees, in that he hoped during that night time to beseech God and increat from him both the dreame and the signification thereof. Hereupon *Ariochus* told the king what *Daniel* had requested, who respited the execution of the Magicians for that night, vntill he might see what would become of *Daniels* promise: who retiring himselfe with his companions into his chamber, besought God all the night long to manifest vnto him the dreame; and deliuer the Magicians and Chaldees from the kings wrath, with whom both he and the rest of his compa-

The years of the world, 3363. before Christ's Nativity, 603. Dan. 1. Nabuchodonosor dreamed his vision sendeth for the magicians not able to discover his doubts, he threatneth them with death.

OF THE IEWES. THE X. BOOKE.

The years of the world 3363. before Christ's birth 603.

A companions were like to die, except he might know what the king had dreamt the night past, and what was the interpretation therof. Whereupon God (hauing compassion of the daunger wherein they were, and taking pleasure in *Daniels* wisdom) signified vnto him both the dreame, and the signification therof, to the intent the King might bee resolved in the meaning therof.

Daniel hauing receiued the truth from God, arose very ioyfully, and certified his brethren (who had already lost all hope of life, and thought on no other thing but death) and gaue them courage and hope of life. Hauing therefore rendered thanks vnto God, for that he had had compassion of their young yeares, as soone as it was day he went vnto *Arioch*, requesting him, that he might be brought to the Kings presence, certifying him that hee would open vnto him the dreame which he had seene the night past. Now when *Daniel* was brought vnto the kings presence, he besought him that hee would not esteeme him to bee more wile then the other Chaldeans and Magicians, in that, whereas none of them could expound his dreame, hee did attempt to expresse the same: for that came not to passe, by reason of his experience, or for that he was more industrious then they were, but (said he) God hath had compassion on vs that were in daunger of death; and at such time as I requested him to grant me, and my countrie men life, he hath certified me both of your dreame, and the signification thereof. I was not so much agrieved for that in our innocencie we were adiudged to death by thee, as afraid of thine estimation and glorie, which was hazarded by condemning so manie and so innocent and iust men to death: whereas that which you haue required of them saoureth nothing of humane wit,

The vision & the Revelation thereof opened to *Daniel*.

But is the onely worke of God: Whilest therefore thou thoughtest in thy selfe, who it was that should commaund the whole world after thy selfe; at such time as thou wert asleepe, God intending to let thee know all those that should gouerne after thee, presented thee with this dreame. It seemed vnto thee that thou sawest a great statue, whereof the head was of gold; the shoulders & armes of silver; the bellie and thighs of brasie; and the legges and feete of yron. Thou beheldest after that, a great stone (that was drawne from a mountaine) that fell vpon the statue, and beate downe and burst the same, and left no whole peece thereof: so that the gold, silver, yron, and brasie, were powdred as small as dust: whereupon a violent wind seemed to blow, which by the furie and force thereof, was borne away and scattered into diuers countries: on the other side the stone grewe so mightie, that it seemed to fill the whole earth. This was that vision that appeared vnto you, the signification whereof is expressed after this manner. The head of gold signifieth your selfe (and those kings of Babylon that haue been before you.) The two hands and shoulders signifie that your Empyre shall be destroyed by 2. kings, the one part by the king of the east, clothed in brasie, whose force shall be abated by an other power, resembling that of yron; and he shall haue the power ouer the whole earth, by reason of the nature of yron which is more strong then gold, silver, or brasie, hee told the king also what that stone signified. But for mine owne part, I thought it not expedient to expresse it in this place: because the only butt and intent of my writings is onely to register such things as are past, and not such matters as are to come. But if any man haue a desire to know these things, and cannot bridle his curiositie, but will vnderstand such matters as are hidden, let him read the book of *Daniel*, which he shall find amidst the sacred scriptures.

Daniel telleth the king his dreame, and the interpretation therof.

Nabuchodonosor dreamed of the four monarches of the world.

Daniel & his fellows advanced to honour.

The years of the world, 3364. before Christ's Nativity, 600.

When king *Nabuchodonosor* had heard these things, and remembered himselfe of his dream, he was astonished at *Daniels* wisdom, and casting himselfe prostrate on the earth, after the manner of those that adore God, he embraced *Daniel*, giuing direction that sacrifice should be offered vnto him, as if he were God. Moreouer he called him by the name of God, and committed the administration of his whole kingdome to him and his companions, who by reason of the commotions and conspiracies of their maligners and detractors, hapned to fall into most imminent and dreadfull daunger, vpon this occasion that ensueth. The king built a golden Image sixtie cubites high, and sixe in bignesse, and erected it in a great Plaine neere vnto Babylon; and beeing readie to dedicate the same, he assembled all the gouernours and princes of his countries, commanding them first of all, that as soone as they should heare the trumpet sound, they should prostrate themselves on the earth to adore the statue; threatening that whosoever should doe the contrary, he should be cast into a burning furnace: whereas therefore all of them adored the statue vpon the sound of the Trumpet, *Daniel* and his companions utterly refused to performe that dutie, alledging for their iustification that they would not transgresse the lawes of their country: for which cause being apprehended, they were instantly cast into the furnace of fire, and (protected therein by Gods prouidence) escaped death beyond all mens expectation. For the fire touched them not, neither could it burne during their abode in the furnace. For God so fortified their bodies

The kings edict for honoring the golden statue.

Daniel & his kinsmen refusing to adore the statue, are cast into the furnace.

CHAP. XI.

Nabuchodonosors successors, the destruction of Babylon by Cyrus King of Persia.

After Nabuchodonosors death, his sonne *Eulmerodach* obtained the kingdome, who incessantly deliuered *Iechonias* king of Ierusalem out of prison, and held him in the number of his most esteemed friendes, and gaue him presents, and committed the government of the palace of Babylon into his hands. For his Father had not kept his promise with *Iechonias*, when he surrendered himselfe, his wife, children, & friends into his hands, by those that besieged it, as we haue heretofore declared. *Eulmerodach* died in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, and *Niglifar* his sonne obtained the kingdome, which hee possessed fortie yeeres, and afterwards died. After him the succession of the kingdome came vnto his sonne called *Labofardach*, which continued in him but for the space of nine months, and after his death it came vnto *Balthasar*, who by the Babylonians was called *Naboandel*. Against him *Cyrus* king of Persia, and *Darius* king of Media made warre; and at such time as hee was besieged in Babylon, there hapned a maruailous and prodigious spectacle.

Balthasar late vpon a certaine festiual in a royall chamber, where he was serued with great store of vessel fit for his maiestie and royaltie; and with him at the banquet there sat his concubines, and most intire friends. At which time (to shew his magnificence) hee caused those vessels to be brought out of the temple of his God, which *Nabuchodonosor* his predecessor (feare to employ to his owne vse) had stowed vp in his Idols temple. But *Balthasar* was so puffed with pride that he dranke out of them, and employed them to his vses. Now so came it to passe, that whilest hee quaffed, and blasphemed the name of God, he sawe a hand issuing from a wall, which wrote in the same certaine syllables: by which vision being somewhat terrified, he assembled his Magitians and Chaldees, and al that sort of people (who amongst those barbarous nations made profession to interpret prodigies and dreames) to the intent they might signifie vnto him the meaning and vnderstanding of that writing. Now when these Magitians had tolde him that they could in no sort found or vnderstand the same, the king was sore vexed and troubled at this vnexpected vision: whereupon he caused it to be proclaimed thorow his country, that whosoever should read that writing, and declare the meaning thereof, he would giue him a golden chaine, and a purple robe (such as the king of Chaldees wore) and besides all this, the third part of his Empire. After this proclamation, the Magitians assembled together with greater course, and were farre more diligent and inquisitiue to finde out the signification of the writing: but they were no lesse grounded therein then they were at the first. Meane while, the kings grandmother seeing him wholy amated in minde, began to comfort him, and to tell him that there was a certaine man amongst the prisoners of Iuda, led thither at such time as *Nabuchodonosor* destroyed *Ierusalem*, whose name was *Daniel*, a man wile and expert in ferching out of things that were impossible, and only knowne vnto God, who evidently expounded that which *Nabuchodonosor* required, at such time, as no other man could satisfie his demand. Whereupon the king called him vnto his presence, & telling him what proofes he had had heard of his wisdom, & of that diuine spirit that was in him, and how he only was fit to interpret those things which otherwise were obscured from other mens knowledge; hee praid him to informe him what that hand writing signified, promising him in reward thereof a purple garment, a golden chaine, and the third part of his Empire: to the end that being honoured with these titles for his wisdom, hee might grow famous amongst all men, who demanding the reason, should knowe the intent why hee was honoured. But *Daniel* (refusing all these presents of his, in that the wisdom that is giuen from aboue is not corrupted thereby, but is freely answerable to those that haue neede thereof) tolde him that that writing did foretell him the end of his life, because hee had not learned to feare God, neither to lift his thoughts higher then humane nature, notwithstanding hee had seene the chastisement wherewith his predecessor had bene punished, for the outrages he committed against God. For that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing bene driuen to lead his life among beaulls by reason of his impieties, after diuers requests and supplications had obtained mercie, and was returned vnto humane conuersation, and into his owne kingdome, for which cause all the time of his life hee praised Almighty God the gouernour of all things: whereas hee had omitted to do the like, and had blasphemed the name of God in diuers tofts, and had swilled both himselfe

Eulmerodach releaseth *Iechonias* from his long imprisonment. 4. Reg. 25. Jerem. 52. *Niglifar* *Labofardach*. *Balthasar* or *Naboandel* king of Babylō

The year of the world 3421, before Christ's birth 543.

Dan. 5. *Balthasar* seeth a hand thrust out of a wall and writing certaine syllables.

The year of the world 3425, before the birth of Christ. 539.

CHAP.

bodies that they could not be consumed by fire: which accident made them in greater estimation with the king, for that he saw they were vertuous & beloved of God; and for that chiefe they were highly honoured by him. Not long after this, the King sawe another Vision in his sleep, which signified vnto him, that being cast from his Emphyre, he should couerit with farrage beasts, and that hauing liued in that estate in the desert for the space of seuen yeares, hee should recover his kingdome again. Hauing had this dreame, he assembled the Magicians once more, demanding their answer, and the signification thereof. But it was impossible for any one of them either to find out, or declare the intelligence of this dreame vnto the king: Onely *Daniel* discovered the same, and the effect was answerable to his prediction. For the king passed the foreclimpt time in the desert, so that no man durst intermeddle with the affaires of estate during seuen yeares. But after he had called vpon God, that it would please him to restore him to his kingdome, hee confessed the same again. Let no man in this place accuse me for reporting these particulars, according as I haue found the written in holy books: for in the entrance of my history I haue answered those objections: so that I haue openly protested, that I will onely faithfully translate the Hebrew Histories into the Greeke tongue: & according to my promise, relate that which is contained therein, without adding any thing of mine owne, or concealing ought of another mans. After that *Nabuchodonosor* had reigned forty three yeares, he died: he was a man of execution, and more happy then any of his predecessors. *Berosus* maketh mention of his actes in the third booke of his Chaldeique historie, where he speaketh thus. His father *Nabuchodonosor*, hauing notice that the gouernour whom he had appointed ouer Egypt, & the neighbouring parts of Coelofyria & Phoenicia, was revolted from him (being at that time in himselfe vnable to indure the troubles of warre) committed a part of his forces vnto his son *Nabuchodonosor*, who was in the flower of his age, and sent him forth against him: who encountering the rebell, and fighting with him, ouercame him, and brought the countrey vnder his subiection. Meane while, *Nabuchodonosor* the father died of a sicknesse in Babylon after he had reigned one and twentie yeares: *Nabuchodonosor* the sonne, hauing notice of his father death, gaue order to the affaires of Egypt, and the rest of the countrey: and committing the care and transportation of the Iewes, Syrians, Aegyptians, and Phoenicians to his friends, to bring them to Babylon with his armie and carriage, he with a few men made hastie journeyes thorow the desert. And when he had taken the administration of the kingdome vpon him (which in his absence was in the hands of the Chaldees, and by their chieftaine was reserved vntil his returne, vnto his vse) he became Lord of all his fathers Empire. When his prisoners were arrived, he assigned them convenient dwelling places in the countrey of Babylon; and with the spoiles of the warre, he magnificently repaired and decked the Temple of Bel, & other places. He enlarged the olde Citie, and repaired & beautified it with other buildings: by means wherof, they that would besiege the same, were hindered from cutting off of the current of the river, to the preiudice of the inhabitants. He enuironed it inwardly with a trebble wall, and outwardly with as mightie and as many enclosures, and made all of burnt bricke. The walls were magnificently builded, & the gates brauely adorned in maner of temples. He caused a palacet to be builded neere vnto his fathers auncient palace: the magnificence and ornament wherof, I am too weake witted to expresse; onely this thing most memorable, I haue thought good to note downe, that these huge, greates and pompous buildings were finished in fifteene dayes. In this place he had vaults raised so high, that in outward appearance they seemed to bee mountaines, on which all sorts of trees were planted. Hee deuised and prepared also a goodly garden, and called it the hanging garden, because his wife (hauing bene brought vp in the countrey of Media) desired to haue a place conformable to that of her birth. *Megasthenes* in the fourth booke of his Indian Historie, maketh mention of this garden in that place, where hee enforced himselfe to proue, that this King surpassed *Hercules* in valour and execution of worthie actions. For he said, that *Nabuchodonosor* ouercame the chiefe citie of Lybia, and a great part of Spaine. *Diocles* in the second booke of his Persian Historie, and *Philostratus* in his Phæcician and Indian Historie, make mention of his King, saying that he ouercame the citie of Tyre, at the end of thirteene yeares; at such time as *Ithobal* reigned ouer the Tyrians. This is the summe of all that which the Historiographers write as touching this King.

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The year of the world 3369, before Christ's birth 600.

The year of the world 3369, before Christ's birth 600.

The year of the world 3369, before Christ's birth 600.

Nabuchodonosors death.

The year of the world 3381, before Christ's birth 583.

The year of the world 3381, before Christ's birth 583.

Megasthenes of *Nabuchodonosor*. *Diocles*. *Philostratus*

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

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The yeere of the world 3425, before Christs birth, 539. Daniel interpreteth the writing to the king. The king per- formeth his promises to Daniel.

Babylon sur- prised by Cy- rus king of Persia.

The force of enuie. Daniels ho- nour and vp- rightnes. Helio & Ruf- finus. chap. 14. Dan. 6.

Daniel cast in- to the Lyons denne.

and his concubines in the vessels dedicated to God : For this cause God was displeased with him, and certified him by this writing, what ende he should expect. Whereupon hee expounded the writing in these tearmes. *Mene* (which is as much to say, as number) sheweth that God hath numbered the daies of thy life and dominion, which shall endure but a little while. *Thekel* signifieth a ballance; God therefore (said hee) waying thy government (sheweth that it shall be o- uerthrowne: *Phares*, this word signifieth a fragment, God shall breake thy kingdome, and shall diuide it amongst the Medes, and Persians. When the king had heard this interpretation, hee was verie sorrowfull (according as the nature of things so disastrous, and so apparant required.) Notwithstanding hee delaied not to performe those presents which he had promised the Propher, although (as he well perceiued) the words aboaded him ill, and gaue him all that which he pro- mised him, considering with himselfe, that it was his owne destinie that hee ought to accuse, and not *Daniel*, who like a vertuous man had declared the truth of things: notwithstanding they were verie vnfaourie in his eare. Not long after, this *Balthasar* and the Cric were ouerthrowne and ta- ken by *Cyrus* king of Persia and his army. For this was that *Balthasar*, vnder whom, and in the se- uenteenth yeare of whose raigne, the surprisal of Babylon hapned. This as farre as I could gather, was the end of king *Nabuchodonosors* posteritie.

Darius, who (with his allie *Cyrus*) had destroyed the estate of the Babylonians, was threescore and two yeeres olde at such time as he tooke Babylon. He was *Astyages* sonne, and is otherwayes called by the Greekes. Hee tooke the Propher *Daniel*, and led him with him into Media, and kept him neere vnto him, doing him much honour: for hee was of the number of the three gouernors whom hee constituted ouer three hundred and threescore prouinces; for so had *Darius* com- manded it. Now *Daniel* being thus honoured and beloved by *Darius*, and onely trusted by him in all things, for that God was with him, was grieuouly hated: for they are most hainouly ha- ted, who haue greatest interest in Princes fauours. Whereas therefore they that were iealous of the good esteeme which he had with *Darius*, sought occasion to caluminate and backbite him, hee warily cut off all opportunitie thereof: for hee would neither be bribed with siluer, nor corrup- ted with presents, supposing it to be an act of much dishonestie, to receiue gifts after a man had done any curtesies. Hee therefore gaue his maligners no manner of ground to detract from his re- putation. Yet notwithstanding, they seeing they could finde no hole in his coate, whereby his honour might bee touched, blamed, or calumniated, they sought out a new meanes to disgrace him. For they perceiuing that *Daniel* did thrise euerie day make his prayers vnto God, they sup- posed that they had found a iust pretext to worke his ruine: For which cause they came vnto *Darius*, certifying him that the princes and gouernours had concluded together to this effect: That for thirte daies space an intermission should be granted to the people; during which time, it was neither lawfull for them to demaund any thing, neither of himselfe, or of any man or God what- soeuer; and if any man should attempt any thing against this common decree, it was ordered that hee should be cast into the Lyons denne. But the King perceiuing not the drift of their ma- lice, nor how they sought by this deuise to entrap *Daniel*, told them that hee liked of the decree, and promised to confirme the same, and propounded a publike edict, wherein the princes reso- lutions were ratified. Now whilest all men endeouored thorow feare, carefully and diligently to obserue this edict, *Daniel* let light thereby, and according to his accustomed manner standing in all mens sight, he worshipped his God, and prayed vnto him. Whereupon, the Princes (hauing got that occasion which they long expected) came readily vnto the king, and accused *Daniel* for that hee only amongst the rest had presumed to infringe their decree: vrging moreouer, that hee did it not for the religion sake that was in him, but because he was obserued and watcht by his mali- gnors. And for that they feared least *Darius* by reason of the great affection hee bare vnto *Daniel*, should be ready to pardon him (notwithstanding hee had transgressed their edict) they conclu- ded vpon no milder iudgement, but that hee might bee cast into the Lyons denne, according to the forme of the edict. *Darius* hoping that God would deliuer *Daniel*, and that no harme should befall him by the iawes of wilde beafts, exhorted him patiently to endure that aduenture. Now as soone as he was cast into the denne, the king sealed vp the stone that closed the mouth thereof, and departed, spending all that night without repast or repose, so grieuouly was hee discompered in *Daniel* behalfe. And when the day was come, as soone as he arose he came vnto the den, and finding the seale vnbroken wherewith he had marked the stone, hee opened the same, and called vnto *Daniel* with a loud voice, asking him if hee were whole and in safetie. Hee hearing the king speake, answered that he had receiued no hurt: whereupon *Darius* commanded that they should draw him out of the Lyons den. His aduersaries perceiuing that *Daniel* had escaped all incon- ueniences

Aueniens (because that God had taken care of him) would not that hee should escape: and there- vpon told the king that the Lions did neither touch nor approche *Daniel*, because they had been fed and gorged before. For which cause, the king displeased with their iniurious malice, com- manded a quantitie of flesh to be cast vnto the Lions; and when they were glutted, hee willed that *Daniel* enemies should be cast among them, to the intent hee might know whether the Lions would touch them or no, when they were gorged. At which time *Darius* saw verie manifestly, that God had by his power warranted *Daniel* from death. For as soone as the Nobles were cast into the den, the Lions spared not one of them, but tore them all in peeces, as if they had beene hungry and without meate. I suppose that these Lions hauing bene a little before glutted with meat, did not annoy these men by reason of their famine; but I rather iudge that their malignitie did whet on their furie: for when as God so pleaseth, vnreasonable creatures doe iustice vpon ma- lignant and enuious men. *Daniel* aduersaries being in this sort exterminate and destroyed, *Darius* gaue notice hereof to all the subiects of his prouinces, praying that God whom *Daniel* adored; laying, that he was the onely true God, who had all power: hee honoured *Daniel* likewise with especiall regard, esteeming him amongst the chiefeft of his familiars. Hee therefore being thus famous and admirable (because he was beloued by God) builded in Ecabatane in the coun- trey of the Medes a magnificent castell, and a marvellous monument that remaineth euen vnto this day, which seemeth to those that looke thereon, that it is but newly builded, and made but that verie day which they behold the same; the beautie thereof seemeth so liuing and perfect, as that continuance of time doth in no sort deface it. For it fareth with buildings as with men, they wax olde and are enfeebled by yeares, and lose their beautie; at this day all the Kings of Media, Persia, and Parthia, are entombed in this Castell, and the charge thereof is committed to a Priest, who is a Jew: and this custome continueth euen vntill this day. Neither is that to be buried in silence, which is worthy especiall admiration in this man: For all exceeding felicitie that was incident to a most famous Propher, attended him; and during his whole life time hee was both most highly honoured by kings, and reuerenced by the common sort: and after his death his me- morie is perdurable. For all the bookes which he left in writing, are read amongst vs euen at this present; and we haue bene perswaded by the reading thereof, that *Daniel* had conference with God. For he hath not onely prophecied of things to come (as other Prophets haue done) but also hath determined the time wherein those things should happen. And whereas other Pro- phets were accustomed to foretell aduersities, and for that occasion were disliked both by Prin- ces and their people, *Daniel* foretold them alwaies good successe: so that he hath drawne vnto him the good will of all men, by reason of those pleasing predictions that hee pronounced; and by the issues thereof, he hath obtained a testimonie of truth, and a reputation likewise of diuinity, and hath left vs certaine writings, by which, hee hath manifestly declared the immutabilitie and exact certaintie of his prophecies.

It is said, that being at Susa the Metropolitane Citie of Persia, at such time as hee walked a- broad attended by his familiars, that there fell an earthquake with a great noise: so that he was left alone, and all his companions fled from him. And that thereupon being sore troubled, hee fell vpon his face, and both his hands: at which time some one touched him; and commaunded him to stand vp, and to see that which should happen to his countrymen after diuerse ages. Being therefore raised vp right, there was a great ramme shewed vnto him, that had diuerse hornes, the last whereof was the greatest of all. Afterwards he looked towards the west, and perceiued a goat carried thorow the aire, that buttred at the ramme, and hauing encountered him twice, had bea- ten and trampled him vnder his feete. Thirdly, he saw a goat, in whose forehead there grew one great horne onely: which being broken, foure others brake out in stead thereof, bending each of them towards the foure winds of the world: He hath written also, that from them, there shall arise another little one also, which as God (who presented the vision to him) tolde him, being growne to perfection, should warre against the whole nation of the Iewes, and take the Citie by force, and confound the estate of the temple, and hinder the sacrifices, for one thousand two hundred ninetie and six daies.

Daniel writeth that he saw these things in the field of *Susa*, and hath declared that God him- selfe told him what that vision signified; which was, that the Ramme signified the kingdomes of the Persians, and the Medes: His hornes signified the kings that were to raigne in those king- domes; and that the last horne signified the last king, who should surpass all the rest in riches and glorie. That the goat signified, that there should come a certaine king among the Greekes, who should fight at two feuerall times with the Persian, and should overcome him in warre; and after-

The yeere of the world 3425, be- fore Christs birth, 539. Daniels ene- mies rent in peeces by the Lions.

Daniels pro- phecies.

Daniels vision of the Ramme and Goat, by whom the kings of Me- dia and Persia were pre- figured.

Dan. 2.

afterwards possesse the whole gouernment: And that by the great horne that grew in the front of the Goat, the first King was represented; and how that after he was taken away, foure other should spring thereout. And whereas euery one of these turned themselves toward the foure corners of the world, it was a signe that after the death of the first, he should haue foure successors, that should depart the kingdome betweene them: who neither should be his allies or children; yet such notwithstanding as should commaund the world for many yeares: That from them, there should arise a certaine King, that should oppose himselfe against the Hebrew Nation, and their lawes, and should ouerthrow their policie, spoile their temple, and be a let that for three yeares space the sacrifices should not be solemnized. Now so hath it happened, that our Nation hath bene so handled vnder *Antiochus* the famous, as *Daniel* had foreseene, and hath written diuerse yeares before, all that which should happen.

Daniels pre-
dictions of
the Romane
Empire,
Dan 9.

At the same time *Daniel* wrote as touching the Emperie of the Romanes, how it should destroy our nation: and hath left all these things in writing, according as God declared them vnto him; so that they who reade and consider those things that haue hapned, admire *Daniel* for the honour that God dignified him with, and find thereby that Epicures erre, who driue all diuine prouidence from humane life, and affirme that God gouerneth not the affaires of the world; or that the world is administred by a happie & incorruptible essence, which causeth all things to continue in their being: but say, that the world is mannaged by it selfe, by casualtie, without any conductor, or such a one as hath care thereof. For if it were so, and that it were destitute of a soueraigne gouernour (as we see shippes destitute of their Pilots to be drowned by the windes; and chariots that haue no driuers to conduct them, to beat one against another) euen so should it perish, and should ruinate it selfe by such an irregular motion. By these things therefore that *Daniel* hath foretold, I iudge that they are farre estraunged from the truth, that affirme that God hath no care of humane affaires; for if wee see that all things happen casually, then happen they not according to his prophecie. But I haue written hereof according as I haue found and read: and if any one will thinke otherwise, let him continue his opinion as long as him list.

The Epicures
erout con-
uicted.

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the II. Booke.

- 1 *Cyrus King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their country, and contributeth towards the reparation of the Temple.*
- 2 *The Kings Gouernours hinder the building of the Temple.*
- 3 *Cambyles commaundeth the Iewes that they should not build the Temple.*
- 4 *Darius Hystaspis sonne buildeth a Temple for the Iewes.*
- 5 *The bounty of Xerxes (Darius sonne) towards the Hebrew nation.*
- 6 *How during Artaxerxes raigne, the whole nation of the Iewes were almost extinguished thorow Amans trecherie.*
- 7 *Bagoles Generall of Artaxerxes, the youngers armie, doth much iniurie to the Iewes.*
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CHAP. I.

Cyrus King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their country, and contributeth towards the building of the Temple.



He first yeare of the raigne of *Cyrus* (which was the seuenth after that our nation was translated from Iudæa to Babylon) God had compassion of the captiuitie & calamity of his poore afflicted people: & euen as he had foretold them before the destruction of the Citie, that after they had serued *Nabuchodonosor* and his posteritie for seuentie yeeres, he would againe restore them to their country wherein they were borne, where they should build a Temple, and enioy their former felicitie: so brought he it to passe. For he awakened the spirit of *Cyrus*; and made him write his letters throughout all Asia to this effect. *Thus saith the King Cyrus: Since the Almighty God hath made me King of the whole world; I am perswaded that it is he whom the Iewish nation doe adore: for he hath declared my name by his Prophets before I was borne, and hath said that I shall build his temple in Ierusalem, which is in the countrey of Iudæa. Now Cyrus knew these things by reading of a booke of prophecie written by Isay, two hundredth & ten yeeres before his time. For (he saith) that God did secretly reueale these things vnto him, speaking to this effect. I will that Cyrus, whom I haue declared King ouer many nations, shall send my people backe into their country of Iudæa, & shall build my temple. These things did Isay foretell one hundredth & forty yeeres before the ruine of the Temple. Cyrus in reading these things (being rauished in admiration of the Maiesty of God) was surprisid with an affection & zeale to finish that which was written. He therefore called for all the men of greatest reckoning among the Iewes that were in Babylon, & told them that he gaue the licence to returne into their country, & to reape the citie of Ierusalem, & erect the Temple of God; promising them that he himselfe would assist them. And to that effect he wrote vnto his gouernours, & princes of those countries that confined vpon Iudæa: charging them to contribute both gold & siluer toward the building of the temple, and to furnish them with cattell for the sacrifice. After that Cyrus had certified the Israelites of this his intent, the Princes of the two tribes of *Juda* & *Beniamin*, with all the Leuites and Priests departed thence, and repaired to Ierusalem: Natheliese diuers of the Iewes remained in Babylon; in that they were loath to abandon those possessions they had gotten. As soone as they came vnto the Kings friends, they afforded them both fauour and aide, & furnished them with necessaries matter to build the temple, some of them with gold, other some with siluer, and the rest with a certaine number of oxen and horses. Thus paid they their vows vnto God, and offered the sacrifices according to the auncient custome, as if the citie had bin new builded againe, and the ancient seruite of God but newly awakened. *Cyrus* sent them backe also those vessels consecrated to God, which king *Nabuchodonosor* had sent vnto Babylon after he had spoiled the temple; and deliuered them to *Mithridates* his treasurer, commanding him to carry and commit them to *A-bassars* hands, who should haue the custodie thereof, vntill the temple were builded, to the end that at such time as it were compleat, he might deliuer the to the priests & princes of the people, to be restored againe to the seruite of the temple. He sent letters also to the gouernours of Syria to this effect: *Cyrus King of Sisine and Sarabasame, health.* I haue permitted those Iewes that inhabit my country, to returne into their natie country, and to redifie their Citie, and erect the temple of God in Ierusalem, in the same place where it stood before. I haue also sent my treasurer *Mithridates* and *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, with expresse charge and authority, to lay the foundations of the same, and to build it sixtie cubits in height, and as many in bredth, making three Illes of hewen stone, and an other of such timber as the country affordeth; the Altar likewise, whereupon they may offer sacrifice vnto God: And my pleasure is that the charge of all these things come out of my cofers. I haue also sent backe those vessels which *Nabuchodonosor* took out of the temple, and haue deliuered them to the treasurer *Mithridates*; and to *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, to bee conueyed to Ierusalem, and restored to the temple of God: the number whereof I haue hereunder subscribed. Fiftie lauers of gold, and foure hundredth of siluer; fiftie pots of gold, and foure hundredth of siluer; fiftie golden sieues, and fiftie hundredth of siluer; thirtie Ewers of gold, and three hundredth of siluer; thirtie great viols of gold, and two thousand foure hundredth of siluer; and besides all these, one thousand other great vessels*

The end of
the Babyloni-
an captiuitie
after seuentie
yeeres.
1. Esd. 1.
3. Esd. 2.
The edict of
Cyrus king of
Persia.

Ezay, chap. 44.
45. his pro-
phecie of Cy-
rus.

Cyrus permit-
teth the Iewes
to returne in-
to their coun-
trei to build
their temple
and citie.

The vessels
belonging to
the temple
sent backe
from Babylon
to Ierusalem.

Cyrus man-
date to the
princes of Sy-
ria.

Cc

afterwards possesse the whole gouernment: And that by the great horne that grew in the fronte of the Goat, the first King was represented; and how that after he was taken away, foure other should spring thereout. And whereas euery one of these turned themselves toward the foure corners of the world, it was a signe that after the death of the first, he should haue foure successors, that should depart the kingdome betweene them: who neither should be his allies or children; yet such notwithstanding as should commaund the world for many yeares: That from them, there should arise a certaine King, that should oppose himselfe against the Hebrew Nation, and their lawes, and should ouerthrow their policie, spoile their temple, and be a let that for three yeares (space the sacrifices should not be solemnized. Now so hath it happened, that our Nation hath bene so handled vnder *Antiochus* the famous, as *Daniel* had foretold, and hath written diuers yeares before, all that which should happen.

Daniels predictions of the Romane Empire, Dan 9.

The Epicures error committed.

At the same time *Daniel* wrote as touching the Emperie of the Romanes, how it should destroy our nation: and hath left all these things in writing, according as God declared them vnto him; so that they who read and consider those things that haue hapned, admire *Daniel* for the honour that God dignified him with, and find thereby that Epicures erre, who driue all diuine providence from humane life, and affirme that God gouerneth not the affaires of the world; or that the world is administred by a happie & incorruptible essence, which causeth all things to continue in their being: but say, that the world is mannaged by it selfe, by casualtie, without any conductor, or such a one as hath care thereof. For if it were so, and that it were destitute of a soveraigne gouernour (as we see shippes destitute of their Pilots to be drowned by the windes, and chariots that haue no driuers to conduct them, to beat one against another) euen so should it perish, and should ruinate it selfe by such an irregular motion. By these things therefore that *Daniel* hath foretold, I iudge that they are farre estranged from the truth, that affirme that God hath no care of humane affaires; for if wee see that all things happen casually, then happen they not according to his propheticie. But I haue written hereof according as I haue found and read: and if any one will thinke otherwise, let him continue his opinion as long as him list.

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the II. Booke:

- 1 *Cyrus King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their country, and contributeth towards the reparation of the Temple.*
- 2 *The Kings Gouernours hinder the building of the Temple.*
- 3 *Cambyles commaundeth the Iewes that they should not build the Temple.*
- 4 *Darius Hystaspis sonne buildeth a Temple for the Iewes.*
- 5 *The bountie of Xerxes (Darius sonne) towards the Hebrew nation.*
- 6 *How during Artaxerxes raigne, the whole nation of the Iewes were almost extinguished thorow Amans trecherie.*
- 7 *Bagoles General of Artaxerxes, the younger, doth much iniurie to the Iewes.*
- 8 *How bountifull Alexander of Macedon was vnto the Iewes;*

CHAP.

The yeare of the world, 3426. before Christs birth 538.

CHAP. I.

Cyrus King of Persia dismisseth the Iewes from Babylon, and permitteth them to returne into their country, and contributeth towards the building of the Temple.



He first yeare of the raigne of *Cyrus* (which was the seuenth after that our nation was translated from Iudæa to Babylon) God had compassion of the captiuitie & calamity of his poore afflicted people: & euen as he had foretold them before the destruction of the Citie, that after they had serued *Nabuchodonosor* and his posteritie for seuentie yeeres, he would againe restore them to their country wherein they were borne, where they should build a Temple; and enioy their former felicitie: so brought he it to passe. For he awakened the spirit of *Cyrus*; and made him write his letters throughout all Asia to this effect. *Thus saith the King Cyrus: Since the Almighty God hath made me King of the whole world; I am perswaded that it is he whom the Iewish nation doe adore: for he hath declared my name by his Prophets before I was borne, and hath said that I shall build his temple in Ierusalem, which is in the country of Iudæa.* Now *Cyrus* knew these things by reading of a booke of prophecie written by *Isay*, two hundredth & ten yeeres before his time. For (he saith) that God did secretly reueale these things vnto him, speaking to this effect. *I will that Cyrus, whom I haue declared King ouer many nations, shall send my people backe into their country of Iudæa, & shall build my temple.* These things did *Isay* foretell one hundredth & forty yeeres before the ruine of the Temple. *Cyrus* in reading these things (being rauished in admiration of the Maiesty of God) was surpris'd with an affection & zeale to finish that which was written. He therefore called for all the men of greatest reckoning among the Iewes that were in Babylon, & told them that he gaue them licence to returne into their country, & to reape the citie of Ierusalem, & erect the Temple of God; promising them that he himselfe would assist them. And to that effect he wrote vnto his gouernours, & princes of those countries that confined vpon Iudæa: charging them to contribute both gold & siluer toward the building of the temple; and to furnish them with cattell for the sacrifice. After that *Cyrus* had certified the Israelites of this his intent, the Princes of the two tribes of *Iuda* & *Beniamin*, with all the Levites and Priests departed thence, and repaired to Ierusalem: Nathelless diuers of the Iewes remained in Babylon; in that they were loath to abandon those possessions they had gotten. As soone as they came vnto the Kings friends, they afforded them both fauour and aide, & furnished them with necessarie matter to build the temple, some of them with gold, other some with siluer, and the rest with a certaine number of oxen and horses. Thus paid they their vows vnto God, and offered the sacrifices according to the auncient custome, as if the citie had bin newe builded againe, and the ancient seruice of God but newly awakened. *Cyrus* sent them backe also those vessels consecrated to God, which king *Nabuchodonosor* had sent vnto Babylon after he had spoiled the temple; and deliuered them to *Mithridates* his treasurer, commanding him to carry and commit them to *Assars* hands, who should haue the custodie thereof, vntill the temple were builded, to the end that at such time as it were compleat, he might deliuer them to the priests & princes of the people, to be restored againe to the seruice of the temple. He sent letters also to the gouernours of Syria to this effect: *Cyrus King of Sisine and Sarabazame, health.* I haue permitted those Iewes that inhabit my country, to returne into their native country, and to reedifie their Citie, and erect the temple of God in Ierusalem, in the same place where it stood before. I haue also sent my treasurer *Mithridates* and *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, with expresse charge and authority, to lay the foundations of the same, and to build it sixtie cubits in height, and as many in bredth, making three Isles of hewen stone, and an other of such timber as the country affordeth; the Altar likewise, whereupon they may offer sacrifice vnto God: And my pleasure is that the charge of all these things come out of my cofers. I haue also sent backe those vessels which *Nabuchodonosor* took out of the temple, and haue deliuered them to the treasurer *Mithridates*, and to *Zorobabel* the Prince of the Iewes, to bee conueyed to Ierusalem, and restored to the temple of God: the number whereof I haue hereunder subscribed. Fiftie lauers of gold, and foure hundredth of siluer; fiftie pots of gold, and foure hundredth of siluer; fiftie golden sieues, and fiftie hundredth of siluer; thirtie Ewers of gold, and three hundredth of siluer; thirtie great viols of gold, and two thousand foure hundredth of siluer; and besides all these, one thousand other great vessels

The end of the Babyloni- an captiuitie after seuentie yeares. 1. Esd. 1. 3. Esd. 2. The edict of Cyrus king of Persia.

Ezay, chap. 44. 45. his propheticie of Cyrus.

Cyrus permitteth the Iewes to returne into their country to build their temple and citie.

The vessels belonging to the temple sent backe from Babylon to Ierusalem.

Cyrus mandate to the princes of Syria.

The year of the world, 3426, before Christ's birth, 538.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

vessels. I release them also of the tribute which their predecessors were accustomed to pay, namely, the leuy of cattell, wine & oyle, and of two hundred fine thousand fine hundred drachmes; & two thousand fine hundred measures of wheate, yeelding fine flower: Commanding these necessary furnitures to be deliuered them out of the Tributes of Samaria; and the Priests shall offer vp these sacrifices in Ierusalem according to the ordinance of *Moses*: and during their sacrifice they shall make prayers vnto God for the preservation of the King, and his house, to the end that the Empire of the Persians may be still permanent. And my will is, that they that disobey and contradict these things, shall be hanged on the gibber; and that their goods be confiscate. These were the contents of his letters. Now the number of those that returned together from the captivity into Ierusalem, was fortie two thousand foure hundred sixtie two.

The number of the Iewes that returned from the captivity of Babylon to Ierusalem.

CHAP. II.

Th: Governours for the King doe hinder the building of the Temple.

Hedio & Rufinus chap. 9. 1. l. 4. The Samaritans inhibit the Iewes from building the temple. Alias cap. 3. The letters of the Samaritans & others written to Cambyles as touching the reedifying of the citie and temple of Ierusalem.

The year of the world, 3435, before Christ's birth, 529.

WHilest these men laid the foundations of the Temple, & were very affectionately busied about the building thereof, the nations that bordered vpon them, and in especiall the Chuteans (whom *Salmanazar* king of Assyria sent from Persia and Media to inhabit in Samaria, at such time as he translated the people of the ten tribes) incited the princes and governours, to interdict the Iewes from raising and building their citie, and reedifying the temple. Who corrupted with silver, sold their negligence, and delay to the Chuteans, which they used in those buildings. For *Cyrus* intending his other warres, was ignorant hereof, & hauing conducted his army against the Massagetes, it was his hap incontinently to finish his life. When as therefore *Cambyles* his sonne had obtained the kingdome, they of Syria and Phoenicia, the Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritanes wrote their letters to *Cambyles* in these rearmes. O King, thy seruants *Rathimus* the secretarie, *Semelius* the Scribe, & those men that are counsellors in Syria and Phoenicia, giue thee to vnderstand, that those Iewes that were led captiue into Babylon are returned back into this country, and doe build a wicked and rebellious citie, & repaire the places and walles of the same, and reedifie their temple likewise. Know therefore that if these things be permitted to be finished, that they will no more endure to be thy subiects and tributaries, but will oppose themselves against their kings, holding it more fit to command then to obey. Wee haue therefore thought good that whilst they are thus on working, and affectionate in rearing their temple, to write vnto your maiestic, to the intent you may not neglect to examine your fathers records, wherein you shall alwaies finde that the Iewes haue bene rebels, and enemies to their kings; and that their Citie hath been for this cause laid desolate vntill this present. Wee haue thought good to signifie thus much to your maiestic, which perhaps is vknowne vnto you, because that if this citie be once more reinhabited & inclosed with a wall, your way is shut vp from passing into Coelosyria and Phoenice.

CHAP. III.

Cambyles inhibiteth the Iewes to build the Temple.

Cambyles answered wherein he inhibiteth the Iewes from building the citie or temple.

When *Cambyles* had read this letter (in that he was by nature both wicked & malicious) he grew inwardly ielous & displeased at the contents thereof, and wrote back againe after this manner. The King *Cambyles* to *Rathimus* the secretarie, of his casuall euents, and *Beslem* & *Semelius* scribes, and to all his other counsellors & inhabitants in Samaria & Phoenicia, health. Hauing read your letters, I haue commanded the records of mine ancestors to be examined, and I finde that the Citie of Ierusalem hath bin alwaies enemy to their kings, and that the inhabitants thereof haue alwaies raised sedition and wars. I haue likewise found, that their kings haue bin mightie, and violent, and that they haue vexed Syria & Phoenicia with continuall tributes. For this cause I haue ordained, that the Iewes shall not be permitted to reedifie their Citie, for feare least their malice should augment by such occasion which they haue continually used against their kings. Incontinently after the receipt and reading of these letters, *Rathimus* and the scribe *Semelius*, and those of their faction, tooke their horse and rode hastily to Ierusalem, leading with them a great number of people, prohibiting the Iewes from the building either of their Citie or Temple. Thus was this worke interrupted vntill the second yeere of the raigne of *Darius* king

The year of the world, 3443, before Christ's birth, 521.

A king of Persia, for the space of nine yeeres. For *Cambyles* reigned sixteene yeeres, during which time hee subdued Egypt, and vpon his returne from thence, he died in Damasco. And after the death of *Cambyles*, the Magi held the Empire of the Persians for the space of one yeere being taken away, the seven families of Persia made *Darius* (the sonne of *Hystaspis*) king.

CHAP. III.

Darius the sonne of Hystaspis causeth the Temple to be builded.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. chap. 4. Darius the son of Hystaspis made emperor of the Persians.

His *Darius*, during the time that hee liued a private life, made a vow vnto God, that if hee obtained the kingdome, hee would send backe vnto the temple of Ierusalem all those vessels, which were as yet remaining in Babylon. It fortuned that about the same time, *Zorobabel*, who was appointed gouernour ouer the captiue Iewes, came vnto him from Ierusalem. For he was the kings ancient friend; for which cause he with other two were chosen to bee of his guard, & obtained thereby that honor which he expected. The first yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, he entertained all his courtiers with great pompe, & magnificence, both those of his household, as they also that were his gouernors & princes of Media and Persia, and the commanders in India confining vpon *Aethiopia*, with all the chieftaines of his army, in one hundredth, twenty and seven provinces. Now after they had made great cheere, and were full of wine, they departed each of them vnto their lodgings, to betake themselves to rest. But king *Darius* laid in his bed, reposed very little all the night long, but passed the time without sleepe: for which cause seeing hee could take no rest, he began to deuise & discoure with three of his guard, promising him that should most truly and aptly answer those questions that hee should demand, to grant him licence in way of reward to weare a purple garment, & to drinke in golden cups, to lie on a gilded bed, and to ride on a chariot harnessed with gold, & to beare the Tiar or linnen wreath, and weare a golden chaine about his necke, and sit in the next place vnto the king; and should likewise be called his kinsman in regard of his wisdom. After hee had made these large promises, hee demanded of the first, whether wine were the strongest? of the second, whether the king were stronger? of the third, whether women, or truth, were the most strongest of the three? And as soone as hee had deliuered them these questions to deliberate vpon, he laid him downe to rest. Vpon the next morrow he sent for the princes, chieftaines, and gouernours of Persia & Media, and afterwards sitting aloft in that throne from whence he was accustomed to determine the differents among his subiects, hee commanded those three yong men of his guard in the presence of that princely assistance, publickly to yeeld the resolution of those questions he had proposed vnto them.

Ed. 5. 6. Darius vowed to send the sacred vessels to Ierusalem. Zorobabel.

Darius propounded three questions to three of his guard. 3. Ed. 4.

Whereupon, the first of them began after this manner to expresse the force of wine. Noble princes, when I consider the force of wine, I find nothing that may surmount the same. For wine entangleth and deceiveth the vnderstanding, and maketh the princes vnderstanding like to the poore mans, who is abandoned; and giueth the slaue that freedome in discourse, which appertaineth to men of greatest libertie: It maketh the poore resemble the rich: It changeth and transformeth the soule, asswageth the miserable mans griefe, and maketh the indebted forget their bonds, and to thinke themselves very rich; so that they ruminat on no abiect things, but talke of talents, and such things as appertaine vnto the richer sort: it causeth them to lose all apprehension both of princes and kings, and taketh from them the remembrance of their friends and familiars: It armeth men against their greatest friends, and maketh them suppose their nearest wellwillers to be strangers; and when the wine concocted by night & sleepe hath forsaken them, they rise and know not what things they haue committed in their drunkennesse.

The first expreth the power of wine.

When the first of them had in this sort declared his resolution, as touching wine, he was silent, and the next began to speake of the kings force, shewing that it was of mightie consequence, and more powerful then any other thing that seemeth to haue force and intelligence; and thus handled hee the subiect of his demonstration. Kings (saith hee) haue dominion ouer men, who haue the ability to enforce the earth, and at their pleasure can command the sea to serue them: Kings haue power and dominion ouer those men who master and command the vncamed and mightiest creatures; it therefore appeareth that their force and puissance exceedeth all these. If they command their subiects to wage warre, and to expose themselves to danger, they are obedient; and if they send them out against their enemies, they willingly obey them by reason of their force: By their ordinance they leuel mountaines, beate downe walles, and race towers. And if

The second extolth the kings power. 3. Ed. 4.

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they command their subjects to kill or to be killed, they resist not, for feare that they should be made to transgresse the kings commandement. When they haue obtained the victorie, all the glorie and profit of the warre redoundeth vnto the king. They likewise which beare no armes, but intend the tillage of the earth, after they haue traualled and supported all the toyle of their tillage, reape and gather the fruits, to the end to pay the King his tribute: And if he will or command any thing, it must needly bee performed without any intermission or omission. Furthermore, when the king is addicted to any pleasures, or intendeth to enioy his pleasant and delightful rest, during the time that he sleepeth, he is guarded by them that watch, who are as it were tied vnto him, throw the feare and awe they haue of him: For not one of them dare forsake him when he sleepeth, nor depart from him to follow their owne affaires, but intend those seruices only, which bee thinketh necessarie, which is the guard of his person. Who therefore will not esteeme the kings forces to be greater then any others: since so many people obey him in whatsoever, and whensoever he commandeth?

Zorobabel, the third, expresseth the power of women, and at length attributeth the palme vnto truth.

After he had spoken to this effect, *Zorobabel*, who was the third, began to iustifie in respect of women and truth, and spake after this manner. True it is, that winchath much force, and no lesse true that all men obey the king, yet farre more mightie is the power of a woman. For by a woman the king was bred, and brought into this world, and those men that plant the vineyards where wines doe grow, are borne and nourished by women; and generally there is not any thing which wee enioy not by them. For they weaue vs garments, they haue the care and custodie of our houses; neither is it possible for vs to bee seuered from women. Yea, they that possess much gold and abundance of siluer, and other things of great and inestimable price; onely vpon the sight of a faire woman forsake all these things, and will follow after the beauty which they behold, & for the onely possession thereof, content themselves to lose all things. We forsake likewise our father and mother, and the country that hath bred vs, and forget our friends for our wiues sake; yea wee will willingly content our selues to die with them. Yet is there a greater and further demonstration of the most mighty power of a woman. For whatsoever we trauell for, all the paines that we endure both by land and sea, to the intent we may reape some fruits of our labours, doe we not carrie all this to giue vnto our wiues, as vnto those who are our mistresses? I haue seene the king likewise, who is so great a Lord, endure a stroke on the eare, by *Apame* the daughter of *Rhaphaces* his concubine, and patiently endure when she tooke the diademe from his head, and set it on her owne. When she laughed, he laughed; and when she was displeased, he was displeased: and according as her passion changed, so flattered he, and humbly submitted his affections to her pleasures, according as he saw her passionate or pleased.

But whilst the Princes in way of admiration beheld one another, hee began to discourse of truth, saying: I haue alreadie declared what the force of women is; yet notwithstanding both the king and they are more feeble then truth. For whereas the earth is huge and mightie, the heauen likewise of an immeasurable height, and the sunne of vnspokeable celeritie; & whereas the will of God both gouerneth and moueth these things (because God is iust and true) it therefore followeth, that truth is the most mightiest of all things; against which, iniustice may no waies preuaile. Furthermore, all other things notwithstanding they seeme to be of valew, yet are they mortall and of little continuance: but truth is immortall and euermore lasting. Moreover, all those things which we receiue thereby, are neither mortall, neither subject to the iniuries of time, fortune, or alteration; but continue iust, and lawfull, and separated from all stain of iniustice. When *Zorobabel* had spoken after this manner, he made an end of his discourse: Whereupon, all the assembly began to pronounce that his assertions were of most valew, and that onely veritie had an immutable force, and an indeterminable continuance. Whereupon the king commanded him to aske what he would, as touching that which hee had promised to giue, because he intended to grant it him, as to the wife, and best learned amongst the rest. For (said he) thou shalt sit henceforth next vnto me, and shalt be called my familiar.

Zorobabel obtained both praise & great rewards by his good discourse. Darius being put in memory of his vow, commandeth that the temple should be restored. Herod & Rufinus, chap. 4.

When the king had spoken thus, *Zorobabel* called to his remembrance the vowe that the king had made, if so be at any time hee obtained the kingdom: namely, that he would build Ierusalem, and the temple of God, and restore those vessels likewise, which were taken away by *Nabuchodonosor*, and carried into Babylon. For this (said he) O king is my request which you permitted me to aske, and you promised me to grant at that time as I was iudged wise and well lettered by you. The king tooke great pleasure at these words of his, and arising from his throne kissed him. He wrote also vnto his gouernours and princes, that they should send away *Zorobabel*, and those of his company to build the temple. Moreover he sent letters to them of Syria and Phoenicia,

OF THE IEWES: THE XLV BOOKE.

The year of the world 3443. before Christ's birth, 521. Darius letters for the liberty, possession and erection of the temple granted to the Iewes. 1 Esd 6.

*A*lexis, commanding them to cut downe the Cedars of Libanus, and to send them to Ierusalem towards the building of the citie, publishing a lawe that all Iewes should bee made free, if so be they would resort into Iudaea, forbidding all commissaries & Princes, to impose any charge vpon the Iewes, for the necessities of the kingdome, permitting that all the country which they might occupy, might be inhabited by them, and exempt from tributes: commanding the Idumians, Samaritans, and Cosyrians to restore those lands vnto the Iewes which they vnlawfully held, and the other lawfully claimed for their inheritance: And besides that, to deliuer them in way of contribution five talents of siluer towards the building of the temple, permitting them to offer their ordinarie sacrifice. He likewise commanded that all the necessaries and vestments, which either the high Priest, or the ordinarie sacrificers vsed in the seruice of God, should bee furnished at his charges. He willed also that the Leuites should haue instruments of Musicke deliuered vnto them, to praise God with; and that certaine portions of land might be allotted for them that had the guard of the Citie, and the temple. Moreover he allowed them a certaine summe of money euery year for their ordinarie maintenance. After this, he sent backe all those vessels which *Cyrus* before time had resolved to restore vnto Ierusalem.

When *Zorobabel* had obtained these things abouenamed at the kings hands, he issued out of the palace, and lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, he began to giue God thanks for the wisdom and victorie hee had granted him, and for the good successe he had giuen him in *Darius* presence. For (said he) O Lord, if thou hadst not bene fauourable vnto me, I had not obtained it. After he had at this time, & in this sort giuen thanks for the present; and praised God to shew himselfe alwaies fauourable hereafter, he repaired to Babylon, and told his countrymen what good newes hee had receiued from the King: who hearing the same, gaue God thanks also, who had restored them once more to the possession of that country wherein they were borne: and they fell to feasting and banquetting for seuen daies space, for the restoring vnto their country, as if they had solemnized the feasts of their birth daies. Anon after they made choise of those gouernors & common sort, that (with their wiues, their children and horses) should returne vnto Ierusalem, who by the assistance of *Darius* conuoy, performed their iourney to Ierusalem with ioy and consolation; playing on their Psalteries, Flutes, and Cymbals; and were after this manner conducted on their way, with delight, by the number of those Iewes that remained as yet in Babylon. Thus therefore went they forward, being a certaine and determinate number of euery family. I haue

Glad tidings brought to the Iewes.

The Iewes depart from Babylon to Ierusalem. 1 Esd 6.

not thought it meet to repeat these families name by name, for feare I should confound my storie, & least the readers should any waies be distracted or interrupted in their readings. Notwithstanding, the whole number of those that went, and were about twelue yeares olde of the tribes of *Juda* & *Beniamin*, were foure millions, sixe hundred, twenty and eight thousand. There were likewise foure thousand and secentie Leuites: And of their wiues and children together, fortie thousand, seuen hundred, fortie and two. Besides these, there were of singers of the tribe of *Leui*, one hundred, twentie and eight; of porters, one hundred and ten; and of sacred seruants three hundred, twenty and two. There were certaine others likewise, that pretended that they were of the race of the Israelites, yet could not they giue testimony of their descent; the number of whom were six hundred fifty & two. Of the number of the priests, they that had espoused wiues (whose genealogie could not bee deriued, and who were not found also in the genealogies of the Priests and Leuites) they were about fise hundred, twenty & fise. The multitude of seruants that followed or attended on them, were seuen thousand, three hundred, thirtie and seuen. There were also two hundred, fortie and fise fingers of men and women: foure hundred, thirtie and fise Camels; and fise hundred, twenty and fise other beasts to beare their carriage. The conductor of this about named multitude, was *Zorobabel* the sonne of *Salathiel*; descended of *Danids* line, and of the tribe of *Juda*; and *Iesus* the sonne of *Iosedech* the high priest: besides which were *Mardochaus* and *Serebous*, who were chosen by the people to be their gouernors, who contributed one hundred pounds of gold, and fise hundred of siluer. Thus the priests and Leuites, and a part of all the people of the Iewes which were then in Babylon, were conducted to dwell at Ierusalem; the other part of them following a little after returned euery one into his own country.

The number of the Iewes that went out of Babylon. 3 Esd 2.

Zorobabel chiefe and *Iesus* high priest of this company.

The seuenth moneth after their departure out of Babylon, the high priest *Iesus*, and the gouernour *Zorobabel* sent messengers thorow all the country, and assembled the people from all quarters of the region, who with all alacritie and expedition repaired to Ierusalem. There erected they an Altar in the same place, where before time it was builded, to the end they might offer lawfull sacrifices thereon, according to *Moses* law: in which action of theirs: they yeelded

1 Esd 3.

The years of the world 3444. before Christ's Nativity, 521.
The feast of Tabernacles.

The Temple, began to be built.

JOSEPHUS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

little content to their neighbour Nations, who in generall were incensed against them. They celebrated also at that time the feast of tabernacles, according as the law-mosaic had ordained: afterwards they offered oblations, and continuall sacrifices, observing then Sabbath and many solemnities. And they that had made any vows, performed the same; and sacrificed from the new-moone vntill the eleventh month. After this they began to build the temple; and gathered great summes of money to the Jewes of Syria, and Galilee; and gave strangers their ordinarie diet; who brought them stone and timber. For it was an easie matter for the Sidonians and Canaanites well pleasing vnto them, to bring wood and timber from Libanus, and to bind it, and gathering it together in rafters to ship it, and land it at the port of Ioppa. For *Cyrus* had before time given them that commandement; and now the second time they were enjoyned thereto by *Darius*.

The second yeere after their arrivall in Ierusalem, the Jewes assembled together in the second month; and the building of the temple went forward; so that having laid the foundation thereof in the first day of December, they builded vpon the same, the second yeere. Over this worke those Levites that were aboute twentye yeeres of age, were overseers: with them also was *Iesus*, and his sonnes and brothers joynd, and *Zalmiel* the brother of *Iuda* the sonne of *Amiadab*, and his sonnes. And thorow the diligence that those overseers of the temple used, it was sooner finished, then it was expected. As soone as the sanctuary was builded, the Priests apparelled in their accustomed habits, and the Levites; and the sonnes of *Asaph* also, and with trumpets praised God, according as *David* first of all had set downe the manner of his service. The priests and Levites with the elders of the tribes (calling vnto their minds how great and precious the first temple was, and beholding that which was builded vpon the present, farre inferiour to the precedent, and perceiving how much the ancient wealth and dignitie of the temple was abated, they were confuted thereat, and being vnable to overcome their passion, they burst out into lamentations and teares. But the people were contented with that which they beheld, and without any estimate or mention of the former temple, they tormented not themselves in comparing the one with the other; neither thought they vpon the difference and bignesse betwixt the present and that which stood in times past: yet notwithstanding the elders lamented, and the priests complained, that the new erected Temple was farre lesse then the former; yet the noise of the trumpets drowned their laments, and the ioyfull applauses of the people their mourninges.

The Samaritans hearing the noise of the trumpets, ranne out to know the cause thereof; in that they were lewdly affected towards the tribes of *Iuda* and *Beniamin*; and vnderstanding that the Jewes which were returned from Babylon had reedified the temple, they addressed themselves to *Zorobabel* and *Iesus*, & to the chiefe gouernours of the families, requiring them that it might bee lawfull for them to repaire the temple with them; and to haue part in the building thereof. For (said they) we honour God no lesse then you, we pray vnto him and adore him; wee conforme ourselves to your customes, euer since the time that *Samarazar* king of Assyria remoued vs out of Chuthea and Media hither. To these demands of theirs, *Zorobabel* and *Iesus* the high priest and the gouernours of the tribes answered, that it was impossible for them to admit their assistance in the building of the temple, for that they had receiued their first commandement from *Cyrus* to performe the same, and afterwards from *Darius*: notwithstanding they gaue the licence to adore therein, offering them that the temple should bee common to both, if they pleased: yet not accessible to all other nations, that would repaire thither to adore God. The Chutheans (for so were the Samaritans called) hearing this answer, were fore offended; and perswaded the other nations of Syria to require their princes (who continued their authoritie since the time of *Cyrus*, and afterwards ruled in *Cambyes* time) to hinder the building of the temple; and to destroy the Jewes, who were so intent and busie in their worke. Whereupon *Sisin* gouernour in Syria and Phoenicia, and *Sarabazan*, accompanied with others, came vnto Ierusalem; and demanded of the chieftaines of the Jewes, by whose permission they builded the temple, which rather seemed to be a fort then a temple, and for what cause they fortified their Citie with gates and so strong walles? *Zorobabel* and *Iesus* the high Priest answered, that they were the seruants of the liuing God, and that their temple had bene built by one of their kings, who was opulent & surpassed all other in vertue, that after it had continued long time in venerable estimation (by reason their fathers had committed impietie against God) *Nabuchadonisor* king of Babylon and Chaldaea, hauing taken the Citie by force destroyed the same; and after he had spoyled the citie he burned it, and transported the people captiue into Babylon.

But

OF THE IEWES. THE XI. BOOKE.

The years of the world 3444. before Christ's Nativity, 520. 1. E. d. 5.

A But after that *Cyrus* king of Persia had obtained the kingdom of Babylon, he commaunded by his expresse letters sealed with his roiall seale, that they should reedifie the temple, and ordained that all that which *Nabuchadonisor* caried from thence, as well gifts as vessels, should be deliuered to *Zorobabel* and the Treasurer *Mithridates*, to be conuaid to Ierusalem, and be placed againe in the temple, as soone as it should be builded. And he commanded also, that it should be presently reedified, willing *Abassar* to repaire to Ierusalem, and giue order for all that which was requisite; who resorting thither as soone as hee had receiued *Cyrus* letters, did speedily lay the foundations anew. From that time forward vntill this present it hath bene continued; but the subtiltie and malignitie of their enemie had wrought so much, that as yet it remained imperfect. If therefore please you, and you thinke it good, signifie that you heare, by your letters to *Darius*, to beend that examining the registers of the kings, he may find that we are not faultie in any thing of that which we haue said. When *Zorobabel* and *Iesus* had answered to this effect; *Sisin* and they that accompanied him, thought not good to hinder the building, vntill such time as they had certified *Darius* hereof: for which cause they wrote vnto him presently. Hereupon the Jewes were much discomforted & troubled, fearing least the king should change his mind in respect of the building of Ierusalem & the Temple. But two Prophets, *Aggeus* and *Zachary* (who were amongst them) beganne to perswade them, willing them to feare no disaster from the Persians, because God had assured them: for which cause the people gaue credit to the Prophets; & diligently intended their building, and intermitted no one day.

When the Samaritans had in this sort written to *Darius*, and accused the Jewes vnto him for fortifying their Citie, and reedifying their Temple, & how it seemed to be rather a fort, then some sacred place, and had further alledged that it would be no profit vnto him, and moreover had produced *Cambyes* letters, by which they were forbidden to build the temple; hee vnderstood that the reestablishment of Ierusalem stood not with the securitie of his state. But when he had read *Sisin* letters and his associates, he commaunded that the Panchartes and Chronicles of the kings should be searched, how the matter had past; and there was found in Ecbatane a Citie of the Medes, in a tower a certaine booke, in which these things were written. The first yeere of the raigne of *Cyrus*, commandement was giuen to build the temple of Ierusalem, and the altar therein: It was likewise decreed, that the height of the Temple should bee sixtie cubits, and the breadth as many; three stories of hewed stone, and one story of the wood of that countrey: and it was ordained that the expence of that building should be deducted out of the kings reuenues.

Moreover he commaunded, that restitution should be made vnto the inhabitants of Ierusalem, of those vessels that were taken away by *Nabuchadonisor*, and caried away to Babylon: And the commission to effect all these things was giuen to *Abassar* gouernour of Syria and Phoenicia; and his companions, to the end that they might depart from these places, and the Jewes might bee permitted to build therein. Furthermore, he ordained that the charge of this pile & building should be gathered out of the tributes of his countries, and that they should furnish the Jewes with buls, weathers, lambes, goates, flower, oyle, and wine, and all other things which the Priests should thinke meet to offer sacrifice, to the intent that they might pray for the preservation of the King of Persia: commaunding that they that should transgresse or contradict this commandement of his, should be laid hold on, and hanged on a gibbet, & that their goods should be confiscate to the kings vs. Moreover, he besought God; that if any man went about to hinder the building of the temple, that he would punish him and strike him, and restraine his wickednesse thereby. When *Darius* had found these things written in his Panchartes and Chronicles, he wrote back to *Sisin* and his companions in this forme: King *Darius* to *Sisin*, and *Sarabazan*, with their associates; health. Hauing found amongst the memorialls of *Cyrus* the copy of your misliue; I haue sent it you, and my pleasure is that the contents thereof be executed. Fare you well.

Sisin and his associates beeing certified of the kings pleasure, resolved themselves conformably to execute the same: and taking the care of the sacred buildings vpon them, they assisted the Princes & Magistrates of the Jewes in such sort, as the building of the Temple was finished with great diligence, by the instigation of the Prophets *Aggeus* and *Zachary*, according to Gods commandement, and by the directions of the kings *Cyrus* and *Darius*; so that it was finished within 7 yeeres. In the ninth yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, and the three and twenty of the eleventh moneth, called by vs *Ader*, and by the Macedonians *Disfre*; the Priests and Levites, and all the rest of the people offered sacrifices for the renovation of their former felicity, after their captiuitie; and for their new temple also: sacrificing one hundred bulles, two hundred sheepe, foure hundred lambes, twelue goates, according to the number of the twelue tribes of Israel; and for the finnes

The finishing of the temple.

The Samaritans desirous to further the building of the temple are rejected.

The Samaritans suppose to hinder the building of the temple.

The Syrian princes examine the cause why the Jewes repaire their citie and temple.

The Samaritans endeavouring to hinder the reparation of the temple & city doe further it the more.

Cyrus decreed as touching the temple & the Jewes.

The years of the world 3450. before Christ's birth.

1. E. d. 5.

Darius Epistle to the priests of Syria.

The years of the world, 3450. before Christ's Nativity, 514. The temple dedicated 23 of March, or 24. It is in the first of Efdras 6, dedicated the 3 of March. The pasche celebrated.

sinnes of each of them. The Priests and Leuites also (according to the lawes of *Moses*) appointed Porters to euery gate. For the Iewes had builded galleries round about, and within the temple.

The forme of commonweale in Ierusalem.

The Samaritanes mightie enemies of the Iewes.

The embassage of the Iewes to Darius. The years of the world, 3454. before Christ's birth, 500. A commandement to supply the charge of the building of the temple & sacrifices.

Herod & Rufinus, chap. 5. 1. Efdras. Xerxes king of Persia. Efdras learned in the lawe.

Xerxes fauoureth the Iewes.

Now when the feast of vnleauened bread (which is the feast of Easter) drew neere, in the first moneth called Xanthicus by the Macedonians, and Nisan by the Hebrewes, all the people of the townes round about Ierusalem resorted thither, and celebrated the feast; purifying both themselves, their wiues, and children, according to the ordinance of their forefathers: And after they had solemnized the feast called Easter, or the Pasche in the 14 moone, they banquetted for seuen daies space, sparing no cost how great soeuer it were. They offered burnt offerings also, & sacrifices of thanksgiving, acknowledging Gods goodnesse that had brought them home into their native Countrey, to liue according to the lawes of their forefathers, and had made the gracious in the King of Persiaes eyes. Thus dwelled they in Ierusalem in all ioy, sacrificing and seruing God with great affection, and liuing vnder the gouernment of their nobilitie. For the chiefest authoritie remained in the high Priests, vntill the Assmonians obtained the kingdom: for before the captiuitie of Babylon, they were vnder the gouernment of kings, who began from *Saul* and *Damids* times, about some five hundred, thirtie, two yeeres, sixe moneths, and tenne daies; & before their Kings certaine Gouernours called Iudges raigned: and vnder this sort of policie liued they more then five hundred yeeres; from the death of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. See here the estate of the Iewes deliuered from their captiuitie, during the daies of *Cyrus* and *Darius*. True it is that the Samaritanes were their mightie and malicious aduersaries, & did them many mischiefs, trusting in their riches, and pretending themselves to be the Persians kinsmen, because their originall proceeded from thence. For they refused to pay that tribute, which the king had commaunded them to disburse vnto the Iewes to make their sacrifices, and had their Gouernours likewise affectionate and forward to further their malice; neither was there any of them idle or negligent in working them mischiefe, either in themselves, or by others. For which cause, the Iewes determined to send Embassadors vnto king *Darius*, to accuse the Samaritanes; and to that intent *Zorobabel* and foure others were sent. As soone therefore as the king vnderstood by these Embassadors, what crimes and accusations they had brought against the Samaritanes, hee dispatched his letters, and addressed them to the Gouernours and Councell of Samaria; the tenour of which letters was to this effect. King *Darius* to *Tangara* & *Sambaba* Gouernours of Samaria, to *Sadrach* and *Babelon*, and to their companions our seruants being in Samaria, health. *Zorobabel*, *Anani*, *As*, and *Mardocheus*, Embassadors in the behalfe of the Iewes, accuse you to be perturbors of the building of their temple; alleadging, that you refuse to discharge that, which by my decree you ought to furnish them with, for the charge of the sacrifices. My will is therefore, that vpon the sight of these letters, you deliuer out of the roiall treasure in Samaria, appointed for the tributes, all that which shall be necessary for the to performe their sacrifices, vpon the request of the Priests, to the intent they let passe no day without sacrifice and praier vnto God for mee, and for the Persians. This was the contents of his letter.

CHAP. V.

The beneficence of Xerxes, Darius sonne, towards the Iewes.

After *Darius* death, his sonne *Xerxes* succeeded him, not onely as heire in the gouernment of his kingdom, but also as successor vnto his pietie & deuotion towards God: for he no waies changed those institutions of his fathers that concerned religious seruice, but with great beneuolence fauoured all the Iewes. During his reigne *Iosachim* the sonne of *Iesus* was high Priest: Amongst the also that remained in Babylon, there liued a high priest with the Iewes in that place called *Efdras*; a iust man, and one of great reputation amongst the people: and whereas he was very skilfull in the lawes of *Moses*, hee obtained great friendship with the king. This man intending (with certaine other Iewes of Babylon) to make his repaire vnto Ierusalem, beought the king that he would vouchsafe to bestow his letters of commendations to the Gouernours of Syria in his behalfe. Whereupon the king wrote his letters pattents of grace, certifying his fauor towards *Efdras*, to the princes in those parts, to this effect: *Xerxes* king of kings, to *Efdras* the high Priest, and Reader of the diuine law, health. It is decreed by me and euen other of my Councell, that whosoever in my kingdom of the Israelites, their Priests, or Leuites

The years of the world, 3506. before Christ's Nativity, 458.

A uites will repaire with thee vnto Ierusalem, hee may freely performe the same with my good licence, and reuise Iudaea according to the law of God; bearing with you those presents vnto the God of Israel, which both I and my friends haue vowed. I likewise giue thee licence to take with thee all the gold and siluer whatsoeuer, that any of thy nation liuing here in Babylon will offer vnto God, to buy offerings to be sacrificed vpon the altar of thy GOD: and to make whatsoeuer vessels of gold or siluer, which either thou or thy brethren shall thinke meet. Those sacred vessels also which are giuen thee, thou shalt dedicate vnto thy God, and if there be ought else requisite in this behalfe, that according to thy wisdom shall thou provide; & the charges shalt thou receive out of my treasure. I haue also commaunded thee to the Treasurers of Syria and Phoenicia; and haue written to them, that whatsoever *Efdras* the Priest and Reader of the law of GOD shall require, they shall presently deliuer it him: And to the end that God may be fauourable to me and my children, my will is, that a hundred measures of wheate be giuen vnto God according to the law. I commaund you also that are Magistrates, that you exact nothing, neither impose any taxations on the Priests, Leuites, sacred singing men, porters, or holy officers: But thou *Efdras* according to the wisdom giuen thee from aboue, shalt appoint Iudges, who shall in Syria and Phoenicia execute iustice vnto the people, according to the science of the law. Teach thou likewise freely all such as are ignorant, so that whosoever violateth either Gods or the Kings law, he may be fined, or else condemned to death, as not sinning thorow ignorance, but of contumacie. Farewell.

When *Efdras* had receiued this letter, he was wonderfully contented, and beganne to adore God, confessing openly that it was he, who was the author of that fauour hee had receiued at the kings hands: for which cause he said, that the onely thanksgiving appertained to him. And after he had read this letter vnto the Iewes that were at that time resident in Babylon, hee kept the originall, but sent the copy to all those of his nation, being in the country of the Medes: who vnderstanding of the kings affection towards God, and his fauour towards *Efdras*, were very ioyfull; and diuers amongst them tooke their goods and came vnto Babylon, desiring to returne to Ierusalem: but all the rest of the Israelites would not abandon or leaue their quiet dwelling there. For which cause it came to passe; that two tribes were vnder the obedience of the Romans in Asia and Europe: but the tenne Tribes were on the other side of Euphrates, euen vntill this day; being many infinites of thousands, whose number may not be comprehended. With *Efdras* there departed a great number of Priests, Leuits, porters, singing men, and seruants of the temple. Now after that hee had assembled those of the captiuitie, that inhabited on this side Euphrates, and sojourned there three daies, he commaunded them to solemnize a fast, and to pray vnto God for his preservation, and that no euill might happen vnto him; and that neither their enemies nor any other might doe them any violence. For *Efdras* had foretold the king that GOD would be their Protector, and that therefore he required no conuoy of horsemen at his hand for his securitie. After that they had recommended themselves vnto God, they set forward on their way, the twelfth day of the first moneth of the seventh yeere of the reigne of *Xerxes*, and arriued in Ierusalem in the first moneth of the same yeere. Whereupon, he incontinently presented vnto the Treasurers (who were of the race of the Priests) the siluer that was consecrated, namely, fixe hundred and fiftie talents, of siluer vessell a hundred talents, of vessell of gold twentie talents, of brazen vessell (more precious then gold) wayng twelue talents. These were the presents of the king and his friends, and of the Israelites that dwelt in Babylon.

When *Efdras* had deliuered these about named presents vnto the hands of the Priests, he offered burnt offerings vnto God, according to the law, namely, twelue bulles for the publique conservation of the people, 72 rammes and lambes, and twelue goates for the expiation of sin. And after them he deliuered the kings letters to his Princes and Gouernours in Coelosyria and Phoenicia: who being constrained to execute that which was enioyned them by the king, honored the nation of the Iewes, & supplied them euery waies in their necessities. This counsaile had *Efdras* himselfe giuen of their departure. But in my opinion God (hauing regard of his wisdom and integrity) did happily aduance his deliberation.

Not long after this, there came certaine men vnto him, complaining that some of the people, Priests, and Leuites had transgressed against the policie, and broken the lawes of the Countrey; for that they had espoused certaine strange women, and confounded the race of the Priests: requiring him that hee would haue an inward regard to Gods ordinances, for feare lest hee (conceiuing a generall hatred against them all) should send them anew some grievous calamities. For which cause *Efdras* deuoured with sorrow; incontinently rent his clothes, and tore his haire; and

Efdras assembled the Iewes that dwelt in Babylon.

Efdras repaired to Ierusalem, and committeth the vessels and other precious presents to the Treasurers hands.

1. *Esdras*. 10.

The reading
of Moses law.
2. Esdras. 8.

He

П-2. *E. filtras*, *h.*

The year of the
world, 3519. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 445.

Nehemias ha-
ving gotten
licence and
authoritie to
build the wals
of Ierusalem,
inciteth the
people there-
vnto.

2. *Esdra. 2.*

The year of the
world 3519, be-
fore Christ's birth
445.

gence therein. After he had spoken to this effect, he gaue order that the Gouvernours should take the measure of the wall, and distribute the taske amongst the people, according to the burroughs and townes, and according to euerie mans ability: and after hee had promised to imploy both himselfe, and all his family therein, he dismissed the assembly. Hecreupon the Iewes (incited by his authority) addressed themselues to the worke; which name of Iewes was first imposed both on them and their religion, by reason of the Tribe of Iuda, vvhofirst of all came into these places.

2. Esdras 4.6.

The ardent
care in build-
ing the walls
of Ierusalem.

The Ammonites, Moabites, Samaritanes, and all the inhabitants of Coelosyria, vnderstanding the wall was raised, with such haste and diligence, were sore aggrieved, & resolved with themselves to lie in ambush, and to hinder them in their deliberations; so that they slew diuers Iewes, and sought the meanes likewise to murder *Nehemias* himselfe: and hauing hired certaine strangers with money to commit the fact, they laid in waite for him. They bred also a feare and trouble amongst them, by spreading certaine rumors, that diuers nations intended to make war against them: by which reports (being too much distracted) they desisted somewhat in the prosecution of their building. Yet none of these things could weaken *Nehemias* diligence or resolution, but that (keeping a court of guard round about him) he instantly prosecuted his purpose, setting light by all occurrents; so great was his affection to accomplish his intent. And for that cause did he carefully and intently stand vpon his guard, not for that he feared death, but for that he believed that after his departure the Iewes would not finish the building of the wall. He commanded afterwards, that the workmen in their trauell should haue their furnitures fast by them, so that both Macons and labourers carried their swords.

Moreover, he gaue order that they should haue their targets by them; and hee placed certaine trumpeters, some five hundred foote distant the one from the other, charging them that as soone as they discovered the enemy from any part, they should incontinently sound the allarum, and giue notice vnto the people to arme themselves, and prepare for the fight, for feare they should be surprisid and found naked. He himselfe also walked the round, about the Cittie by night time, with an indefatigable courage, and without either eating or sleeping at his pleasure, but onely for necessitie sake; and this labour endured he for the space of two yeeres, and three months: for the wall of Ierusalem was builded againe in that time, in the eight and twentieth yeere of the raigne of *Xerxes*, and in the ninth moneth. After the Cittie was fortified, *Nehemias* and the people offered sacrifices vnto God, & spent eight daies in feasting. When the rumor was spread abroad that this building was finished, the inhabitants of Syria were sore displeased. But *Nehemias* perceiuing that the Cittie was weakelie manned, be sought the Priests & Leuites to forsake their dwellings without the Cittie, & to come and dwell within, and to that intent hee builded them houses vpon his owne charge. Hecordained likewise, that they that intended their husbandry, should bring the tenths of their fruits vnto Ierusalem, to the intent that the Priests and Leuites by enioying their continuall maintenance, might intermit no time in the seruice of God: wherein hee was willinglie obeyed. By this meanes, the Cittie of Ierusalem was very well peopled. After that *Nehemias* had honourably executed diuers other worthy actions deseruing praise, he died at such time as he was laden with age. He was a man of a good nature, iust & highly affectionated towards his country: he left the City of Ierusalem incompassed with a wall, for a perpetuall memorie of his loue vnto his country. All these things hapned during the raigne of *Xerxes*.

CHAP. VI.

How during the raigne of Artaxerxes, the whole nation of the Iewes were in danger to bee extinguished by Amans trecherie.

Hecido & Ruf-
finus, chap. 6.
Esdras 4.

The year of the
world 3543, be-
fore Christ's
birth, 521.



FTER the death of *Xerxes*, the kingdome fell to *Cyrus* his sonne, vvho by the Grecians was called *Artaxerxes*. Vnder his gouernment all the race of the Iewes, both men, women and children, were in danger to be vterly exterminated: the cause whereof I will heereafter declare. But first of all it behoueth me to speak somewhat of the king, and to declare how it came to passe, that hee married an Hebrew woman of the bloud royall, by whose meanes (as it is said) our nation was preserved. After that *Artaxerxes* had taken the kingdome vpon him, and established Gouvernours ouer one hundred and seauen and twenty prouinces, from India as farre as Ethiopia: in the third yeere of his raigne, hee entertained and feasted all his friends with great magnificence, the nations of Persia likewise with their Gouvernours

(accor-

The year of the
world 3543, be-
fore Christ's birth
521.

A (according as it became a king so opulent, who was prepared for one hundred and eightie daies to make shew of his wealth and bountie.) He feasted after this, for the space of 7. dayes the Embassadors of all nations in his Citie of Susa: and the setting forth of the banquet was such, as ensueeth. Hee fate in a tent, whose pillars were of golde and siluer, couered with linnen and scarlet vailes, which were of that greatesse, that diuers thousands of men might take their refection therein. All the eaters were serued in vessels of golde, enriched with precious stones, very glorious to behold. The King likewise commanded his seruants (that attended the feast) that they should enforce no man to drinke, by filling continually, according to the manner of the Persians, but to permit euerie one of the guests to drinke according to his discretion. He sent also thorowout all the country, commanding a cessation from all labour, and that euerie one should make holiday

B for many daies in honour of his royalty. The Queene *Vasthi* also made a banquet vnto her women in the royall palace. Now whereas the king was desirous to shew the maiestic of his queene to those he had inuited, he sent vnto her, commanding her to resort vnto the banquet in more roiall manner than the rest of her attendants: but shee too curiously tied to the obseruation of the law of the Persians (which forbiddeth women to be seene by strangers) went not vnto the King: and notwithstanding he sent his Eunuques diuers times vnto her, yet persisted shee in her refusal to come vnto him. Whereupon the king (moued with displeasure) gaue over his banquet, & arising thereto hee called vnto him his seuen counsellors, to whom (according to the vse of the Persians) it belonged to expound the lawes; and accused his wife, telling them how grieuouly hee had been wronged by her, for that being sent for by him diuers times to accompany him at

Afflucius en-
deth for Vasthi
to grace his
feasts, she resu-
sisteth, and there-
fore is cast off
by him.

The year of the
world, 3543, be-
fore Christ's birth
521.

C his banquet, shee had euery way refused to obey him: He therefore commanded them to declare their opinion, what punishment appertained to her. One amongst them called *Marthais* answered, that the iniurie was not onely offered vnto him, but to all the Persians: who being after that manner despised by their wiues, were like to passe their liues ignominiously, for that no one of them would acknowledge dutie towards their husbands, taking their example from the Queens disobedience, which she shewed towards him, who was the gouernour ouer all. Whereupon hee concluded, that she that had thus dishonored him, should be grieuouly punished: which done, he thought it meet that this ordinance of the kings might be published thorow all nations, that Queene *Vasthi* should be separated from his bed, and another woman chosen in her place. But the king, who vehemently loued her, and could hardly endure to be separated from her, knowing

D that he could not keepe her contrarie to law, was wholly deuoured in sorrow, for that hee might not be master of that which hee desired. Which when his familiars perceiued, they counselled him to forget the memory & loue of a woman so vnprofitable, & to send and seeke out thorow all his countries for the fairest woman amongst them, whom he might chooseth and take to wife, that surpassed all others in beautie; for that by the interuiew & companie of an other woman, the great affection which he bare vnto *Vasthi*, might be extinguished. The king allowing and ratifying this counsaile of theirs, sent out certaine messengers and deputies, commanding them to bring vnto his presence the fairest virgins that were to be found in his kingdome: when as therefore they had assembled a great number of them, they found in Babylon a young orphelin (without either father or mother) who was brought vp vnder her vncle (whose name was *Mardocheus*) of the tribe

E of *Beniamin*, and one of the greatest men amongst the Iewes. It came to passe, that this *Ester* (for such was her name) was iudged to be the fairest amongst the rest, who for her amiable countenance made all men to stand at gaze to behold her. Shee therefore was deliuered in charge vnto one of the Eunuques, who carefully attended her with all the diligence that was possible, decking her with odors and precious perfumes, according to the custome of noble women; and after this manner were foure hundred virgins entertained for the space of fixe moneths. Now when he that was put in trust with this commission, thought these virgins to be sufficiently prepared, and that they deserued to approche the princes bed, he sent euerie day one vnto the king, to keepe him company: who after some embraces sent her presently backe againe vnto the Eunuch. But when as *Ester* came vnto his presence, hee felted his affection on her more then on all the rest, and being surprisid with her loue, hee tooke her for his lawfull wife: and the nuptials were solemnlie celebrated in the seuenth yeere of his raigne, and in the twelfth moneth called by vs *Adar*, and generally *Februarie*: and he sent posts thorow all his kingdomes to proclaime a feast in honour of his marriage: he himselfe also feasted the Persians, and Medes, and the Princes of the nations, for a whole moneths space for the same cause. At such time as *Ester* entred into the royall palace, he set a diademe vpon her head, and so liued with her, that he neuer questioned with her either of her birth, or nation. Her vncle also came from Babylon to Susa (the chiefe citie of Persia)

The year of the
world, 3549.
before the birth
of Christ, 455.
The maiden
Ester made
Queene.
Ester. 2.
Mardocheus
came from Ba-
bylon to Susa.
where

DD

The year of the
world 3549.
before Christ
1445.
The king, com-
mand that no
man should ap-
proch his
throne except
he were called.
Ester 4.
Mardocheus
discouereth the
traitors.
Ester. 7.

Aman being
honoured by
all men is ne-
glected by the
Jewes.
Ester 3.

The destruc-
tion of the Jewes
granted vnto
Aman.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

where euerie day he walked before the palace gate, enquiring how *Ester* did: for that hee loued her as deere as if shee had bene his own naturall daughter. Now the king had made a law that no man should approche his presence, except he were called, during the time that he was in his throne; & round about his seat their stood certain officers with their axes, ready to punish those, who being vncalled should attempt to approche the throne. The king himselfe late aloft, and holding in his hand a golden scepter, whensoever he intended to saue the life of any one that approached his throne vncalled, hee stretched forth the same and touched him therewith: who being thus touched by these meanes auoyded the penaltie of death. And as touching these things wee haue sufficiently spoken in this place.

Not long after this, when as *Bagathous* and *Theodestes*, two of the kings Eunuches, had conspired against him; *Barmabazus*, who was of the Hebrew nation & one of their seruants, disclosing their treason, discovered it to the Queenes vnckle *Mardocheus*, who by her meanes made the king priuie to their conspiracie. Who fore troubled herewith, found out the truth by examination, and after he had commanded them to be executed on the gibbet, he for that time gaue no recogni-
pence to *Mardocheus* for the safegard of his life: hee onely commanded his name to be registred and chronicled in his commentaries, commaunding that hee should attend in the palace, and be esteemed for one of the kings most inward friends. Now as often as *Aman* (the sonne of *Amadath* an Amalechite) came vnto the palace to visite the king, all those that were either Persians or strangers (according to the kings especiall direction) did him honour: But *Mardocheus* shew-
ed him no honor (both by reason of that vpright iudgement that was in him, as also for that the lawes of the Jewes forbade the same. Which when *Aman* had obserued, hee demaund d whence he was? and vnderstanding that he was a Jew, he was much displeased, laying in himself, that the Persians who were of freer condition, cast themselves prostrate before him, and he that was but a slaue disdained to do the like. Intending therefore to reuenge himself on *Mardocheus*, he thought it not sufficient to procure his punishment at the kings hands, but resolu'd wholly to exterminate his race (for he was by nature a capitall enemy of the Jewes, by reason that the Amalechites, from whom he challenged his descent, had bin wholly ruined by them.) For which cause, hee addres-
sed himselfe vnto the king, and accused them, saying, that there was a certaine cursed nation
spread thorow his whole kingdome, infociable, and abhorring the customes of other men, who
used diuers lawes and ceremonies hatefull both for their manners and studies, to all the rest of
his subiects, and all mortall men. This nation (saith hee) if thou wilt doe a gracious and accep-
table fauour vnto thy people, thou shalt utterly extinguish, and leaue neither captiue nor slaue a-
liue amongst them. And least your maiesties tribute should bee any wayes impaired by these
meanes, I promise you of mine owne reuenues fortie thousand talents of siluer; desiring rather
willingly to forbeare so much money, then that your kingdome should bee vn timered of such a
cursed race of men. When *Aman* had made this his request, the king answered, that he for-
gaue him the money, and that hee permitted him to deale with that nation as best him liked.
When *Aman* had obtained this his desire, hee presently sent an edict thorow all nations in the
king's name, and to this effect. The great king *Artaxerxes* vnto his gouernours of a hundreth
and seuen and twentie provinces, extending from India as farre as Aethiopia: Health. Having
obtained the Empire ouer so many nations, and extended my dominion ouer the world, accord-
ding to mine owne pleasure, without being constrained to offend any of my subiects, by vsing
our power more proudly and importunately then becommeth vs, but shewing our selues fauou-
rable and mercifull in providing for their peace, and plentiful estate, wee haue searched out the
meanes thereof, to the intent that wee might perceiue the fruit. Being therefore admonished by
my friend *Aman* (who for his wisdom and iustice is more honoured then all others by me, and
for his approued fidelitie, hath the second place in authoritie next mee) that there is a certaine
race of men intermeddled among you, enemies to all humanity, vsing none but their owne lawes,
& such as are different from others, disobedient to their kings, and of depraued manners and
customes, that neither allow our monarchie, nor further our affaires: I will and commaund, that
they (being made knowne by *Aman*, a man whom we hold as deere as our father) bee slaine, with
their wiues, and children; so as you spare none of them, attributing more vnto your owne mer-
cie then our edict: and this commaund wee to be done the fourteenth day of the twelfth moneth
of this present yere, that in one day cutting off all our enemies, hereafter it may bee lawfull for
you to liue in peace and securitie. This edict being spread thorow all places of the country,
and published in euerie citie; all men addressed themselves against the prefixed day, utterly to ex-
terminate the Jewes: & no lesse diligence was there used in Susan the Metropolitane citie. Meane
while

OF THE IEWES THE XII BOOKE

While the King and *Aman* feasted, and made good chere, whilst the Citie hung in
suspence, being troubled with the expectation of the euent of that which should followe: But
Mardocheus hauing intelligence hereof, rent his garments, put on sackcloth, and cast ashes on
his head, walking thorow the Citie, and crying that their nation had not committed any crime
that deserved death, and vsing these or such like speeches, hee came vnto the kings palace, & stood
before the gate, because it was vnlawfull for him to enter therein in that habit. The like also
did the Jewes that were in the Citie, where the good edict had bene published against them, weep-
ing and lamenting their miseries. But when the newes hereof was brought vnto the Queen, that
Mardocheus stood before the palace gate in a lamentable estate, she was sore troubled, & sent cer-
tain of her seruants vnto him to commaund him to exchange his attire, but they could not perwade
him to put off his sackcloth, because the inconuenient, for which he had put it on, was not over-
past. She therefore called, vnto her, her Eunuch *Agathas*, & sent him vnto *Mardocheus*, to knowe
what hateful accident had befallen him, that made him put on this desolate habit; & pouer forth
those lamentable reares (notwithstanding shee had instantly praied him to disrobe him of the one,
and dry vp the other.) Hereupon *Mardocheus* tolde the Eunuch, of the edict made against the
Jewes, and sent by the king vnto all his prouinces; the offer of the money that *Aman* likewise had
rendered to the king, whereby hee had bought the vtter ruine of his nation at the kings hands.
Moreouer, hee gaue him the copy of that which had bene proclaimed in Susan, to bee deliuered
vnto *Ester*: whom hee commaunded to beseech the king, and to esteeme it no dishonour to put
on an abiect and base garment, to saue her nation, and to preserue the Jewes from that death,
whereunto at that time they were exposed: for that *Aman* the next in honour to the king, had
accused the Jewes, and incensed his maiestie against them. When *Ester* vnderstood this, shee
sent againe vnto *Mardocheus*, giuing him to vnderstand that shee was not called for by the king;
and that who/oeuer entred vnto him, and was not called, should die, except the king would war-
rantize him by stretching out his golden scepter: for hee, vnto whome the king extended that fa-
uour, although hee were not called vnto him; yet suffered hee not death, but obtained pardon.
When these things were reported by the Eunuch from *Ester* vnto *Mardocheus*, hee commaunded
him to tell her, that she ought not so much to tender the particular respect of her life, as the liues
of her whole nation; assuring her, that if at that present she had not care of them, their suc-
cours should wholly proceed from God by some other meanes then this: but she and her fathers
house should bee destroyed by them, whom she had contemned. Vpon this reply, *Ester* sent the
same messenger backe againe vnto *Mardocheus*, commaunding him to repaire vnto Susan, & to
call a generall assembly of all the Jewes that remained there, willing them for three daies space to
fast and abstaine from all kind of meat for her sake, and that both her selfe and her seruantes
would doe the like, promising them that at that time she would present her selfe to the king, not-
withstanding his contrary edict; and that if she must needs die, she would willingly endure it.

Mardocheus, following this direction of hers, caused the people to fast, & to pray vnto God for
her: he likewise himselfe besought him that it might please him at that present to haue compassi-
on their desolate and distressed nation; as before that time he had oftentimes had care of them:
and that as hee had pardoned them at such time as they had offended: so now also at this present
he would deliuer them from that perdition which was denounced against them. For that they
were not in daunger to die infamously for any offence of their owne, but because he onely had
incensed *Aman* vnto displeasure, in that hee would not adore him, or performe that honor vnto
him, which is onely due to God: for which cause in despite hee had imagined this thing a-
gainst them, who would not transgresse the diuine ordinances. The people likewise prayed to the
like effect, beseeching God that he would haue care of their preseruati-
on, & warrantize the Isra-
elites in what place soeuer they were, from the misery at hand, which was before their eyes, & al-
ready expected by them. *Ester* also besought God (according to her countrey manner) casting
her selfe prostrate on the earth, clothed in sackcloth, and abstaining for three daies space from
meat and drinke, and what thing soeuer else was delectable, beseeching God to haue compassion
vpon her, that when shee presented her self before the king she might haue words fit to perwade
and mollifie him, and grace and beaurie farre more amiable then euer shee had, to the ende that
by these two meanes shee might be the better enabled to appeale the king, if so be he were dis-
pleased against her; and to succour her brethren agitated and tossed in extreame daunger, where-
through the king might enforce his hatred against the enemies of the Jewes, and take compassi-
on of their imminent daunger, which without his preuention would surely fall vpon them. After
she had in this sort for three daies space both fasted & prayed, shee cast off her mourning attire,
while

The year of the
world 3549.
before Christ
1445.
The lamenta-
tion of the
Jewes vpon
the hearing of
this edict.
Ester. 4.

The year of the
world 3554.
before Christ
1439.
The year of the
world 3554.
before Christ
1439.
The year of the
world 3554.
before Christ
1439.

Fasting & pray-
ers vnto God
for the saue
of the people.

Ester refor-
med to the
king to solici-
tude him in the
half of the
Jewes.

and changed her habite, attiring her self like a maide, call Queene, having two of her seruants
on whom she leaned, and the third that followed her carried vp with the tops of her fingers her
traine, which was large and trailed on the ground: and in this equipage came she vnto the king,
having her cheeks stained with crimson blushey, making shew of maiestie mixed with beautie,
and was altogether strange to him. But when she beheld the king sitting aloft in his throne,
glorious in his garments distinguished with gold, and adorned with pearle, and rich stones, a cer-
tain (as sodainly fell vpon her) by chance he had cast a frowning and yrefull look on her,
whereupon being presently astonished, her members failed her, her colour faded, and she fel be-
twixt her handmaids armes in a swoone. Hereon, the king (by the wil of God, as I verily esteeme)
changed his affection; and (suspecting least feare should cause his wife to fall into some grie-
uous accident) hee sodainly leapt from his throne, and embracing her with both his armes, he rai-
sed her vp, and kissed her, and spake comfortable words vnto her, praying her to be of good cou-
rage, and not to suspect any sinister misfortune, for that she came wito him without any motion
of his: That the ordinance was onely made for his subiects: for which cause hee willed her (who
was equall in gouernment with him) to feare nothing: whereupon he tooke his scepter in his hand
and laid it on the Queenes necke: (according to the law) enforcing himselfe to deliuer her from
all feares, by which means the recovered her vigour and courage, and spake after this manner.
O king, (said shee) I cannot easily expresse vnto you the inconuenience that is sodainly fallen vpon
me: For as soone as I beheld the great, faire, and redoubted maiestie of your person, my spi-
rits forsooke mee, and my heart failed me. Now whilst shee spake these wordes with paine and
tearlesnesse, the king was touched with compassion: so as he animated and encouraged her, and
commanded her to expect nothing but good; yea (said hee) if thou demaundest the halfe of my
kingdome I will grant it thee. But *Esther* onely requested this at his hands, that onely hee and
his intire friend *Aman* would vouchsafe to grace her with their presence at her banquet: which
the king readily granted her. Now when they were come vnto the banquet, and in the midst of
their cups, the king commanded *Esther* to aske what shee would, and hee would grant it her, as-
suring her that hee would refuse her in nothing; yea, although she demanded the halfe of his king-
dome. But shee deferred to discouer her suit vntill the next day, requiring him once more to re-
paye with *Aman* vnto her banquet. When the king had promised to requite her, *Aman* de-
parted; with great ioy, for that hee alone had the credit to banquet with the king and *Esther*, and
no other had cuer obtained the like honour amongst any kings of that dominion. But in his re-
turne, perceiuing *Mardocheus* in the court, hee was fore moued, because that (notwithstanding
he had lookt vpon him) hee had not done him honour: when as therefore he came home vnto his
house, he called *Zaraza* his wife, and his friends, and told them what honour (not onely the king
but the queene also) had done him; and how he onely with the king had supped that day with the
Queene; and was invited the next day also to banquet with the king and her: notwithstanding he
told them that he was discontented, because he saw *Mardocheus* the Jew in the court. *Zaraza* his
wife told him, that he should cause a gallows to be raised of fittie cubits high, and that the
next day he should demand licence of the king, that *Mardocheus* might be hanged on that lib-
bet. *Aman* praying his wifes counsell, commanded his seruants to prepare the timber, and erect
the gallows in his court; to the end to hang *Mardocheus* thereon: which they diligently perfor-
med. But God mocked at *Amans* curled hope, and knowing certainly what should happen, took
pleasure to see it prepared. For the very same night hee deprived the king of sleepe, who verie
loth to spend the time idely whilst he was awake, but to imploy it in something that was profi-
table for his kingdome, hee commaunded his secretarie to bring him the Chronicles of the kings
his predecessors, and of those things that were done by himselfe, and to read the same. When as
therefore they were brought and read, hee found that a certaine man whose name was there set
down, had receiued a great possession for reward in reacknowledgmet of his vertue. He read like-
wise of another that had obtained recompence for his fidelitie; and consequently of others; till
at last he came to the place where the Eunuches *Bagothes* and *Theodestes* were noted downe,
for a secret conspiracie against the person of the king; and how it was discovered by *Mardocheus*.
Now when the secretarie (having onely recited this accident) turned ouer to an other historie,
the king staid him, and asked him if he found therein written, that he had giuen any recompence
to *Mardocheus*. He answered, that he found nothing set down. Whereupon the king commaunded
him to giue ouer, and inquired of those to whom that office appertained, what houre of the night
it was; and knowing that the morning was already discovered, hee commanded that some one
should certifie him, which of his familiars attended before the palace. At this time it chan-
ced

Aman hated
against *Mar-
docheus*.

A laudable ca-
stome in a king
Esther 6.

Acced that *Aman* was found there, who repaired thither sooner then hee was accustomed; with an
intent to beseech the king, that it might be lawfull for him to put *Mardocheus* to death.
Now when the officers had brought the king tidings that *Aman* was before the palace; they
were commanded presently to call him in. As soone as hee came into the kings presence, he said
vnto him: Knowing that thou art my affectionate and onely friend, I prithee giue mee thy coun-
saile, how I may condignly honour him, according to my greatnesse, whome I doe most affectio-
nately loue? *Aman* thinking the aduice he should giue, should bee giuen for himselfe (because
he supposed that he only was beloued by the king more then al others) counsailed him that which
in his opinion was the best, in this manner. For (sayd hee) if you intend to inuest the man with
glorie, who (as you say) is beloued by you, cause him to be mounted vpon a braue horse, and let
him be apparelled in a royall habit, and put a chaine of gold about his necke, and let some one
of thy chiefest friends march before him, and proclaime thotow out the Citie, that thus is the
man honoured whome the king loveth. *Aman* gaue this counsaile, in that hee hoped that it
should be his owne fortune. But the king (highly contented with this his aduise) turning towards
him, spake thus vnto him: Thou hast a horse, a garment, and a chaine, seeke out therefore the
Iewe *Mardocheus*, and giue them him, and march thou before him, making this publike criall: or
(said hee) thou art mine inward friend, and it is very decent that the execution of that thing bee
committed to thy trust, which thou hast so faithfully counsailed. And this commaund I to bee
done, in this sort; because *Mardocheus* hath bene the preseruer of my life. *Aman* hearing these
words, beyond al expectation, was confused in his spirit, & being wholly discomforted, knew not
which way to turne him, hee therefore issued out, hauing with him the horse, the purple habite,
and the chaine of gold. Meeting therefore with *Mardocheus* before the palace, who was clothed
in sackcloth, hee enioyned him to lay his mourning habite aside, and to cloath himself in purple.
But he (who was wholly ignorant of that which had hapned, and supposing that he mocked him)
said: O thou wickedst man amongst men, dost thou thus mocke at our afflictions? Nor with-
standing, being afterwards informed that the king had bestowed this honour on him for sauing
his life, and discouering the trecherie of those Eunuches that would haue slaine him, hee put vpon
him the scarlet habite that the king wore ordinarily, and put the chaine about his necke, and
afterwards mounting his horse, he went round about the Citie, *Aman* also walking before him,
and saying, that thus should bee dealt and done with him whom the king honoured, loued, and
thought worthy of estimation. Now after they had circuite the whole Citie, *Mardocheus* gaue
his attendance on the king, but *Aman* came not in presence; so much was hee ashamed at that
which had hapned, for which cause he repaired home, and told his wife and friends, with teares,
of all that which had hapned; who told him, that it was no waies possible for him to reuenge
himselfe as yet on *Mardocheus*, because God was with him.
Now whilst they were discoursing, and debating this matter together, *Esthers* Eunuches
came to, to haften *Aman* to the banquet, and *Sabuchadas* one of the Eunuches (seeing the libbet
erected in *Amans* lodging (whereon he intended to execute *Mardocheus*) demanded of one of
the seruants, wherefore it was raised vp; and vnderstanding that it was for the queens vicle, whom
Aman would require at the kings hands, to the end he might put him to death, for that time he
held his peace. But when the king being seated with *Aman* at the banquet, required the Queene
to discouer what she would require that he might grant her, she began to lament the danger of her
people, saying, that she with her whole nation were made a prey to the sword; and that for that
cause she brake out into that discourse: For (said shee) I had not troubled your maiestie, neither
had I becom agrieved, if you had commaunded that all the Iewes should bee sold, and led away cap-
tives into some miserie; for that affliction might haue bene borne: she therefore prayed him to
releasethem from these miseries. When as therefore the king demanded who it was, that
persecuted them thus; she began publicly to accuse *Aman*, saying that he alone was that wret-
ched persecutor; and who had completed their tragedie: whereupon the king was verie fore-
wounded, and desired that the banquet to depart into his garden: then began *Aman* to pray and
beseech the king to forgive him his offence, for that at that present hee was in a dangerous estate. Now
whilst these words were spoken, hee desired her favour, the king entered, and grew the more dis-
pleased that hee had said so. O then durst amongst men, dare thou attempt to enforce my
will? *Aman* was wofully confounded with this question; so as hee had not a word to answer:
himselfe upon the banquet. His Eunuches stepping forth, accused him for that hee had found him
in his lodging, and being a libbet for *Mardocheus*, and putting the king that one of his household ser-
uants (said hee) in this manner: as hee was sent to call him to the banquet, and leading more

Honor offered
to *Mardocheus*.

Esther 7.

Aman having
all his treache-
ries and cruelty
discovered, in
the banquet, is
adjudged to
the gallows.

282.

The years of the
world, 3559.
before Christ
birth, 410.
Ester 8.

uer that the libbet was fittie cubits hie. Which when the king vnderstood, hee adiudged *Aman* to no other death, but that which hee intended against *Mardocheus*; & thereupon presently commanded that he should be hanged vpon the same libbet, vntill hee were dead. And in this place is behooueth me to admire the maiestie of God, in considering what his wisdom and iustice is, in that he not onely punished the wickednesse of *Aman* (as he had deserved) but also caused him to fall into the same snare which he had prepared for an other man. Thus died *Aman*, who had vnjustly abused the kings friendship: as for his goods they were given vnto the Queene.

Aman goods
bellowed on
Mardocheus.

After this, the king called for *Mardocheus* vnto him (for already he had notice that he was his wiues vncl) and gaue him the ring which he had given vnto *Aman*: the Queene likewise gaue him his goods, and required the King to deliuer the nation of the Iewes from that difmay whereinto they were fallen, thorow the perill of their liues: letting him to see those letters which were sent by *Aman* the Amadathite thorow all his countries, assuring him that shee could not lye to behold the death of her brethren, and the totall ruine of her country. The king assured her, that hee had vnderaken nothing that might discomfort her: auowing to her, that hee would not contradict her will, wishing her to write her self in the kings name all that, which she would haue done in the behalfe of the Iewes: promising that when shee had done the same, he would seale it with his owne seale, giuing her authority to send the same thorow all his realms: to the ende that they that read those letters, confirmed by the kings seale, should not any waies contradict the execution of the same. Whereupon he sent for his secretaries of estate, commanding them to write vnto the magistrats of all the nations as touching the Iewes, and to the princes and gouernors of one hundred, twentie and seven provinces, from India as farre as *Ethiopia*. The contents of which letters were these: *Artaxerxes* the great King to the gouernours and those that faithfully rule vnder vs; Health. Many men being puffed vp with pride, by reason of the many and mighty benefites and honours, which they receiue thorow the too lauish liberalitie of their benefactors, do not onely exercise their pride towards their inferiours, but also are not afraid to wax insolent against them, who are the authors of their benefites, extinguishing as much as in them lieth, all

The Kings letters
for the security of the
Iewes.

gratuitie that hath euer bene amongst men, and being corrupted with vnexpected felicitie abuse those graces against them, by whom they haue gotten the same, in effect no waies fearing God, whose power they suppose they can deceiue. On the other side, other some enhanced to the administration of the common weale, and giuing place to the hatred they haue conceived against some particular men, deceiue their princes, and by false accusations and detractions prouoke K and kindle their wrath against those, who haue not done amisse: whence it commeth to passe, that they are sometimes in extreame danger to lose their life. The prooue whereof appeareth not onely in ancient histories (the knowledge whereof we haue onely obtained by heare say) but by that likewise which hath bene audaciously attempted before our eyes; so that hereafter we ought not to giue credit to detractions and accusations, nor to such things as men intorce themselves to perswade: but it behooueth euery man to iudge according to the truth of that he knoweth, and to punish that which is faulty, and to pardon that which requireth pardon, in considering the actes, and not the words that are spoken. For it is most notorious vnto all men, that *Aman* the Amadathite (an Amalechite by nation, and by that means a stranger, and not of the Persian blood, but entertained by vs) hath in all things enioyed the fruit of our bountie hitherto; so that he hath bene called our father, honoured by all men, and obtained amongst all men, and in all things, the second place of honor after vs: yet could he not equally make vse of his good hap, neither with prudent aduice entertaine the greatnesse of his felicitie, but hath sought the means to depriue *Mardocheus* of his life, who preserved mine; seeking by his fraud & malice to practise the ruine of *Ester* the companion of our life and kingdom; and by this means struing to dispossesse me of my most faithfull friends, hee determined to transferre the kingdom vnto others. Touching my selfe, in that I know that that the Iewes, who are by this wretch delatined to die, are no wicked men, but such as liue vnder a well policied government, praying God continually that it would please him to continue the kingdom in vs, and our successours: I absolve them not onely of that penaltie, contained in my former letters sent by *Aman* (which by these presents I utterly disannull) but my pleasure likewise is, that they be had in all honour. As for him that prouoked these things against them, I haue caused him and all his race to be hanged before the gates of Susa, according to the iust iudgement of God inflicted on them for their offences. My will and pleasure therefore is, that the copy of this letter be sent thorow all the countries of our obedi- fance, to the intent that the Iewes be suffered to liue, according to their owne lawes, in peace; and that assistance may bee given them, to the end they may reuenge themselves of those, who

have offered them outrage in their aduersitie. And I command that this be done the thirteenth day of the twelfth moneth called *Adar*, which is the day that God ordained for their prefermat- ion (when as they were appointed to be slain) which day I desire to fall out fortunate to those that loue vs, and a monument of reuenge on those that pretended our ruine. My pleasure likewise is, that all men, cities and nations should know, that who soeuer shall neglect, thorow obstinacie, to fulfill the tenor of this my mandate, he shall be pursued with fire and sword: and let these copies be set vp thorowout all our dominions, and let each man of the Iewes vpon the prefixed day, prepare him selfe to be reuenged on his enemies.

The years of the
world, 3559.
before Christ
birth, 410.
Ester 8.

As soone as the Poasts had receiued these letters, they presently mounted on horsebacke, and road each of them his appointed way; and *Mardocheus* being clothed in a royall habite, & adorned with a crowne of gold on his head, and a chaine of gold about his necke, issued forth: and the Iewes of Susa, seeing him thus honoured by the king, supposed that his good hap was an assurance of their own: and when the kings letters were published, a ioy as it were a bright beam of consolation enuironed the Hebrew nation, as well those that were in the cite of Susa, as they that were amid the country; so that diuers men of other nations circumscribed themselves, for feare they had of the Iewes, supposing that in so doing they should be in securitie. For the thirteenth day of the twelfth moneth (by the Hebrewes called *Adar*, & by the Macedonians *Distre*) the Poasts that carried the kings letters certified them, that they should exterminate their enemies on that very day, whereon they themselves were in daunger to bee exterminated. The gouernours likewise of the prouinces, the lords, kings, and secretaries, did honour to the Iewes: for the feare they had of *Mardocheus* constrained them to moderate themselves; and after the kings letters were published thorow all the country, it came to passe that the Iewes slew about fise hundred of their enemies. But after the king had declared vnto *Ester*, the number of the dead that perished in the Cite, suspecting with himselfe what might happen thorow the whole country, and had likewise questioned with her if she requested any further matter, promising her that he would see it executed: she besought him that it might bee lawfull for the Iewes to reuenge them yet once more the next day vpon their enemies, and to hang *Aman* ten fennes vpon the libbet: which the king (being loath to contradict *Ester*) permitted the Iewes to doe: they therefore returning the fourteenth day of the moneth *Distre*, slew about three hundred more of their enemies; yet aliened they not in any sort the smallest portion of their goods. Furthermore, the

The Iewes re-
uenge them on
their enemies.

Ester 9.

Iewes slew in the champain country, and in the Cities, about seuentie fise thousand of their enemies, whom they dispatched the thirteenth day of the moneth, & solemnized the day following. The Iewes that were at Susa, assembled themselves likewise on the fourteenth day of the moneth, and banquetted the whole day. Whence it commeth to passe, that all the Iewes which are thorowout the world, keepe and solemnize this day for a festiuall, and send presents the one vnto the other. *Mardocheus* also wrote vnto the Iewes, who liued vnder the Empire of *Artaxerxes*, commanding them to obserue those daies, and to solemnize them; willing them to charge their successours to do the like, to the ende that this feast might continue for euer, and out- liue all obliuion. For since on that day they should haue been made away by *Aman*, they should doe well if after they had escaped that danger, and taken reuenge on their enemies, the very same day they should obserue the same to giue thanks vnto God: For this cause the Iewes keepe a so- lemne feast on these daies and call it *Purim*, as who should say, *Lottes*. But *Mardocheus* was great and mightie with the king, administering the kingdom with him; he had also a part of the great- nesse of the Queene: and for this cause the affaires of the Iewes had better success, then was hoped for. See here how matters passed, during the reigne of *Artaxerxes*.

Phrases fith.
Mardocheus.
authoritie.

CHAP. VII.

Bagoses Generall of *Artaxerxes* the younger's army, offereth many outrages to the Iewes.

After the death of *Elisiah* the high Priest, *Judas* his sonne succeeded in the office. And after his death *Iohn* his sonne obtained the place; in whose time *Bagoses* generall of *Artaxerxes* army polluted the temple, & made the Iewes tributaries; so that before they could offer their ordinarie and dayly sacrifices, they were compelled to pay for euery lambe fittie drachmes, which happened vpon this occasion. *Iohn* had a brother called *Iesus*, whom *Bagoses* flattered, and promised to giue him the high priesthood, *Iesus* wonne by these perswasions, quar- relled with his brother *Iohn*, who was so much provoked against him, that hee slew his brother.

The years of the
world, 3560.
before Christ
birth, 409.
Medio & Rus-
sinus chap. 9.
The reuenge
taken on *Iohn*
for slaying his
brother.

284

The year of the world, 3384. before Christs birth, 380.

Iesus in his choler. It was a thing very strange, that *Iohn* being a priest, should commit such impiety against his brother, and yet farre more strange in that so cruell an act, and an offence so impious hath neither hapned amongst Greekes nor Barbarians: God also left it not unpunished, but for the same sinne the people were reduced vnder captiuitie, & the temple was polluted by the Persians. When *Bagoes* had intelligence, that *Iohn* (the high Priest among the Iewes) had slaine his brother *Iesus* in the temple, he reorted thither in all haste, and began to utter, and break forth into bitter threats against the Iewes: Haue you (said he) bene so bold as to commit murder in your temple? And when he thought to haue entred into the same, they hindred him. Whereupon he replied: Am I therefore more polluted then the body that lieth dead in the temple? And hauing spoken thus, he entred thercinto, and for the space of seauen yeares *Bagoes* being thus animated against the Iewes, punished them for murdering *Iesus*. After that *Iohn* was deceased, *Iaddus* his sonne was made high Priest; who had a brother called *Manasses*: *Sanaballath* sent by the later King *Darius* to gouerne Samaria (for he also was of the race of the Chuzians, from whom issued the Samaritanes) knowing that Ierusalem was a famous Citie; and that the Kings thereof wrought much trouble vnto the inhabitants of Assyria, and Coelosyria; he willingly married his daughter *Nicazo* to this *Manasses*, with an intent that this marriage should be as a pledge of his good will to all the nation of the Iewes.

The year of the world, 3399. before Christs nativite, 365. Iaddus high priest, whole brother Manasses married *Sanaballath* daughter.

The year of the world, 3608. before the birth of Christs, 336.

CHAP. VIII.

What benefits Alexander King of Macedon bestowed upon the Iewes.

Alexander made king after Philip his father king of Macedon.

About that time, Philip King of Macedon died in the citie of Aegæas, being traiterously slain by *Pansias* the sonne of *Cerastes*, of the race of *Orestes*; and his sonne *Alexander* succeeded him in the kingdome: who passing ouer Hellepont, gaue battell vnto the huge army of *Darius* neere the riuer Granic, and there obtained a famous victory. And heereupon he also inuading the countrey of Lydia (after he had conquered Ionia, and ouerrunne Caria) finally set vpon the quarters of Pamphilia, as it is declared in another place. But the Elders of Ierusalem were sore displeased, for that *Iaddus* brother, who was at that time high Priest, and had married a forraine wowan, should bee companion and associate with him in the priesthood; so as they mutined against him. For they supposed that that marriage would be but a meanes to animate those, who had a mind to prophane marriages, and proue an inducement to others to communicate in marriage with strangers: remembering them that the cause of their euils, and first captiuitie was, because some of them had fallen, and offended by coupling themselves with women of forraine nations.

The year of the world, 3629. before Christs birth, 335.

The year of the world, 3630. before the birth of Christs, 334.

Manasses vnder hope of great fortune retained the forraine wife he had

The Apostolicall the priests.

Hedus & Rufinus, Chap. 8.

They therefore commanded *Manasses* either to forsake his wife, or else neuer more to approche the Altar. The high Priest likewise being incensed against his brother, as well as the people, draue him in like manner from the sacrifice. For which cause *Manasses* (addressing himselfe to his father in law *Sanaballath*) told him that although hee loued his daughter *Nicazo* very intirely; yet wold he not notwithstanding condescend for his sake to be deprived of the priesthood (which was the greatest dignity that could be among their nation, and which had neuer continued in his race.) Whereupon *Sanaballath* answered and promised him, that he would not onely continue him in the priesthood, but also would giue him the power and dignity of the high priesthood, and make him gouernour of all places where hee commanded, prouided the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter and him, were continued. He furthermore assured him that he would build a temple (resembling that in Ierusalem) vpon the mountaine of Garizim which was the highest among the rest, permitting him to do the same with *Darius* consent. *Manasses* puffed vp by these promises, remained with *Sanaballath*, and grew in hope that he should obtain the priesthood by *Darius* means: for *Sanaballath* was very old. Whereas therefore diuers other, both Priests and common people, among the Israelites, were mingled in such like marriages, there arose no small commotion in Ierusalem. For all they of this condition retired themselves to *Manasses*, whom *Sanaballath* furnished with money, and lands full, and houles to inhabit in, to fauour the intent of his sonne in law.

At the same time *Darius* vnderstanding that *Alexander*, having passed the Hellepont, had overcome those gouernours, whom he had established neere vnto the floud Granicus, and that he passed further, spoiling of his country; hee gathered together both his horsemen and footmen, resolving to make head against the Macedonians, before they should gain in Asia. He therefore passed Euphrates, & mount Taurus in Cilicia, to encounter & fight with his enemies in the country.

Sanaballath

A Sanaballath ioyful of *Darius* descent, incontinently told *Manasses* that he would fulfill his promises, as soone as *Darius* should return from the conquest of his enemies. For not onely he, but also all the Asians perswaded themselves most assuredly that the Macedonians would not abide the battell against the Persians, by reason of their great multitude; but it fell out altogether contrarie to their expectation. For the Persian encountering with the Macedonian was ouercome, and after he had lost the greater part of his armie, and left his mother, wife and children prisoners, he himselfe fled into Persia. *Alexander* arriving in Syria, seized Damasco, tooke Sidon, and besieged Tyre: and by his letters sent vnto the high priest of the Iewes, he required him to send him some supplies in his warre, and to sell his armie victuals for their money; assuring him that if hee desired the friendship of the Macedonians, hee would giue him that tribute which he paid to *Darius*, besides other good turnes. The high priest answered *Alexanders* messenger, that hee had sworn vnto *Darius* neuer to beare armes against him, during his life time; against which oth of his, he would neuer worke any indignitie. Which when *Alexander* heard, he was sore displeased, & resolved notwithstanding to continue the siege at Tyre, vntil such time as it was taken; yet threatened he that as soon as he had taken the same, he would lead forth his army against the high priest, to the end that all men might know to whom they ought to keepe their faith. For which cause sparing no labour, hee ouercame Tyre, and after he had giuen order to the estate therof, he came vnto Gaza, and tooke it with *Babemes* the captaine of the garrison that held it. But *Sanaballath* finding a fit opportunitie to make himselfe great, forooke *Darius* & followed *Alexander*, leading with him eight thousand of his subiects: and finding him vpon the beginning of the siege of Tyre, he offered to surrender him all those places wherein he commanded, acknowledging him for his Lord more willingly then he had done *Darius*. *Alexander* accepted him willingly: whereupon, *Sanaballath* freely informed him of the whole estate, giuing him to vnderstand that *Manasses* (who was brother to *Iaddus* the high priest of the Iewes) was his sonne in law, who with diuers of the same nation, were desirous to build them a temple in the countries vnder his dominion, assuring the king of much profit thereby, because in so doing the force of the Iewes should bee diminished into two parts, and they might not conspire together to make any new insurrection or trouble, as in times past they had done during the gouernment of the kings of Assyria.

When *Sanaballath* had permission from *Alexander* to build this temple, with the greatest speed hee might, he finished the same, and made *Manasses* the high Priest thereof, supposing that it was the greatest aduantage that might happen to his daughters children. Seuen moneths after the surprisall of Tyre, and two after the taking in of Gaza, *Sanaballath* died. *Alexander* also raised Gaza, and prepared himselfe to come sodainly vpon Ierusalem. Which when the high priest *Iaddus* vnderstood, he was much grieved, and sore afraid, not knowing how to grow in fauour with the Macedonians: and on the other side knowing that the king was displeased against him (because before time hee had disobeyed him:) Hee therefore commanded the people to make their prayers vnto God, and hee in his owne person offered sacrifice; requiring God that it would please him to be a shield of defence, and succour to their nation, and to deliuer them from those imminent dangers wherein they were plunged. But the next night following, whilest hee slept, God appeared vnto him, and willed him to be of good courage, and commanding him that as soone as hee had circuite the wals, hee should open the gates boldly, and command the rest of the people to attire themselves in white; and that accompanied with them, he should march forward in those priestly ornaments, which were ordained by the lawe, to the ende that in this equipage they might goe and meet with *Alexander*, without apprehension of any future euill, because that God had preuented the same. As soone as hee awaked from his sleep, he was very ioyfull, and certified the rest of this prediction of God; and performing that which had bene commanded him, hee expected in this manner the approche of the king; and when he knew that he was not farre off from the Citie, hee marched forth to meete him, accompanied with the Priests, and a multitude of other people, presenting a most toyll manner of entertaine, and farre different from that of other nations, neere vnto a place called Sapha; which worde signifieth a watch (by reason that from that place a man may discover the Citie and Temple of Ierusalem.) The Phoenicians and Chaldeans that were of *Alexanders* train, grounding their hopes vpon his displeasure, made their attempt to sacke the Citie, and to hewe the high Priest in pieces; but it fell out quite contrarie. For *Alexander* espying the people from afarre in white rayments, and the Priests going before them in their fine tochers, and the high Priest attired in a robe of purple, bordered with gold, hauing his miter on his head, and his plate of gold, wherein the name of God was written, *Alexander* himselfe marched forward before the rest of his companie, and fell

Manasses enjoying his desire.

Alexander intending to besiege Ierusalem meeteth with the high priest and people in white, and is honorably received by them, and doth them honour in memorie of his vision that appeared vnto him in the like habit.

fell prostrate on his face before that *Name*, saluting first of all the hie Priest; and at the same instant all the Iewes together saluted the king with one voice, and circled him in round about. The kings of Syria & the rest that saw that which hapned, were wonderfully astonished, and thought that the king was out of his wits: *Parmenio* onely drew neere vnto him, and asked him what he meant to adore the Priest of the Iewes, whereas all other men adored him: To whom he answered; I doe not adore him, but that God whom the Priest worshippeth: for in my sleepe I sawe him in such a habite, as I see him in at this present, at such time as I was in *Dio* a Citie of Macedonia: and whilest I consulted with my selfe by what means I might attaine to the conquest of Asia, he counselled me to make no delay, but to march forward boldly, assuring mee that it would be he that would guide both me and mine armie, and would deliuer the Empire of the Persians into my hands. Since that time I haue not seene any one attired after the same manner: and at this present beholding this man, and remembreing mee of the vision, and exhortation that hee gaue me in my sleepe, I hope that mine armie being conducted by diuine providence, I shall overcome *Darius*, and discomfit the Persians; and that my purpose shall haue a happy issue.

Alexanders
sacrifice in the
temple, the
consumption
of his conquest
by *D. niels*
prophecy, his
bounty to the
Iewes.

When he had answered *Parmenio* in this sort, he gaue the high Priest his hand, and went with him into the Citie, being conducted by the Priests: after this, when he came vnto the temple, hee offered sacrifice, according to the hie priests direction, whom he honored likewise with very great reuerence. And when as likewise *Iaddus* shewed him the prophetic of *Daniel*, wherein hee declared that a certaine man of the nation of the Greekes, should destroy the estate of the Persians, and that in his opinion it should be hee: thereof *Alexander* was very ioyfull, and dismissed the multitude that attended him, for that time. The next day assembling the Iewes, he commanded them to demand certaine fauours at his hands: whereupon the high priest answered, that hee required the exercises of the ordinances of their forefathers, and that euerie seuenth yeere they might be exempted from tributes. Which was granted them fully. They besought him likewise that by his permission the Iewes that were in the countries of Babylon and Media, might liue according to their lawes: And he promised them willingly to doe all that which they desired. He made proclamation also among the people, that if any one of them would beare armes with him (in liuing according to the custome of their nation) he was ready to receiue them with him: and diuers tooke pleasure to serue vnder him in the warres.

After that *Alexander* had in this sort demeaned himselfe in Ierusalem, hee marched with his armie against the neighbouring Citie: and wherefoeuer he went, he was receiued with great affection. But the Samaritanes, whose Metropolitane Citie at that time was *Sichem* (situate neere vnto the mountaine of *Garizim*, in which their dwelt diuers Iewes also, that were revolted from their nation) seeing how magnificently *Alexander* had entertained the Iewes, they resolved to demean themselves like Iewes. For such is the nature of Samaritanes (as we haue declared heretofore) that when the Iewes are in affliction, they denie all acquaintance with them, (wherein they confesse the truth:) but when they perceiue any beam of good aduerture shining vpon them, sodainly they vaunt of their alliance, laying, they are neere akin, and of the race of *Ephraim* and *Manasses* the sonnes of *Ioseph*. They came therefore to the kings presence, and met him neere vnto Ierusalem, with great magnificence, and demonstration of singular affection towards him. And after that *Alexander* had entertained them, they of *Sichem* approached neere vnto him (being accompanied with those men of war that *Sanaballath* had sent vnto the king) beseeching him that he would visit their Citie and honor their temple with his presence: whereupon he promised that at his returne hee would visit them. They required him also, that hee would acquite them of the tribute of the seuenth yeere, because they did not sowe in the same. Hee asked them who they were that made that request? They answered him, that they were Hebrewes: but that they were called *Sichemites* by the *Sidonians*. Hee asked them againe, if they were Iewes? and they said, they were not. Well (said he) I haue made this grant vnto the Iewes: when as therefore I shall returne, if I be more particularly informed, I shall doe that which shall be held requisite. Thus dismissed he the *Sichemites*, but hee commanded *Sanaballaths* men of war to follow him into Aegypt: promising in that place to impart possessions vnto them by lots, which afterwards he did enioyning them to liue in garrison in the Citie of *Thebais*, to make good that country. After *Alexanders* death, his Empire was diuided amongst his successors, & the temple builded neere vnto the mount *Garizim* remained intire. And if any one were accused in Ierusalem for eating vnawful meats, or for transgressing the Sabbath, or for any such like fault, hee fled vnto the *Sichemites*, laying, that he was accused vniustly. In that time deceased the hie priest *Iaddus*: and *Onias*, his sonne succeeded him. This was the estate of them of Ierusalem at that time.

THE

The temple on
the mount of
Garizim.
Onias sonne
of *Iaddus*
high priest.
The year of the
world, 3635.
before the birth
of Christ, 329.

THE TWELFTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 12. Booke.

- A 1 Ptolomey the sonne of *Lagus* is made lord of Ierusalem, and the rest of Iudaea by a stratageme, and leadeth diuers Iewes with him prisoners into Aegypt.
- 2 Ptolomey *Philadelphus* translateth the lawes of the Iewes into the Greeke tongue, and dismissing diuers captiues of that nation, he dedicateth many presents in the temple of God.
- 3 In what estimation the Iewes were with the Kings of Asia, and how the freedome of those Cities they built, was granted them.
- 4 Ioseph the sonne of *Tobias* driueth away the Iewes imminent calamitie, by reason of his friendship with king Ptolomey.
- C 5 The friendship and societie between the Lacedemonians, and *Onias* the high Priest of the Iewes.
- 6 The Iewes distracted by seditions call Antiochus to their assistance.
- 7 How Antiochus leading his armie to Ierusalem, and possessing the Citie spoiled the Temple.
- 8 Antiochus forbidding the Iewes to use the lawes of their forefathers, only the sonne of *Asmonaeus* called *Matthias* contemned the king; and put his captaines to flight.
- 9 *Matthias* being dead, *Iudas* his sonne succeeded him.
- 10 *Apollonius* a captaine of Antiochus is overcome in Iewry and slaine.
- 11 The overthrow and death of *Lyfias* and *Gorgias* sent out against the Iewes.
- 12 How diuiding their armies, *Simon* overcame the Tyrians and *Ptolemaidans*, and *Iudas* the *Ammonites*.
- D 13 The death of Antiochus Epiphanes among the Persians.
- 14 Antiochus Eupator overthrowing the armie of the Iewes, besiegeth *Iudas* in the temple.
- 15 Antiochus giuing over his siege, plighteth a league of friendship with *Iudas*.
- 16 *Bacchides* a captaine belonging to *Demetrius* being sent with his army against the Iewes, returneth backe to the king, without the dispatch of his business.
- 17 *Nicanor* elected captaine after *Bacchides*, and sent out against the Iewes, is slaine with his whole army.
- 18 *Bacchides* sent out once more against the Iewes overcommeth them.
- 19 How *Iudas* being overcome in battell, is slaine.

CHAP. I.

Ptolomey the sonne of *Lagus* overcommeth and surpriseth both Ierusalem and Iudaea by a stratageme, and leadeth away diuers of the Iewes prisoners into Aegypt.



Alexander King of Macedon hauing overcome the Persians, and established the estate of the Iewes (according as it hath beene spoken) hee departed this life. Whereupon his dominions and kingdomes fell into diuers mens hands; *Antigonus* was Lord of Asia: *Seleucus* of Babylon, and the bordering nations: *Lyfismachus* had Hellefpont: *Cassander* Macedon: and Ptolomey the sonne of *Lagus* held Aegypt. Now when as these men were at discord amongst themselves (whilest each of them affected the soueraintie, & fought the one with the other) diuers great and continuall warres grew to head, which afflicted manie Cities: whereby it came to passe, that many of the inhabitants thereof died in fight, and all Syria likewise vnder Ptolomey the sonne of *Lagus* (who beyond his merit was called *Soter*, that is as much to say, as a Sauour) liued in little safetie. Hee it was that seized Ierusalem by a stratageme, and

The death of
Alexander,
and the warres
of his success-
ors.

The year of the
world, 3643, be-
fore Christ, 261.

The year of the world, 3643.
before Christes
birth, 321.
Jerusalem sur-
prised by poli-
cie, and the
Jewes led away
captiue.

and policie: for hee entred the Citie vpon a Sabbath day, vnder pretext to offer sacrifices; and whilest the Iewes suspected nothing, but spent the day in idlenesse and quiet, hee surprised the Citie without resist, and ouerpressed the Citizens with hatefull captiuitie. *Agatharchides* the Cnidian (who wrote the actes of *Alexanders* successors) witnesseth no lesse, reproching vs of superstition; as if intending thereby, that by that meanes we lost our Citie. Hee writeth to this effect. There is a certaine nation, which are called Iewes, who inhabit a Citie which is called Ierusalem, both strong and mightie. They suffered it to fall into *Ptolomeis* hands, because they would not stand vpon their guard, and thorow their importunate superstition, they permitted themselues to be subdued by a tyrant conqueror. See here what *Agatharchides* saith in this place of our nation. But *Ptolomey* leading away with him diuers prisoners of the better quarters of Iudæa, and the places neer vnto Ierusalem, of Samaria and mount Garizim, sent them into Aegypt to inhabit there: and being assured that those of Ierusalem were most firme in maintaining their oaths and promises, according as it appeared by their answer made to *Alexander*, when as after the discomfiture of *Darius*, he sent Embassadors vnto them: hee put diuers of them into his garrisons, giuing them the same priuiledges in the City of Alexandria, which the Macedonians had. After hee had receiued their oath, that they should be faithfull vnto his successors, in memorie of the great trust and fauours hee had bestowed on them, many of the other Iewes likewise of their owne accord went into Aegypt, partly allured thereunto by the plentie of the country, partly by the liberalitie of *Ptolomey* towards their nation. Yet were there continuall seditions betwixt their posteritie and the Samaritanes: for that they would keepe and maintaine the customes and ordinances of their forefathers; whereupon diuers wars arose amongst them. For they of Ierusalem said, that their temple was the true sanctuarie of God, and would that the offerings and sacrifices should be sent thither: the Samaritanes contrariwise commaunded them to be brought to the mount Garizim.

Sedition be-
twixt the Iewes
and Samari-
tanes as touch-
ing the temple

CHAP. II.

Ptolomey Philadelphus causeth the lawes of the Iewes to be translated into the Greeke tongue: and dismissing many captiue Iewes, dedicateth many presents in the temple of God.

The year of the world, 3680.
before Christes
natiuitie, 284.
Hedio & Ruf-
fius chap. 2.
The library of
Ptolomey Phi-
ladelphus.

After him *Philadelphus* succeeded in the kingdom of Aegypt, and held it for nine & thirtie years space. He it was that translated the law into the Greeke tongue, and deliuered the Iewes from that seruitude, wherein they were enthralled in Aegypt, to the number of sixscore thousand, vpon the occasion that ensueth. *Demetrius Phalereus* maister of the kings library, endeouored to his vttermost to gather vp all sorts of bookes that were in the world, & bought all that which was agreeable to the kings intent, who about all things was curious to assemble diuersitie of bookes. Hee being one day demanded by the king, how many thousands of volumes hee had already gathered: he answered him, that he had already assembled about some two hundred thousand volumes: but that shortly hee would gather to the number of five hundred thousand. Besides, hee certified him, that he had bene lately aduertised that there were diuers volumes among the Iewes, wherein many things as touching their lawes and policies were written, which were worthy of note, and delerued to be put in so memorable and famous a library as his was: which being written and set downe in the Hebrew tongue, were very laborious and difficult to those that should attempt to translate them into the Greeke tongue. For their characters seeme to haue some reference to the Syriacke, and their pronounciation likewise not much different from the same: and notwithstanding they haue their phrased proper and peculiar vnto themselves. For which cause there was no impediment, but that they might be translated: for the king defraying the charge, might easily cause it to be done, to the end that being faithfully translated, they might be afterwards placed in his librarie. Heereupon the king praying *Demetrius* care in collecting and gathering bookes, wrote vnto the high Priest of the Iewes, commanding that this translation might be finished. In the meane time a certaine man called *Aristaus*, who was intirely beloued and befriended by the king, by reason of his modestie, and had diuers times before that present resolued with himselfe to sollicite the King, to dismiss all the Iewes that were in his kingdom, supposing that at that instant hee had fit opportunitie offered him to make his request, he spake vnto *Sosibius* the Tarentine, and *Andrew* the chiefe captaine of the kings guard, beseeching them to fauour him in that which he intended to moue the king in. Hauing therefore lounded the affections of these noble men, hee addressed himselfe

The year of the world, 3684.
before Christes
birth, 280.

A himselfe vnto the king, and spake vnto him after this maner: Since my soueraigne, it behooueth vs not to deceiue our selues by dissimulation, but it necessarily importeth vs to discouer the truth: whereas we haue concluded with our selues, not onely to transcribe, but also to translate the lawes of the Iewes, the rather to performe some acceptable seruice to your grace; what honest pretext is therelost for vs to attaine thereunto, as long as there are so great a number of Iewes kept in thraldome in thy kingdome? You shall therefore doe a worke answerable to the greatnes of your courage and benignitie, if you deliuer them from their miserie, considering that hee who gaue them their lawes is God, who gouerneth your kingdome (as by diligent inquisition I haue certaintly apprehended) for both they and wee adore one God creator of all things, whom we call by the name of *Iupiter*, for as much as he maintaineth our life & the liues of all men. For that honour therefore which you owe vnto God, send backe these people into their country, and permit them to inhabit the same, who amongst all men are most singularly affected to their religion. Neither hath your Grace occasion to suspect, that I offer these supplications and prayers vnto you in their fauour, and for their profit, because I am either allied or defended of any of their tribes: But whereas there is but one God, who is the maker of all men, and I myselfe am assured, that he taketh pleasure in those men that addict themselves to beneficence, this is the onely cause that induceth me to make this request vnto you. When *Aristaus* had ended this discourse of his, the king beholding him with a cheerefull and pleasant countenance, asked him how many thousands he thought they were, whose libertie he required? *Andrew* (being hard at hand) answered, that there were more then one hundred and twentie thousand. Whereupon the king replied, Is this demaund *Aristaus* a matter of small consequence, which thou requirest? *Sosibius* and the other assistants answered, that his reacknowledgement which hee made vnto God, who had giuen him the kingdome, was worthy the greatnes of his courage; so that reioycing at this their content, he charged him at such time as they deliuered the men of warre their pay, they should ouer & above the same, pay euery one of them that had prisoners with them, sixscore drachmes: and as touching the request made by them, he promised them to dispatch his letters patents, in most ample manner, to bring a happy issue to *Aristaus* suite; or rather to satisfie the will of God, which was especially to be respected. Whereunto conforming himselfe, hee sent out his proclamation; certifying thereby that hee not onely let them at libertie, who had bene brought thither by his father, or those of his army who attended him; but them also who before time had bene in his kingdome; or that sithence likewise had bene brought thither: and notwithstanding it was told him that the money that would bee required for their rancome would amount to more then foure hundred talents; yet ceased hee not to confirme that which he had promised. But that it may more plainly appeare how great his royal magnificence was, I haue thought good to insert in this place the copie of his edict, which hee sent abroad to this effect. Vhofoeuer of you that in my fathers seruice (by bearing armes vnder him) haue made any roades into Syria and Phoenicia, and after the conquest of Iudæa haue taken any prisoners, and brought them to our Cities and countries, with an intent to sell them: all they also, who haue heretofore detained any, or at this present haue any such captiues in their possession, they are to let them at libertie that liue vnder their thraldome, receiuing for the rancome of euery person sixscore drachmes: namely the men of warre, at such time as their wages shall bee paid them: as for the rest, they shall receiue their money out of the kings treasure. For I am of that opinion, that contrarie to my fathers mind, & against all right, they haue bene taken prisoners, and that their country hath bin in this sort euilly intreated, by the insolencie of the soldiers, who haue thought to make their profit and merchandize by them, in transferring them into Egypt. Hauing therefore an especiall respect of iustice, and intending to shew mercy to those who are wrongfully oppressed, I commaund that all those Iewes, who are detained in seruitude be discharged, and that they who held them captiue receiue the rancome published by vs; so as no deceit or fraud be used therein. And to the end that our ordinance be exactly and fully fulfilled, our will is; that this edict of ours be publicly proclaimed three daies after it shall come vnto your hands; and that those, who hold such prisoners in their possession, declare how many prisoners they hold. For we suppose, that in so doing it shall redound to our profit. Moreover, it shall bee full for any man that will, to accuse the contemners of this decree, and our pleasure is that such as be convicted the same, shall haue their goods confiscated to the Kings vses. When this edict of the Kings published to this effect, was proclaimed abroad, and that onely point was omitted, that concerned those that before time had been, & afterward the second time were led away prisoners, in whose behalfe hee had giuen no direction; he shewed himselfe most bountifull in like manner toward these:

The king of
Egypt's pro-
clamation
touching the
libertie of the
Jewes tolli-
ced by *Aristau-
s*.

290
The year of the
world, 3684, be-
fore Christs birth
280.

these: And gaue order that the number and rallie should be speedily gathered, and the money di-
tributed to the committes, & treasurers appertaining to him. Which being speedily performed
in the space of seven daies, all the kings ordinance was accomplished, and there was laid out for
the ransomes of them all to the summe of more then foure hundredth and sixtie talents: For the
masters exacted sixscore drachmes for the children also, grounding themselves vpon the kings
edict, by which it was ordained that for euerie person they should haue that summe, extending
the same euen vnto the children.

These things being thus magnificently employred, according to the kings command,
hee gaue *Demetrius* in charge to make a decree, as touching the translation of the bookes of
the Iewes. For the kings did nothing rashly, but administred all things with great wisdom,
and circumspection; and for that cause the copie of *Demetrius* suggestion, and the letters sent
to this effect, are orderly registred, and recorded in writing: the number likewise of the pre-
sents that were sent, and by whom they were offered. So that whosoever shall behold the same,
hee shall incontinently iudge by the curious workmanship the high perfection of the workman,
and by the excellencies of the pieces he shall incontinently know by whom each of them was fa-
tioned. The copie of the aduice and suggestion made by *Demetrius* is this: *Demetrius* to the
great king: Health. Most mighty Prince, since you haue committed the trust vnto me to find out
those bookes that are deficient in your librarie, and to search for such volumes as hitherto haue
beene hid from my sight, to the end that I might gather them and perfect them, and that those
which are lost, might be restored with all the diligence that thereunto belongeth, after that I had
viewed herein all the care that in me was possible, I giue you to vnderstand that amongst others, we I

Demetrius ex-
hortatory let-
ter to Ptole-
my as touch-
ing his librarie

want the books of the lawes of the Iewes. For in that they are written in Characters & Hebrew
words, we haue had no notice thereof; where-through they haue been more negligently handled
then was behouefull: for that vntill this day it hath neuer hapned, that any Princes thought
hath extended so farre. It therefore behoueth thee to haue them exactly interpreted: for since
that those lawes proceeded from God himselfe, it is most certaine that of all other lawes in the
world they are the wisest and incorruptest. For which cause, *Hecataeus* the Abderite saith, that
neither Poets nor Historians haue made any mention of them; neither of those, who haue beene
policed and gouerned vnder the same: because in themselves they are pure, and are not to be de-
clared by impurities. May it therefore please your Maiestie to write vnto the high Priest of the
Iewes, commanding him to send you sixe Auncients of euerie tribe, such as hee shall know to
be most expert in their law, by whom wee may cleerly apprehend the sense contained in those
bookes, to the end that hauing the faithfull interpretation of those things that are contained
therin, we may collect and gather them together, to the full satisfaction of your Maiesties desire.

The kings li-
berality to-
wards the
Iewes.

When the king had in this sort beene both aduised & suggested, he wrote vnto *Eleazar* the high
Priest of the Iewes, as touching this matter: giuing him likewise to vnderstand of that libertie
by him granted vnto the Iewes that were in his kingdome: He sent him also fiftie talents of gold,
to make cups, ewers, and vessels, with an infinite number of precious stones, commanding his
cofers, who had the charge of his Iewels, to suffer the workmen to choose what stones they
best liked. Furthermore, he willed that a hundredth talents should bee giuen for the sacrifices and
oblations, and other uses of the temple. But after that I haue declared what was the copie
of the letter sent vnto *Eleazar* the high Priest, and the manner how hee obtained that sa-
cerdotal dignitie: I will set downe both the rich presents, and their curious workman-
ship.

After the death of *Onias* the high Priest, his sonne *Simon* surnamed the Iust, succeeded him in
his place, who for that cause was so called, by reason of the piety which he shewed toward God, &
the good affection which he bare vnto his countrymen. This *Simon* dying & leauing behind him
one onely son, of yong & tender yeeres who was called *Onias*: his brother (which was this *Eleazar*
of whom we speake at this present) rooke vpon him the priesthood, and to him wrote *Ptolomey*
in such manner as is hereafter expressed. King *Ptolomey* to the high priest *Eleazar*, Health. Where-
as diuers Iewes dwell in my kingdome, whom my father hath honoured (though during the
reigns of the Persians they were drawn thither as prisoners) some of whom hee hath establish-
ed to be chieftaines in myre, vnder honourable wages & conditions: To other some borne in his
time in Egypt, hee hath committed his forts and garrisons, to the end they might bee respected
among the Egyptians. After that I haue beene called to the gouernment, I haue behaued my
selfe graciously towards all men, & especially towards those of your nation, of whom I haue de-
liuered more then one hundredth thousand out of captiuitie, disbursing their ransome out of
mine

Ptolomey's ep-
istle to Elea-
zar for inter-
preters to
translate the
Bible.

The year of the
world, 3684, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 280.

A mine owne cofers: I haue likewise inrouled some of those that were of age in the companies and
bands of my men of warre: I haue receiued some into my court, whom I took to be faithfull &
loyall, and in my opinion well worthy of such preferment: supposing that the most acceptable
and the deereest present I might offer vp vnto God, for his prouidence extended toward me in ad-
uancing me to the kingdome, was to performe the same. And being desirous not onely to grati-
fie them, but also al those Iewes that are in the whole world, I haue determined to cause your law
to be translated; that after it hath been transcribed out of Hebrew into Greeke, I might place it
in my librarie. You shall therefore doe well, if you choose me out six discreet and learned men of
euerie tribe amongst you, who are already steeped in yeeres, and send them vnto me, who by reason
of their age shall be well instructed in your lawes, and sufficiently enabled to expound the same.

B For in so doing, I shall accept it at your hands, as a great honour. For this cause I send vnto you
Andrew the principall captaine of my guard, and *Ariflaus* also (whom we especially honour) to
conferre with you: by whom I haue sent you one hundredth talents of siluer, as the first fruits of
those gifts and sacrifices, which we intend to offer in the temple. You shall doe vs an especial fa-
uour, if you signifie your mind vnto vs by your letters.

As loone as *Eleazar* had receiued the kings letters, he returned him an answer full of honour
and affection, according to the tenour which ensueth. The high priest *Eleazar* to king *Ptolomey*:
Health. If you, your Queene *Arifnoe*, and your children be in health, all our affaires likewise haue
no lesse fortunate successe. We haue receiued your princely letters with no small ioy, & haue both
read and considered vpon the contents thereof; wee haue also published them in the presence of

Eleazars let-
ters in answer
to Ptolomey.

C all the people, and haue declared vnto them your pietie towards God, & haue shewed them those
viols which you sent vs, twenty of gold, and thirty of siluer; with five vessels, and a table which
in way of present you haue sent vnto vs. We haue likewise shewed them those hundredth talents
which *Andrew* and *Ariflaus* (very vertuous and excellently learned men, and honoured by you
amongst your deereest friends) haue brought vnto vs, to be employed in sacrifices and other neces-
sities of the temple. Know therefore, that whatsoever standeth either with your content or pro-
fit, we will enforce our owne natures, to the end we may acknowledge the benefits, which you
haue diuers waies bestowed vpon our nation. Wee haue therefore duly and continually offered
sacrifice for you, your Queene *Arifnoe*, your children & friends: the people likewise haue praised
that God would send you happy successe in whatsoever you desire, that your kingdome may be

D continued in peace, and that the translation of our law may be accomplished in such sort, as you
desire, for your owne commoditie. To that intent wee haue chosen six Elders out of euerie tribe,
whom we send vnto you, together with the originall of our law. Our request is, that according
to your accustomed pietie and iustice, you returne vs both our lawes & these interpreters in safe-
tie, as soone as they haue satisfied your expectation. Fare you well.

This is the answer which the high Priest sent vnto him. Yet haue I thought it to be a matter
meerely vnneccessarie to set downe the names of the seuentie two Elders in particular, who were
sent by *Eleazar* together with the lawe, notwithstanding they were set downe in the Epistle. Yet
thinke I it not amisse, to recite the excellencie and fashion of those presents that were sent by the
king, and offered vp vnto God, to the end that all men may know how zealous hee was towards
the seruice of God. For in performance thereof, he spared no immeasurable expence, but con-
tinually assited the workemen, & examined their workmanship, to the end that nothing might
be carelessly finished, or negligently performed. I will therefore set downe (as neere as in me li-
eth) the excellencie of euery peece (although it may be thought that the course of historie requi-
reth it not) but therefore will I discoure the same, because my desire is by so doing to expresse
vnto the readers, how great the liberalitie and generositie of the king hath beene. And first of all
I will begin to describe the table.

The king desirous to make it great in all dimensions, desired to know the greatnes of that
which was at Ierusalem, to the intent that he might cause it to be far greater. And hauing certain
notice how great it was, and that there was no let but that he might make his far greater, hee said
that he would haue it five times greater then the other: but that hee feared, least being so great it
would be vnfit to offer sacrifice thereupon; and his intention was, that the oblations, which he
offered, should not onely serue for shew, but that they might also be somewhat proper for the vse
and seruice of the temple. For this cause, concluding that the first was of sufficient and conue-
nient measure, hee resolved that his should not exceede the other in greatnes; but that equal-
ling the same in quantitie of gold, it might exceede the other in variety and beauty of workman-
ship. For he was ingenious to obserue the nature of diuers things, and to inuent new and vnex-
pected

The golden
table.

The yeere of the
world 3684. be-
fore Christs 2000.
times, 200.

pested fashion: so that by his ripe iudgement, he shewed the workemen such inuentions, as be-
fore time had not bene in vse; and commanded them to make and finish them; hauing alwaies
an eye to the module, that he had proposed them to worke by. He vndertooke therefore to make
the table of two cubits and a halfe in length, of one in breadth, and of one and a halfe in height,
all of masiue gold: about the which there was made a border, a hand breadth large; enriched
with mouing waues, on which there was a bend grauen with admirable art, appearing on three
sides: For being triangular, euery angle presented the same engrauiing; so that when it was tur-
ned, it seemed that one and the same, and no waies different figure, represented it selfe: within the
inside of this border it was inchaufed with diuers goodly figures, but on the outside it was farre
more excellently beautified and wrought, because in that part it was most open to the eie. For
this cause the vpper part of the table appeared to bee of two parts, and of three angles, which (as
we said) were apparant at such time as the table was turned, each one seeming of equall mag-
nitude with the other. Vpon the graued bends there were precious stones inchaufed, distant by e-
quall proportion the one from the other, and fastned by golden buttons tyed by loopes. The
sides of the borders (which presented themselves to the eye) were beautified with rich stones, dis-
posed after the manner of an ouall; and there was a border of golden twigs engrauen round a-
bout the table: vnder the ouals there was a crown garnished with clusters of diuers sorts of fruits,
the clusters of grapes hung downe, the spikes of corne stood vpright, and all was inclosed with
pomgranats, and the precious stones were enchaufed in gold thorow the whole circuit of the ta-
ble, to represent each sort of fruit in their natie colours. There was also a ranke of ouals vnder
the crowne, not vnlike vnto the former, made of gold: so that on both sides, both the variety and
delicacie of the worke appeared, both in the bends and borders; as also in the table, in which
there appeared not any difference, on what soeuer side it was turned; and from the top vnto the
lower foot one & the same workmanship appeared. For it had a plate of gold some foure fingers
broad, comprehending the breadth of the table, on which the feet of the same were staied, which
were afterwards fastned to the border by buttons and claspes of gold, to the end that the excel-
lent and curious workmanship might the better bee scene, and that on what side soeuer it were
turned, it might alwaies seeme the same. They engraued also on the same a labyrinth, in the midst
whereof there were diuers kindes of precious stones, shining like starres; and amongst the rest
there were Rubies and emeralds of most orient brightnes, as also all other sorts of stones that ei-
ther are esteemed or desired for their beauty or price. Neere vnto this labyrinth from the one end
vnto the other, there went certain corded pleites in the middle like vnto a Rhombus or Loseng,
vpon which there were certaine pieces of Crystall and Amber, enchaufed and placed the one
by the other in equall distance, & proportion: which gaue a marueilous contentment to whom-
soeuer beheld the same: The Chapters of the feet were made after the forme of a lillie; the leaues
whereof bent themselves vnder the table, whereas otherwaies the stalke seemed to bee stretched
out straight. The base of the same was an hands breadth large, adorned with a carbuncle in euery
part. The breadth thereof was eight fingers, on which all the plate of the feete was staied; and on
euery one of them was there ingrauen by curious workmanship Iuie, and vine branches laden
with clusters of grapes; so made to life, that they seemed to bee very grapes in deede. For the
whole was so subtil and delicate, that when the winde blew, the workmanship waied and was
carried vp on high; so that it seemed that these fruits were rather naturall, then counterfayted by
art. The worke was made after a new fashion, as if it consisted of three pieces: and notwithstanding
it was so well shut and closed together, that the seames and ioints might not any waies bee
scene. The thicknes of the table was no lesse then halfe a cubite.

See here what this present was, which through intire affection the king presented; wherein
the price of the stuffe, the diuersitie and beauty of the wormanship, and the excellencie of the
engrauiing was accomplished in perfection. Moreover, in this hee so farre inforced himselfe to
performe so much, that if it might not surpass the other which was already in the temple, at least-
wise in art, new inuention and excellencie of proiect, it might bee farre more excellent and admi-
rable. He gaue besides this, two vessels of gold, scaled from the bottome as farre as the halfe part
of the Cup; and besides that, enriched with diuers precious stones curiously and diuerlie
enchaufed. And in the midst of them there was a labyrinth a cubite hie, made of all sorts of pre-
cious stones; and at the foote thereof were ingraued spires, after the manner of twigs, and fast by
them a certaine sould like vnto a net made in ouall fashion, that ascended euen vnto the brims.
The midst thereof was filled with little targets, of the greatnes of foure fingers, made of pre-
cious stones, and round about the edges thereof were lillies, iuy, flowers, and vines with their clus-
ters

Two golden
standing cups.

The yeere of the
world, 3684. be-
fore Christs birth
200.
Two silver
standing cups.
Thirtie viols.

Ptolomeis
charge and
diligence in
the finishing
of his presents.

The 70. inter-
preters com-
ing to Alex-
andria are
royally enter-
tained.

A sters of grapes engrauen round about. This was the beauty & excellencie of those two cups, each
of them containing twenty and foure pintes. There were also others made of silver, so transpa-
rent, as if they had been of the purest crystall, thorow which all things that were put into them,
were naturally and manifestly discovered. He caused also thirty ewers to be made, in which all
the gold that was not couered with precious stones, was shadowed with Iuie leaues, & vine bran-
ches most curiously engrauen: and all these things were not onely miraculously wrought by the
wonderfull cunning of the workemen; but were in like sort seconded by an ambitious diligence
of the king, who thinking it not enough that without parsimonie he had vnderaken the charge,
did oftentimes (forsaking his more serious affaires) visit the shops, and examine the workes; and
that which more and more encreased their diligence, was, for that they saw him so intent vpon
B the business, which made them the more earnest vpon their worke.

And these were the presents which were sent by this king to be dedicated in the temple of Je-
rusalem. All which being consecrated and laid vp in the temple by the high Priest Eleazar, after
he had greatly honoured those that brought them thither, and deliuered into their hands certain
presents to be tendered in his behalfe vnto the king, he dismissed & sent them back again. No so-
oner were they arriued in Alexandria, but the king (hauing notice thereof, and how the seuentie
two Elders were come with them) he sent to seek out his Embassadors Andrew & Aristaeus, who
came and presented him with letters from the high Priest Eleazar, and answered him to all that
which he demanded of them face to face. And being desirous to communicate with the Elders
that came from Jerusalem to expound & interpret the law, he contrary to his ordinary custome
C and maner, dismissed all those that resorted thither for their particular affaires, to whom hee was
accustomed to giue audience euery fift day; as it was his ordinary maner also to giue monethly
satisfaction to forraigne Embassadors. Hauing therefore for that time dismissed them, hee kept
those by him whom Eleazar had sent vnto him; who coming to his presence (accompanied
with those presents which the high Priest had deliuered them to present vnto him, with the ori-
ginal wherein the lawe was written with golden letters) he asked them where their bookes were:
and they discovering and opening them, shewed them vnto him. After the king had scene them,
he was very much astonished, to see the membranes & parchments so delicate, and to behold the
whole forme thereof so perfectly conioyned, that it was impossible to discover the seams; and
he told them that he gaue them thanks for that they were come vnto him, & more great thanks
D vnto him that had sent them, and the greatest and most speciall thanks vnto God, who was the
author of these lawes. Whereupon, the Elders and those that assisted them, cried out altogether,
and wished that all good hap might befall the king: who, thorow the excelsiue ioy that hee con-
ceiued, burst out into teares: For naturally extream ioy & most grievous sadness haue like effects.
After he had commanded that these bookes should be committed to their trust, who were de-
puted to that office, at length he saluted the Elders, telling them that it was very behouefull for
him first of all to debate with them vpon the matter, to which intent he had sent for them: and
afterwards to giue them entertainment: in a word, he confessed vnto them, that their access was
so gratefull vnto him, that he promised them, so long time as he liued, hee would euery yeere re-
new and honour the memory of the same: (and by good hap it was the very same day wherein he
E ouercame Antigonus by sea.) His pleasure was also, that they should be his guests, and hee caused
diuers goodly lodgings to be assigned them vnder the Castle.

Nicanor likewise, who had the charge to entertaine strangers, commanded Dorotheus (who
was ordinarily emploied in the same) to prepare for euery one of them such things, as were ne-
cessarie for their diet and entertainment. For so was it ordained by the king, that in euery Citie
that had any particularity in their manner of life, there should bee a commissary appointed to
prouide for forrainers that arriued in that place, to the intent they might be entreated according
to their customes: intending thereby that their entertainment should be the more agreeable vn-
to them, and that they might be the lesse tired with forraigne nouelties. This custome of his was
put in practise at this time, by Dorotheus care and exact diligence, who in his owne person dis-
posed all that which was necessary for that hospitality. He prepared two places to banquet in, in
F two seuerall parts (according as the king had commanded him) so that some of them might sit
on either side of him, and the rest might be placed neere vnto his table, omitting nothing of that
which concerned either their honour or kind enteruiue. When they were in this sort placed,
the king commanded Dorotheus to entertaine them in like manner, as he was wont to doe those,
who repaired vnto his court from Iudaea. Hereupon, he dismissed the Egyptian priest, and o-
ther that were wont to make the ordinary prayers: which done, hee commanded that one

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The year of the
world, 3684, be-
fore Christs birth
180.
The banquet
that Ptolomey
made for the
Iewes, and
their prayers
before meat.

The transla-
tion of the Bible
into the Greek
tongue.

Gods iustice
vpon those
Ethnickes that
intermedled
with the sa-
cred scrip-
tures.

of the elders called *Elifens* (who in like sort was a priest) to blesse the table: whereupon he stan-
ding vpright in the midst of them all, besought God to blesse both the king and his subiects with
all happines. Whereupon there arose an applause and acclamation of all men, intermixed with
ioyfull delight; which being ceased, they fell to their banquet, and made good cheere, with that
which was set before them. When the king had held his peace so long as he thought conuenient,
he began at last to play the Philosopher, asking of euery one of them certaine questions in Phi-
sicke, praying them to decide and discusse the same: and when as each of them in order had ve-
rie pertinently answered to the question that was propounded vnto them, the king tooke great
pleasure therein, and for twelue daies space he continued this feast. Who so desireth to know
the questions that were proposed vnto them in particular, let him read the booke which *Arista-
rus* hath written to that effect. In a word, the King was nor onely astonished at their answers, H
but the Philosopher *Menedemus* also: who hauing affirmed that all things were administered by
diuine prouidence, and that it appeared what the vertue and excellency of this discourse was, this
questioning debate was finished. But the king protested in their presence, that their access had
infinitely contented and instructed him, in that by their meanes he had obtained the good hap
to be enformed by them how to gouerne his kingdom. Whereupon hee commanded that
each of them should haue three talents giuen him, and that they might bee conuained to
their lodgings. Some foure daies after, *Demetrius* tooke them with him, and led them ouer that
trench of the sea, that containeth seuen furlongs, and that bridge which coupleth the Island with
the continent, & towards the northermost end thereof, he assigned them a lodging remote from
all noice, and fit for contemplation: to which place after he had brought them, he besought them, I
that since they had all those things that were necessarie for the interpretation of their lawes,
they would intend the same without any discontinuance of the worke, vntill they had brought it
to perfection; and they for their parts employed all their labour and diligence that was in them
possible, to the end the interpretation might bee exact, intending onely and continually this la-
bour from the morning vntill three houres after noone: after which time they employed the rest
of the day in their refections; & to that end they were furnished in all abundance with all sorts
of victuals.ouer and besides, *Dorotheus* presented them with a part of diuers dishes, which were
prepared for the King: for so had his Maiesty commanded it. Thus euery morning entred they
the Kings palace, and after they had saluted him, they retired themselves to their accustomed
place; and after they had washed their hands in the sea water, and were purified, they set them K
downe in that maner to proceed, and prosecute their translation. Now when the law was fully
interpreted, and the worke was fully finished in the space of seuentie and two daies: *Demetrius*
assembled all the Iewes in that place where the law had bene translated, and caused it to be read
ouer in the presence of the interpreters themselves. Which done, the assembly approoued
the exposition of the interpreters; and praised *Demetrius*, by whose suggestions, and inuen-
tion they enioyed so great a good. They requested likewise, that this exposition should be peru-
sed, and ouerread by the Nobles and Gouernours. After this, both the Priest, the Elders of the
interpreters, and the magistrates of the people required, that since this translation was so hap-
pily achieved, it might remaine vnaltered; so that no iot thereof might be changed.

Which resolution being allowed by all men, it was ordered that if any man perceived any L
thing in that translation, which was either exuperant or deficient, hee should consider there-
vpon and giue notice thereof, to the end it might be corrected: dealing hercin very discreetly,
to the end that that which had once bene adiudged good, should continue inuiolable for euer.
The King therefore was highly contented, seeing his endeouours and purpose in that behalfe so
happily and profitably finished: but about all things, hee tooke pleasure in reading of the law,
admiring at the deep conceit and wisdom of the law-maker; and began to question with *De-
metrius*, by what meanes it came to passe, that neither any Poet, nor Historiographer had made
mention of that law, notwithstanding that in it selfe it was so admirable. To whom *Demetrius*
gaue this answer: that no man was so hardie to touch that worke, by reason that it was diuine
and euery way venerable: assuring him also, that certaine men who had attempted to set their M
hands thereto, had bene punished by God: giuing him to vnderstand, how *Theopompus* inten-
ding to reduce certaine contents of that law into his history, had bene distraught in minde for
more then thirtie daies, and that hauing some intermission of his fit, he appealed God by praier;
thereby easily coniecturing what was the cause of his malady. Moreouer, he was certified by a vi-
sion that appeared vnto him in his sleepe, that this inconuenient befell him, in that he had too cu-
riously searched into sacred and diuine matters, and had intended to communicate the same with
pro-

A *Phophamen*: from which enterprisc sith hee had desisted, hee recovered his right wits againe.
Holikewise insinuated further, that *Theodeltes* the tragicke Poet, intending to make mention in
some of his Poems of a certaine historie written in the sacred Scriptures, was strooken blind; &
acknowledging the cause hereof to proceed from his audacious presumption, he was restored to
his sight after he had appealed Gods displeasure.

When the king had considered on these words, according as *Demetrius* had discoursed them
vnto him, hee prostrated himselfe on the earth, and commanded that the bookes should be care-
fully kept, to the end they might continue in their pure integritie. Furthermore, he exhorted the
Translators to repaire oftentimes vnto him from Iudaea, assuring them that in so doing the mat-
ter would redound both to their honour and profit; telling them that for that time hee thought
B good to dismiss them: but when they should returne vnto him againe of their own motion, they
should obtaine all that which their wisdom deserued, or his magnificence might impart vnto
them. This said, he gaue them leaue to depart, after hee had giuen each of them 3 leuall sutes of
apparel, two talents of gold, and a cup that was in value worth a talent, & a certaine bed or curi-
ous seat to sit and banquet vpon. This gaue he them for themselves. But to *Eleazar* the hie Priest
he sent by them ten couches, whose feet were of siluer, & the furniture correspondent, & a vessel
of 30 talents. Tenne purple robes likewise, and a magnificent crowne, and one hundred pieces of
fine linnen: and besides that, he sent in way of present vnto the temple, ewers, basons, and tivo
golden vessels: beseeching *Eleazar* by his letters, that if any one of his subiects had a wil to come
vnto him, he would permit him, assuring him that he would highly esteeme the conuersation of
C so learned men: & that he had riches which he would imploy with great pleasure in such affaires.
See heere how *Ptolomey Philadelph* esteemed and honoured the Iewes.

CHAP. III.

*How the Kings of Asia honoured the nation of the Iewes, and gaue them
libertie and freedome to dwell in those Citties that were
builded by them.*

D **T**hey receiued honor likewise at the hands of the kings of Asia, because they had borne
armes vnder them. For *Seleucus* surnamed *Nicanor*, highly respected them, & permit-
ted them to dwell in those cities, which hee built in Asia and lower Syria; yea in Anti-
och likewise, which was the Metropolitane and chiefe Citie. Moreouer hee ordained,
that they should be held in as great estimation, as either the Macedonians or Greekes that inhabi-
ted therein: so that euen vnto this day that order is continued (as it appeareth by this) for that the
Iewes refusing to annoint themselves with forraigne oyle, doe receiue a certaine summe of money
from the masters of the exercises in lieu of the oyle. Which whē the people of Antioch intended
to abolish, during the present war, *Mutianus* at that time gouernour of Syria, opposed himselfe a-
gainst them. Againe, when as *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus* had conquered the world; although
the Alexandrians and Antiochians required them; that the priuiledges that the Iewes enioyed
E might continue no more; yet could they not obtaine the same. Whereby the humanity and va-
lour of the Romans may appeare, and in especiall of *Vespasian* & *Titus*; that notwithstanding they
had been so trauailed by the warres of the Iewes, and were so bitterly incensed against them, for
that they had not by laying downe their armes submitted themselves, but had continued warre
against them to the vttermost; yet deprived they them not of their afore-saide priuiledges,
but surmounted their displeasure, which they had long before conceiued against them: and
in like sort had not regard to the request of two so puissant cities, as *Alexandria*, & *Antioch* were:
In such sort as they granted nothing in fauour of them, neither ordained any thing in disfauour
of those whom they had overcome in warre, to the intent to abolish one onely iot of those priuiled-
ges which they had in times past; but said that they that had resisted them by armes, & who had
F been overcome, were sufficiently punished for their obstinacie: & as touching those that had not
committed any offence, they saw no reason to deprive them of their rights & prerogatiues. Wee
knowe likewise, that *Marcus Agrippa* was of the same opinion, as touching the Iewes. For whe-
as the Ionians were sediciouſlie bent against them, and besought *Agrippa* that it might bee onelie
lawfull for them to make vse of the priuiledge; which *Antiochus Seleucus* Nephew (whom the
Greekes intituled by the name of God) had giuen them; requiring that if the Iewes were of their
bloud, they might be tied to adore the same gods which the Ionians worshipped: Whenas there-
fore

Hedio & Rus-
sinus. chap. 1.
The immuni-
ties and priui-
ledges gran-
ted to the
Iewes by Se-
leucus Nica-
nor, king of
Syria.

The priui-
ledge in Anti-
och continued
to the Iewes.

The yeere of the
world, 3684. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 180.

fore this matter was referred to the determination of the Iudges, the Iewes had the day; and ob-
tained the libertie to liue according to their owne lawes and customes: and hee that at this time
pleaded their cause, was *Nicholas Damascene*. For *Agrippa* pronounced, that it was unlawfull for
them to innouate any waies: And if any man desire to haue exact knowledge hereof, let him read
the hundred twentie three, and twentie fourth booke of the histories of *Nicholas*. Neither ought
this iudgement of *Agrippa* to seeme in any sort strange: for at that time our Nation had not by
any wars procured the Romans displeasure. But vpon iust occasion may a man admire the mag-
nanimitie of *Vespasian* and of his sonne *Titus*, who behaued themselves with such moderation af-
ter so great a warre, and so grieuous battels, as they had fought against vs.

Antiochus the
great, king of
Asia and Syria
vexeth the
Iewes.

Now will I returne to my purpose, from whence I haue digressed. At such time as *Antiochus*
the great reigned in Asia, the country of Iewry was grieuouly spoiled, and both the Iewes and
the inhabitants of Coelosyria endured many miseries. For *Antiochus* making warre against *Ptole-*
my Philopator and his son, called *Ptolomey* the Famous, they were pitifully perplexed: For whe-
ther *Antiochus* either ouercame or was ouercome, they were continually spoiled: so that betwixt
the prosperitie and aduersitie of *Antiochus*, they fared like a shippe tossed and tormented with a
storme. Finally, after *Antiochus* had ouercome *Ptolomey*, he conquered Iewrie. After the death
of *Philopator*, his son sent a great army into Coelosyria vnder the conduct of *Scopas*, who seized a
great number of those Citties; and our nation also was inforced by war and conquered by him.
Not long after this, *Antiochus* fought with *Scopas*, neere vnto the flood Iordan, and obtained the
victory, discomfiting the greater part of his enemies armie; at which time *Antiochus* recovered
againe those Citties of Coelosyria, which were before time surprized by *Scopas*. He tooke Sama-
ria also: which when the Iewes perceiued, they submitted themselves of their owne accord vnto
him, and hauing entertained him in the Cittie of Ierusalem, they gaue both his army and his Ele-
phants abundance of prouision, and willingly assisted him with their forces, to subdue those
garrisons which *Scopas* had planted in the fortresses of the higher Cittie. For which cause *Antio-*
chus supposing it to be a matter behouefull for his honour, to acknowledge and remunerate the
affection and forwardnesse which the Iewes had expressed in his seruice, wrote vnto his captai-
nes and friends, signifying vnto them how forward the Iewes had been in his warres: and to expresse
likewise what gifts he intended to bestow vpon them.

The yeere of the
world, 3742. be-
fore Christ's birth,
222.

Hereafter I will insert the copy of his letters, which hee wrote in fauour of them, after I haue
recited that which *Polybius* the Megalopolitane writeth, answerable to this purpose, which I wil
recite out of the sixteenth booke of his histories. *Scopas* (saith he) the generall of *Ptolomey*'s army,
marching towards the mid-land, did in one vvinter ouercome the whole nation of the Iewes. He
reciteth also in the same booke, that after that *Scopas* had bene ouercome, *Antiochus* seized
Bathanæa, Samaria, Abila, & Gadara; and anon after the Iewes, which dwelt at Ierusalem where
the temple was, ioyned themselves with him: and although we are to speake more amply & par-
ticularly of that apparition that hapned neere vnto the temple; yet notwithstanding wee wil de-
ferre the recitall thereof vntill another time. This is that which *Polybius* hath writtten. But to re-
turne vnto our purpose: I will recite in this place the copy of those letters which were sent by the
King *Antiochus* to *Ptolomey*, Health. Whereas the Iewes haue giuen vs a most apparant
testimony of their affection towards vs, since the first time of our entrance into their country, & I
haue magnificently entertained vs at such times as we were in person before their Cittie, by pre-
sents themselves before vs with all their Elders; and haue also furnished vs largely with all that
which was necessarie for our fouldiers and our Elephants; and haue likewise taken armes with
vs against the Egyptian garrison: we haue thought it a matter answerable to our honor, to afford
the some satisfaction in repairing their Cittie, ruined by humane casualties, to the intent it might
be inhabited and peopled againe, by gathering together those Iewes that are scattered abroad in
diuers places, and planting them againe in the same. And in especiall (to the end that the seruice
of God may be renewed) we haue set downe a certaine summe of money to be employed in sacrifici-
ces, and in buying beasts for their offerings, vvine, oyle, and incense; that is to say, twenty thou-
sand sicles of siluer; and for fine floure according to the law of the place, one thousand, four hun-
dred and sixtie measures of wheate, and three hundred, seauentie and five measures of salt. And
my will is, that all these things that are abouenamed, bee deliuered vnto them according to the
forme of our ordinance. We likewise commaund, that the worke of the temple be finished with
the galleries, and other necessary buildings; and that all the stoffe of timber be brought out of Iu-
dæa and other places, and especially out of Libanus, without any taxe or tallage: which exemp-
tion also shall take effect in all other necessities that are requisite towards the reparation of so fa-
mous

Ptolomey E-
piphanes king
of Egypt war-
reth against
the kings of
Syria.

The yeere of the
world, 3760. be-
fore Christ's birth
204.

Polybius the
Megalopoli-
tane of *Scopas*
Ptolomey's
captaine.

Antiochus E-
pistile to *Pto-*
lomey, as tou-
ching the
liberty of
Iewes.

The yeere of the
world, 3780. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 104.

A mousa temple. My pleasure likewise is, that all they of the same Nation gouerne their estate, ac-
cording to their owne lawes. Let the ancient Priests and Scribes of the temple also, and the sing-
ing men be freed from all taxations, that are paid by the powe, and the tributes of the crowne,
and all other whatsoever. And to the end that the citie may be the sooner builded, I grant vnto all
them that inhabit the same at this present, or that hereafter shall transport themselves thither with-
in the moneth of October to inhabit, the same exemption of all charges for three yeeres space.
We forgive them, moreover the third part of their tributes, to the intent they may recouer them-
selves of their losses. We will also that those Cittizens that haue been forcibly ledde from thence
into seruitude, be set at libertie, both they themselves as also those that are of their alliance; com-
manding their goods to be restored vnto them. Farewell.

B These were the contents of this Letter. And to yeeld the more honour vnto the Temple, hee
sent an Edict thorow all his kingdom to this effect: That it should not be lawfull for any stranger
to enter within the inclosure of the Temple, without the Iewes permission; except those that
should be purified, according to the law and custome of the place. That no man should bring in-
to the Citie any flesh of hore, mule, wild or tame asses, leopards, foxes, or hares, or generally of
any cattell prohibited to be eaten by the lawes of the Iewes. That it should not be lawfull likewise
for any man to bring their skinnies into the Cittie, or to nourish any such beasts in the same; but
that it might onely be lawfull to vse those beasts which might be sacrificed vnto God, according
to the law of their ancestors. That whosoever should contradict those inhibitions, he should pay
3000 drachmes of siluer vnto the Priests. Furthermore, to expresse his pietie & fidelity towards
vs, at such time as he heard of the troubles that hapned in Phrygia and Lydia, he wrote also vnto
C *Zeuxis* gouernour of one of the higher prouinces, and his intire friend, commaunding him to send
certaine of our nation from Babylon to Phrygia, writing vnto him to this effect. King *Antiochus*
to *Zeuxis* his father: Health. If thou art well, I am glad of it: Likewise am no lesse healthy. Vn-
derstanding that those of Lydia and Phrygia are newly grown to rebellion, I haue thought good
(according to my dutie) to preuent the same: and whilst I consulted with my friends what was
to be done, it hath bene thought fit that two thousand families of the Iewes, with all their hous-
holds should bee sent thither, all which should be drawn out of Mesopotamia and Babylon, to
plant them in garrisons, and places of securitie. For I am perswaded of their good affection and
zeale towards vs, both in respect of their deuotion towards God, as also for the testimonie which
D our predecessors haue borne of them; namely, that they are faithfull, and ready to execute that
wherein they are imploied. And although it be a difficult matter to remooue them, yet resolute I
my selfe that it shall be done; and withall, I permit them to liue according to their lawes. Now
when as they shall arrive in that place, thou shalt bestow on euery one of them places to build the
houses on, with sufficient lands both for tillage and to plant their vineyards in: for which they
shall pay no tribute for tenne yeeres space: and during such time as they may gather of their own
for their sustenance, they shall be allowed their prouision of corne for them & their seruants. Our
will is also that they, who shall be imploied in necessarie affaires, bee sufficiently prouided of that
they need, to the intent that beeing so bountifullly dealt withall by vs, they may shew themselves
the more affectionate in that which concerneth vs. Thou shalt giue order also to the vttermoost of
E thy power, that this nation be no waies ouerpressed, or interested by any man. Farewell.

The Edict of
Antiochus the
great in honor
of the Temple.

Antiochus E-
pistile to *Zeuxis*,
in which hee
maketh hono-
rable mention
of the Iewes.

The yeere of the
world, 3764. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 200.

Hitherto haue wee sufficiently declared, what friendship *Antiochus* the great bare vnto the
Iewes. After this, *Antiochus* contracted alliance and friendship with *Ptolomey*, who gaue him his
daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, and assigned him for her dowrie Coelosyria, Samaria, Iudæa, and
Phoenicia: and for that these two kings diuided the tributes betwene them, the chieft in au-
thoritie in euery Prouince, redeemed the exaction of their country, and paid the summe agreed
vpon to the kings treasure.

Antiochus
friendship and
confederacie
with *Ptolomey*

At that time the Samaritanes puffed vp with their prosperitie, vexed the Iewes, spoiling their
country, & leading them away prisoners perforce. This hapned vnder the high Priest *Onias*. For
after the decease of *Eleazar*, *Manasse* his vncle obtained the Priesthood; & after the death of *Ma-*
nasse, *Onias* the son of *Simon* surnamed the Iust, enioyed this dignitie. *Simon* was brother to *E-*
leazar, as I haue heretofore declared. This *Onias* was of no great capacitie, & withall was very co-
uetous: by which means he failed to pay the twenty talents of siluer, which his predecessors were
wont to pay to the kings of Egypt, of that tribute which the people paid vnto him. Whereupon
F *Ptolomey Evergetes*, the father of *Philopator*, was grieuouly incensed against him; so as he sent an
Embassador to Ierusalem to accuse him, for that hee failed to pay his accustomed tribute, threat-
ning him, that if henceforward hee receiued it not; hee would diuide his country amongst his
souldiers; tribute.

The Samari-
tanes molest
the Iewes.

The yeere of the
world, 3770. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 194.

Hedio & Ru-
finus chap. 4.
Onias the hie
priest, prouo-
uoketh the
king of Egypt
for non pay-
ment of his

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The taxation of the high priest for sending the king.
The kings Embassadour honourably entertained, who reporteth Iosephs liberality upon his returne into his countrey.

souldiers, & send them to inhabite the same. When the Iewes were ascertained of his complaints, they were confused, and amazed: but *Onias* was no whit moued thereby, because he was wholly giuen ouer to couetousnesse.

CHAP. IIII.

Ioseph the sonne of Tobias preuenteth the imminent calamitie of the Iewes, & becometh Ptolomies friend.

IN a certaine man called *Ioseph*, the sonne of *Tobias*, and of *Onias* sister, who was the high Priest, beeing young in yeeres (but honoured in Ierusalem for his wisdom, foresight, and iustice) hauing certaine notice by his mother of the arriual of this Embassadour, came vnto the Cittie (for he had bene absent in the village of Phicala where hee was borne) and sharply reproofed *Onias* his vnckle on the mothers side, for that he did not any waies provide for the securitie of his Cittizens, but sought to draw his countreymen into a generall hazard, for that he retained in his hands that money which was leuiued for the tribute: Whereby he told him that hee had obtained the government ouer the people, and purchased the high priesthood. And that if he were so bewitched with money, that for the loue of the same hee could haue the patience to see his countrey in hazard, and behold his Cittizens also suffer all that which crueltie could inflict vpon them; he counsailed him to repaire vnto the king, and to require him to bestow the whole or the halfe of the tribute vpon him. Heereunto *Onias* answered, that he would no more execute the government, and that if it were possible for him, hee was ready to giue ouer the priesthood, I and that therefore he would not repaire vnto the king, because he was not any waies moued with these occurrences. Whereupon *Ioseph* asked him, if he would permit him in the peoples behalfe to goe Embassadour vnto *Ptolomey*. Whereunto *Onias* answered that he gaue him free leaue. Vpon this occasion *Ioseph* went vp into the temple, and summoned the people to a generall assembly, exhorting them to be no waies troubled, and to conceiue no feare thorow the negligence of his vnckle *Onias*, requesting them to be confident in hart, and estranged from all sinister suspition; promising them that he himselfe would goe in Embassage vnto the king, & faithfully plead their cause before him, and perswade him that they had committed no insolent neglect, or contempt against his maiestie. Which when the people vnderstood, they gaue *Ioseph* hartly thanks. Whereupon he presently came downe from the temple, and honourably entertained the Embassadours K that came from *Ptolomey*, and hauing presented them with gifts of great price, and feasted them magnificently for many daies, he sent them backe to their Prince; assuring them that hee would in person follow them. And the rather was he incited to this iourney, because the Embassadour had perswaded him to repaire into Egypt, vnder such assurance, that he would obtaine all his requests at *Ptolomeys* hands; the rather for that he was won with the young mans free spirit & noble entertainment.

As soone as the Embassadour returned into Egypt, hee certified the king of *Onias* ingratitude, and *Iosephs* humanitie; certifying him that he wold come in person to intreat pardon for the people, for that offence they had committed against him; and the rather, for that he was in especiall L authoritie among the people: and so farre vsurped he vpon *Iosephs* praises, that both the king and the Queene *Cleopatra* had a good opinion of him, notwithstanding hee was as yet absent. But *Ioseph* sent vnto Samaria to his friends, and borrowed money, making his preparation for his voyage. Hauing therefore furnished himselfe with apparrell, vessels, and horses, with the expence of almost twenty thousand drachmes, he arriued in Alexandria.

At that very time it chanced that the Princes, and gouernours of Phoenicia and Syria repaired thither to buy their tributes: for the king was accustomed euery yeere to sell them to the men of most respect in euery citie: These meeting with *Ioseph* on the way, began to mock at his basenesse and pouertie. But when hee came to Alexandria, and had intelligence that the king was at Memphis, he set forward & went out to meet him. When as therefore the king, accompanied with the queene & *Athenion* his friend, who had discharged the place of Embassadour in Ierusalem, came M riding onward in his chariot; *Athenion* (who had bene honourably entertained by *Ioseph*) perceiving him vpon the way, certified the king that it was he, of whom hee had spoken vpon his returne from Ierusalem; protesting on his behalfe, that he was both a good and honourable young man. Whereupon *Ptolomey* embraced him about the rest, & made him mount his chariot. Where he was no sooner seated, but the king beganne to accuse *Onias* for that which he had committed. But *Ioseph* said vnto him: Pardon him, O King, and haue respect to his old old yeeres. For you know

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The years of the world, 3770. before Christ; No- tuitie, 194.

A know that ordinarily old men & young children haue one and the same vnderstanding; but for our selues, who are young, you shall haue what you please to require without any pretext or cause of discontent. Hereupon the king tooke pleasure in the good behauiour and pleasant discourse of the young man, and beganne to loue him the more, as if hee had receiued a present attestation of his wisdom: whereupon hee commaunded that he should be lodged in his owne palace, & that daily he should accompany him at his princely table.

As soone as the king came backe to Alexandria, the Lords of Syria seeing *Ioseph* sitting neere vnto the king, were sore displeased: and the day drawing neere wherein they were to receiue the assurance of their tribute, they that were of the greatest reckoning in their Countrey farmed the same; so that the tributes of Coelosyria, Phoenicia, Iudæa, and Samaria, amounted together to B eight thousand talents. Whereupon *Ioseph* arising, blamed the farmers for that they had plotted amongst themselves to beate downe the price of the tributes, promising to giue the double; and that hee would likewise returne the forfeitures that were leuiued vpon the goods of such as offended; which were farmed together with the tributes. The king gaue eare to this discourse of his with great content, and said, that hee approoued the sale of these tributes vnto *Ioseph*, who in this sort augmented his reuenue. When as therefore he was demanded whether he could giue sureties: he made him answere with a bold courage: O king (said he) I will giue thee such pledges as are both worthy and honourable, and such as you cannot mistrust. When as therefore the King C instantiated him to produce them: I will (said he) O king, present thee for sureties, thy selfe, & the queene thy wife, that one of you may be a suretie for me to the other. *Ptolomey* smiling heereat, granted him the farme of the tribute, without further suretie. This fauour of his displeased those gouernours of the Citties that were come into Egypt, in that they saw themselves contemned & constrained to returne with shame vnto their houses. But *Ioseph* obtained two thousand footmen from the king, to the end to enforce the tribute from those Citties, who were negligent in their payments: and after he had borrowed five hundred talents of the kings friends in Alexandria, he departed into Syria.

As soone as hee came to Ascalon, hee demanded the paiement of the tribute at the Cittizens hands, which they not onely refused to performe, but moreover vpbraided him with iniurious words. For which cause laying hold on about some twentie of the principals among them, hee put them to death: and hauing gathered their substances together, hee sent the king some thousand D talents, certifying him of that which he had done. *Ptolomey* admiring at his wisdom, and allowing of his execution, permitted him to dispose of all things at his pleasure. The Syrians vnderstanding hereof, were sore abashed; and perceiving that the Ascalonites were slaine by *Ioseph*, they threw the seueritie of his iustice and their disobedience, they opened him the gates, and receiued him willingly, and paid him their tributes. Whereas also the Scythopolitanes in way of contumacie refused to lay downe according to order, their accustomed tributes; he slew the chieftest amongst them: the confiscations of whose goods hee sent vnto the king. When as therefore hee had gathered much siter, and made great gaines of the purchase of the tributes, to the intent to establish and make his power of more continuance, he liberally employed his gettings; considering with himselfe that it was a part of wisdom to keepe and entertaine his good hap, by those E riches which he himselfe had gotten: For hee sent many presents both to the King and Queene, and bestowed liberall bountie both on their familiars and fauourites, and also on all those which had any authoritie, credite or fauour in the Court, to winne and bind them vnto him by his beneuolence. And in this felicitie of his continued hee the terme of twentie two yeeres; during which time he was the father of seuen children by the wife, and of another called *Hirtanus*, who hee begot on the daughter of his brother *Solymus*; whom he married vpon this occasion which ensued.

Walking vpon a time in Alexandria in the company of his brother (who ledde with him his daughter already marriageable, to the intent to bestow her vpon some Iew of good quality) whilst hee late at meat with the king, there entered into the banquet a certaine faire damsell, trained vp in F dauncing; with whom growing enamoured, hee told his brother thereof; praying him that sith by the lawes of their Countrey it was forbidden that a Iew might marry with a stranger; that hee would hide his fault, and be a faithfull assistant vnto him, to the end that hee might enjoy her whom his heart desired. His brother promised him to shew his willing forwardnesse heerein; and in the meane time hee adorned and decked his owne daughter, and brought her by night vnto his bed: whereupon he lay with her (not knowing who she was, by reason hee had drunk ouermuch) and had her company. Which coming to passe diuers times, he was as yet farre more burningly

The tributes of Coelosyria committed to Ioseph.

The Ascalonites and Scythopolitans punished for their contempt.

Iosephs wealth and children.

burningly inflamed with the loue of this Dancer, and told his brother that hee was in danger to be enamoured all his lifetime; & that notwithstanding the King would not grant her vnto him. His brother told him that he ought not to vex himselfe, promising him that he should assuredly enjoy her whom he loued, and that already shee was his wife; opening vnto him how all things had hapned, and how he had rather wrong his owne daughter then to suffer his brother to fall into dishonour. After that *Ioseph* had praised the kind & naturall affection of his brother towards him, hee tooke his daughter to wife, who bare him a sonne called *Hircanus*, as it hath beene said. Who being thirteene yeeres old, gaue testimonie of that naturall spirit, and dexteritie that was in him; by reason whereof his brethren conceiued a certain hatred against him, the rather, for that he excelled the in all things, & had such parts in him, as might draw them to emulate him. Whereas therefore *Ioseph* was desirous to know which of his children had the ripest iudgement, and vnderstanding; he sent them one after another to those Masters, who were most renowned for Science in that time; but all of them returned backe vnto him rude, and illettered, by reason they were negligent and idle. Whereupon, he sent *Hircanus* the youngest of them after all the rest, into a desert place distant from the high way some 7 daies iourney, & gaue him with him three hundred couple of oxen, to fowe the ground in that barren place, hiding from him before his departure the yokes that should couple them together.

When as therefore he came vnto the place, and perceiued that the yokes were missing, hee asked aduise of some of the husbandmen: who counsailed him to send some one backe vnto his father to fetch the couples. But he supposing that he ought not to lose so much time as would be spent in sending backe a messenger, deuised a cunning expedient stratageme, more then might be expected from one of his yeeres. For he caused tenne couple of oxen to be slaine, and distributed the flesh amongst his workmen, and made them cut the skinnies, and fashion couples thereof, and hauing yoked his oxen, he caused the land to be manured, according to his fathers direction; and afterwards returned home vnto him. Who loued him the more intirely, by reason of his wisdom, and the subtiltie of his vnderstanding; praising besides that his resolution and execution, esteeming him the more, for that he was his onely true son, to the generall discontent of the rest.

VWhen as therefore newes was brought vnto *Ioseph*, that about that time king *Ptolomey* was blessed with a young sonne, and how all the chiefe Lords of Syria, and the countreys vnder his obedience, repaired to Alexandria in great pompe to celebrate the birth day of the kings sonne; hee being of himselfe vnable (by reason of his age) to repaire thither, hee sould his children, whether any one of them would goe and visit the king. When as therefore the eldest sonnes had excused themselves, and made refusall to vndertake the iourney, pretending that they were insufficient ability to performe the message, and all of them gaue counsaile that their brother *Hircanus* might be sent: *Ioseph* tooke great pleasure thereat, and calling for *Hircanus*, asked him if he would goe to king *Ptolomey*: who promised to vndertake the iourney, and told his father that he needed no great sum of money to performe the voyage; because in the way hee would trauell frugally, and content himselfe for the whole expence with ten thousand drachmes. *Ioseph* was very glad to heare of his sonnes prudence; & after *Hircanus* had kept silence for a while, hee counsailed his father, that hee should not present the King with any thing out of Iudaea, but that hee should write vnto his father in Alexandria, commanding him to deliuer such summes of money as he thought conuenient to buy that which he found to be most magnificent & of best esteeme in that Citie. *Ioseph* imagining with himselfe, that perhaps he would onely employ some tenne talents in presents, and allowing his sonnes counsaile, wrote vnto his father *Arion* (who had the vse of almost three thousand talents of his in Alexandria.) For gathering vp his money in Syria, he was wont to send it thither; and as oft as the prefixed time came wherein the kings tributes were to be paid, hee commaunded *Arion* to defray the same. Hauing therefore letters of credence vnto him, he iourneyed towards Alexandria. Whereupon his brethren wrote presentie vnto all the Kings friends, that by some meanes they would make him away.

As soone as hee was arrived in Alexandria, and had deliuered his fathers letters to *Arion*, *Arion* asked him how many talents he would haue? hoping that he would craue but ten, or some little ouerplus: but when *Hircanus* had told him that he had need of a thousand, he waxed wroth, and reproued him for his prodigality, telling him how his father had gathered his goods with much trauell, & thrifty sparing; & refusing his demands, hee praiued him to imitate his fathers example who had begot him: & in a word hee told him, that hee would deliuer him no more then ten talents; & that for no other vse, then to buy gifts to present the king withall. Whereupon *Hircanus* waxing angry, caused *Arion* to be kept in prison: All which his wife certified to *Cleopatra*, praying

Ioseph sendeth
his sonne *Hir-
canus* to *Pto-
lomey*.

The years of the
world, 3780. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 184.
Treason in-
tended against
Hircanus.

Asking her that shee would moderate the young man (for *Arion* was in great estimation with the *Queene*, who for this cause acquainted the king with the matter. Whereupon *Ptolomey* sent for *Hircanus*, and said vnto him; that hee misreuelled that being sent vnto him from his father, he had not as yet visited him; and besides that, he had committed his fathers agent to prison: hee therefore commaunded him to yeeld him a reason thereof. Whereunto he answered, that there was a law among the Iewes, that no man should taste of the sacrifices that had not first of all visited the temple, and sacrificed vnto God; and that in that respect he had not hitherto visited his maiesty, because hee expected certaine presents to present his Highnes with from his father, who was his bounden seruant. Furthermore, hee alledged, that he had punished his fathers seruant, because hee had disobeyed his commandement, which he ought not to doe, whether his master were either noble or ignoble: and if (said he) we chastise not such men, as they haue deserued, expect (O King) that you also shall be neglected by your subiects.

When *Ptolomey* heard these words, hee began to smile, and wondred at the magnanimitie of the young man. *Arion* perceiuing that the king held himselfe satisfied, and that he was like to haue no assistance at his hands, deliuered *Hircanus* the thousand talents, and by this meanes was he set at libertie. Some three daies after, *Hircanus* came and saluted both the king and *Queene*, who entertained him graciously, and feasted him kindly, for the affection sake which they bare vnto his father. He priuily enquiring among the marchants, bought one hundreth young lads well lettered, and in the flower of their age, paying a talent for euery one; and the like number of virgins for so many talents. Being therefore invited to a banquet by the king, with all the Princes and other Lords, he was placed beneath them all, because that (by reason of his young yeeres) they had assigned the places, according to euery mans dignitie, made small accompt of him. Now when as all the guests, after they had eaten their meates, laid all their bones before *Hircanus*, so that the table was loaden round about him, a certaine pleasant fellow of the Kings called *Triphon* (whose merry conceits and jests the king very willingly listned vnto) during the time hee was at meat, being solicited by those that were at the table, came vnto the king and said vnto him. See here my liege, what store of bones are before *Hircanus*: hereby you may coniecture, that his father hath flected all Syria, as he hath bared these bones of flesh. The king laughing at *Triphons* words, asked *Hircanus* how he came by so many bones before him? Not without great cause (said he) O king; for dogges deuoure the flesh with the bones, as these doe (in which speech he glanced at those who sat with him at the table, because they had no bones before them) but men eat the flesh, and cast the bones away, as I do, because I am a man. The king wondring at his discreet answer, commaunded all the rest to applaud him, in approbation of his witty vrbanity.

The next day he sought out all the kings friends, and the principals in court, and saluted them one by one, enquiring of their seruants, what presents they would court the king with vpon the birth of his sonne? Who told him, that some of them would giue twelve talents, and other some that were in dignitie, would present him according to their ability. Whereupon *Hircanus* made a shew of discontent, in that he wanted power to offer such a present, pretending that hee had no more but five talents. All which these seruants presently reported to their masters: who were very ioyfull thereat, for the hope they had conceiued that *Ioseph* should be blamed, and would offend the King throw the abiectnes of his present. Now when the day of the solemnity was come, and they likewise that pretended to present the king most magnificently, offered no more then twenty talents: *Hircanus* presented the hundreth young Lads hee had bought, to the King; and the virgins vnto *Cleopatra*: for whom hee had paid a talent by the pottle. At this unexpected magnificence of his gift, all men were amazed: but besides this, he gaue gifts of diuers talents to the king and *Queenes* fauourites and seruants, and their attendants; whereby hee warranted himselfe from the danger that might fall vnto him by their meantes. For the brothers of *Hircanus* had written vnto them, to murder him. *Ptolomey* was highly delighted in the great magnificence of this young man, and willed him to aske what soeuer gift he best liked at his hands. But he required no other thing, but that it would please the King to recommend him, by his letters, to his father and brethren. When as therefore the King had singularly honoured him, and had giuen him many bountifull rewards, he wrote vnto his father & his brethren, and all his gouernours, and commissaries, and in that sort sent him away. His brothers hearing newes how hee had in all things highly contented the King, and that hee returned with great glory, they issued out to meet with him, with an intent to murder him, with their fathers knowledge. For hee being displeased with him, by reason of his aboue named large expence, had no care to warrantize him: yett he could not be his dissonner for feare of the king. But when his brothers came and en-

Hircanus iests

Hircanus sol-
dying what o-
ther men
would giue,
gaue more
then the rest,
for which he
receiueth an-
other kindly
reward.

Hircanus bro-
thers assailing
him on the
way, are slaine
and discom-
fited.

The years of the world, 3780. before Christ's birth, 174.

Iosephs death. Onias, and after him Simo his sonne high priest. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4.

countred him on the way, he slew diuers of those that accompanied them, & two of his brethren also were left slaine vpon the place, and the rest fled vnto Ierusalem vnto their father. And when as vpon his repaire vnto Ierusalem, he perceiued that no man entertained him, he waxed afraid, and departed presently from thence to the other side of Iordan, where he past his life in receiving and gathering the tributes of the Barbarians. In that time *Seleucus* surnamed *Soter* the sonne of *Antiochus* the great reigned in Asia. At that time also died *Ioseph*, *Hircanus* father, who was a man of good conceit and great courage; who established the people of the Iewes in their entire peace, and hath released them from pouverie and many disasters, & had held the tributes of Syria, Phoenicia, and Samaria for the space of twenty two yeeres. His vnckle *Onias* died also about the same time; leaving the Priesthood to his sonne *Simon*; after whose death, his sonne *Onias* was made high priest: to whom *Arius* king of Lacedemon sent an embassage and letters, the copie whereof H hereafter ensueth.

CHAP. V.

The friendship and societie of the Lacedemonians, with Onias the high Priest of the Iewes.

The letter of the king of Lacedemon to the high priest of the Iewes. 1. Machab. 12.

A Rius King of Lacedemon, to *Onias* Health: We haue found out a certaine writing wherein it is recorded, that the Iewes and Lacedemonians are of the same race, and both of them descended from *Abraham*. It is therefore requisite, that since you are our brethren, that you giue vs to vnderstand wherein we may pleasure you. The like will we doe also, and will repute that which is yours to be ours; as that which is ours, shall in communie be yours. *Demoteles* our messenger bringeth you our letters foulded in square, the scale whereof is an Eagle holding a Dragon in her talons. These were the contents of the Lacedemonians letters. After the death of *Ioseph* it came to passe, that the people began to mutine in the quarrell of his children. For the elder brethren made warre against *Hircanus*, who was the younger, by means whereof the people were diuided: The greater part of them followed the Elder faction, and the high Priest *Simon* also, by reason of his affinity with them, followed their party. Whereupon, *Hircanus* resolved to repaire no more vnto Ierusalem, but fixing his habitation on the other side of Iordan, he made continual warre against the Arabians, slaying a great number of them, and taking many prisoners. He builded a huge tower of white marble from the bottom to the top, K and on the same planted he the figures of many liuing creatures in sculpture of great height. About the same hee drew and forced a deepe trench of flowing water; and hauing hewed the front of the rocke that stood opposite against his building, he made diuers caues therein, many furlongs long. He made also diuers chambers therein, both to eate, sleepe, and dwell in. He drew thither likewise currents of springing water, in so great abundance, that it gaue much delight to those that dwelt there, and great ornament to the whole building. The mouth of euery caue was so little, that but one onely man could enter at once: which he therefore made so narrow, because they might the better serue for his securitie and refuge; that if so be he were at any time assailed by his brethren, he might auoid the danger of surprisall. Moreover hee builded many huge halles, which he adorned with great and goodly gardens: and this place thus builded, was called by him L Tyre; and is situate betwene Arabia and Iudæa, on the other side of Iordan, not farre from the country of *Essebonitis*. He commaunded in this country some seuen yeeres, all that time that *Seleucus* reigned in Syria. After whose death, his brother *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, obtained the kingdom. *Ptolomey* also king of Egypt (who was likewise called *Epiphanes*) died, & left two children very yong behind him, of whom the eldest was called *Philometor*, and the younger *Phiscon*. When as therefore *Hircanus* perceiued *Antiochus* grew mighty and strong, and feared to be punished by him for his executions done against the Arabians, hee slew himselfe with his owne hands, and *Antiochus* enioied all his goods.

The years of the world, 3790. before Christ's birth, 174.

Antiochus Epiphanes king of Syria. The sonnes of Ptolomey Epiphanes, Philometor and Phiscon. Hircanus killeth himselfe. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. 1. Machab. 1. Iesus created high Priest by Antiochus Epiphanes. Iesus deprived of the priesthood.

CHAP. VI.

A mutinie of the rich Iewes against the other.

A Nias the high Priest being dead about this time, *Antiochus* gaue the priesthood to his brother. For that sonne, vnto whom *Onias* had left the succession, was as yet verie yong (of whom we will speake in conuenient time and place.) This *Iesus* (*Onias* brother) was deprived of the priesthood, thorow the kings displeasure conuicted against him, who gaue

The years of the world, 3790. before Christ's birth, 174. Onias surnamed Menelaus substituted in his place. The wars betwixt Iason & Menelaus. Apollates from the Iewes with religion.

A gaue it shortly after to his yonger brother called *Onias*. For *Simon* had three sonnes, who, as we haue declared, successiue possessed the priesthood: this *Iesus* caused himselfe to be called *Iason*, as his other brother caused himselfe to be called *Menelaus*, whereas his name was *Onias*. But *Iesus*, who had first of all bene established in the place of the high Priest, arose against *Menelaus*, who was elected in the place after him. The people therefore were diuided into factions, and *Tobias* sonnes were on *Menelaus* side: but the greater number of people followed *Iason*: so that *Menelaus* and the sonnes of *Tobias* being grieuouly vexed by them, retired themselves to *Antiochus*, giuing him to vnderstand, that it was their intent to forsake the religion and ordinances of their fathers, and to follow that of the kings, and to liue after the maner of the Greeks; exhorting him to giue them licence to erect a place of Exercises in Ierusalem. Which when *Antiochus* had granted them, they so demeaned themselves, that there appeared no more signe of Circumcision in them; so that at such time as they were naked, there was no difference betwene them and the Greekes, and neglecting all the ordinances and customes of their country, they conformed themselves to the behauiour and manners of other nations. *Antiochus* hauing all things in his kingdom, according to his hearts desire, resolved to make warre in Egypt; desiring to bee possessed of the same, both for that he contemned *Ptolomeys* sonnes age, (who was as yet weake) as also for that they were not as yet capable to manage their so mighty estates. Arriuing therefore neere to Pelusium with a great power, he circumvented by a subtil policie the yong *Ptolomey Philometor*, and subdued Egypt: for after he had besieged Memphis and taken the same, he came to Alexandria, with an intent to besiege the Citie, and to lay hold of the king who was therein. **C** But he was driuen, not onely from Alexandria, but also out of all Egypt, by the summons that was sent him in the name of the Romans, who commanded him to depart, and dislodge his armie out of that country, as we haue heretofore declared in an other place. Now will I more largely and particularly discourse the actes and gests of this king, who ouercame Iudæa, and spoiled the temple: For hauing onely made a briefe mention of him in my former workes, I thinke it necessarie in this place to make a more exact recitall of his Historie.

CHAP. VII.

Antiochus leadeth out his army against Ierusalem, taketh the Citie and spoileth the Temple.

D

A Fter that King *Antiochus* was returned out of Egypt, and for the feare of the Romans had forsaken that country, he led his army against Ierusalem, and encamped before the Citie, and surprisid it by surrender, in that the gates of the Citie were set open vnto him by those of his faction: all which hapned in the hundreth, fortie and third yeere of the raigne begun by *Seleucus*. Now when he saw himselfe Lord and master of Ierusalem, hee slew diuers of the contrarie faction; and after he had gathered together many great and rich spoiles, he returned backe to Antioch. This misfortune hapned some two yeeres after the surprisall of the Citie, in the hundreth, fortie and fise yeere of the raigne of that family, on the fise and twentieth day of that moneth which we call Chasseu, and the Macedons Apellaus, the Romans December; in the hundreth, fiftie & three Olympiade; at which time he neither spared them, who gaue him peaceable entrance, and opened him the gates, & effected him the meanes to spoile the inestimable riches of the temple, with greater freedom: but beeing no lesse tyrannous to the friend, then to the offender, hee spared neither. For hauing seene what quantitie of gold was in the temple, and how huge a number of presents and precious ornaments were in the same, hee was so ouercome with couetousnesse, that hee brake and violated all conuentions and conditions. After therefore hee had spoiled the temple, and carried away the vessels dedicated vnto God, the golden candlestick, the golden altar, the table of the shew bread, the censers, & pulled downe the curtaines made of fine linnen and scarlet; after hee had emptied the treasures that were hidden, and left nothing behind him of any valew: he drowned all the Iewes in grieuous lamentations. For he inhibited and forbad them to offer their vsuall and daily sacrifice vnto God, according to the prescript order of the law: and after he had spoiled the whole Citie, he slew a part of the inhabitants, and carried away the rest of them into captiuitie, with their wiues and children, to the number of ten thousand. Furthermore, he burned the fairest buildings of the Citie, and raised the walles, and raised a fortresse in the lower Citie. For the temple was as it were a high citidell, commanding the rest. For this cause, hauing inclosed it with high walles

Antiochus entering Ierusalem spoileth the temple. The years of the world, 3796. before Christ's birth, 168.

The years of the world, 3798. before the birth of Christ, 166.

The year of the world, 3798, before Christ's Nativity, 166. Antiochus abrogating Gods law the way extreme t. rainy enforced the Iewes to idolatry, and forthwith the temple. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7.

and towers, he planted a garrison of Macedonians therein, with whom remained the rabble and scumme of the wicked Apostate Iewes, who were giuen ouer to all impieties, & who also afflicted their fellow Citizens with many and mischievous injuries. The King also commanded that an Altar should be erected in the temple, on which he caused swine to be slaughtered, offering sacrifice contrary to religion and ordinance of the Iewes. Hee constrained them likewise to forsake their deuotion towards God, and to adore those Idols whom he reuerenced for Gods, building in euery Citie and Borough both Temples & Altars, on whom he ordinarily caused swine to be offered. He forbade them likewise to circumcise their children, threatening to punish him whoeuer he were, that was found to doe the contrary. Moreover, he chose certaine ouersers that should constrain them to fulfill his commandement; so that a great number of Iewes, some of their owne accord, other some for feare of the threatned punishment, endeouored themselves to satisfie the kings decree. But those men who were of vpright hearts, and valiant minds, little respected these menaces: For hauing more respect to their lawes and customes, then to the torments wherewith they were menaced, if they performed not the edict; they were beaten, and exposed to most cruell punishment, for many daies, amidst the which they yielded vp the ghost. For after they were whipt & maimed in their bodies, they were crucified & tortured aliuie: they strangled the women also with their circumcised children, whom according to the Kings command they hung about the neckes of their parents, who were crucified: And if in any place they found any sacred scripture, they defaced and burnt it; and they with whom it was found, were put to a most cruell death.

The Samaritans seeing this affliction of the Iewes, claimed them no more for their kinsmen, I and called their temple of Garizim no more the temple of God, but (as we haue heretofore declared) they shewed their own corrupt & vnconstant natures, and challenged their descent from the Medes and Persians, as in effect they were: for which cause they sent embassadours to Antiochus with letters to this effect; *To King Antiochus the mightie God, the suggestion of the Sidonians that dwell in Sichem.* Our ancestors enforced by the continuall pestilence chat raunged in their country, & induced by a certaine auncient superstition, haue been accustomed to obserue that day as festiuall, which the Iewes call their Sabbath; and hauing builded on the mount of Garizim a temple, & dedicated it vnto a God, who hath no name, haue offered vp in the same diuers & solemn sacrifices. But since that you haue inflicted punishment on the Iewes, according as their wickedness deserueth, the commissaries of the King supposing that we were tied to their customes (by reason of some alliance betwene vs) couple vs with them, and charge vs with the same accusations: whereas we are borne Sidonians, as it appeareth by the rolles of our commonweale. We therefore beseech you, who are our benefactor and Sauour, to command your gouernour Apollonius, and your steward Nicanor, not to molest vs any more, by charging vs with those accusations which appertaine vnto the Iewes: who neither are tied vnto vs by alliance, neither accord with vs in manners; but that our temple, which hath not hitherto borne the name of title of any God, may now be called the temple of *Iupiter* of Greece: by which means we shall be deliuered from all trouble, and being at libertie to intend our affaires, we may the easier & more willingly pay you greater tributes. To this request of the Samaritans the King answered, sending them backe their owne letter: King Antiochus to Nicanor; Health. The Sidonians of of Sichem haue sent vs this suggestion; which wee annex vnto these our letters. Since therefore they, who were sent vnto vs to this intent, haue sufficiently approued both to vs and our counsell of friends, that they are utterly strangers vnto those crimes, wherewith the Iewes are charged, and are desirous to liue according to the lawes of the Grecians, wee abolute them in as much as concerneth this cause, and their temple, which hereafter shall be called by the name of *Iupiter* of Greece: wee haue written to the like effect also to Apollonius our Magistrate. Giuen the forty and sixt yeere, and the cleuenth of the moneth Hecatombæon, which signifieth August.

CHAP. VIII.

Antiochus forbiddeth the Iewes to use their lawes: onely Matthias the sonne of Asimonæus contradicteth him, and obtaineth the victory against Antiochus captaines.



That same time there dwelt a certain man in Modin (a village of Iury) whose name was Matthias, who was the sonne of Iohn, and who was the sonne of Simon, the sonne of Asimonæus a priest of the ranke of *Isarib*, borne in Ierusalem: This Matthias had five sons,

Iohn

The year of the world, 3799, before Christ's birth, 165. The zeale and piety of Matthias and his sonnes.

A. Iohn called Gaddi, Simon called Matthes, Judas called Machabæus, Eleazar named Auron, and Ienuthas called Apphus. This Matthias oftentimes complained vnto his sonnes, as touching the miserable estate of their Common-weale, the sacke of their Citie, the sacrilege of the Temple, and the miseries of the people, telling them that it were better for them to die for the law, then to liue in ignominie. When as therefore the Commissaries deputed by the King, came vnto the Borough of Modin, to constrain the Iewes to performe that which was enioyned them, and to command them to sacrifice, according to the ordinance; requiring Matthias (who surpassed the rest in honor, and other qualities, but in especiall in excellencie of descent and nobilitie) to begin first of all to offer sacrifice, to the end that the rest might follow him & be induced by his example; promising him that in so doing, the King would honour him greatly: Matthias answered thereunto, that he would in no sort commit that idolatry, assuring the thar notwithstanding al other nations of the world, either in respect of loue, or for fear of iustice should obey the edicts of Antiochus; yet that neither hee, nor any of his children could or would be induced to forsake their fathers religion. Now as soone as he had returned this answer, and held his peace, a certaine Iew stepped forth to offer sacrifice according to Antiochus ordinance; wherewith Matthias was in such sort displeased, that both he and his sonnes fell vpon him, and with their Iwordes hewed him in peeces. He slew Apelles the kings captain likewise, with certain other soldiers, who would haue withstood him. And not content herewith, he ouerthrew the Altar, crying out with a loud voice: If (said hee) any one be affectioned to the lawes of his fathers, and the seruice of God, let him follow me: and this said, he sodainly retired himselfe into the desert with his sons, leauing the borough utterly dispossessed. The rest doing the like, retired themselves into the desert, with their wiues and children, and made their habitation in certaine caues. The kings captaines hauing intelligence hereof, gathered those forces that were at that time in the Cittadel of Ierusalem, and pursued the Iewes into the desert. And hauing ouertaken them, they laboured first of all, to make them submit themselves, and to make choice of that which stood with their profit, rather then to indaunger themselves, and inforce them to chastise their disobedience, with blood in war. But the Iewes respected them not a whit, but contradicted them in their demands, who had already concluded and resolved among themselves, rather to die then commit such an impietie: For which cause they (who omitted no opportunitie) assailed the Iewes on a Sabbath day, and burned them within their caues, who neither eslied their enemies, nor so much as closed vp the mouths of their caues: And therefore abstained they from all defence by reason of the day, resolving with themselves in no sort to violate the Sabbath day (for we are commanded to cease from all labour, on that day.) There were therefore about some thousand stifled in their caues, accounting both men, women and children. Yet notwithstanding, diuers escaped, who ioined themselves with Matthias, whom they appointed likewise for their captaine; who declared vnto them that they ought to fight on the Sabbath daie, assuring them that if they did it not, but scrupulously obserued the law, they themselves should be enemies vnto themselves, if perhaps the enemy should assaile them that day, and should not stand vpon their garde: for by that means they should be destroyed without resist. By these words he perswaded them to doe as he had said: and vntill this day it is a custome among vs, that if need require we make no difficulty to fight on the Sabbath day. Matthias therefore hauing assembled a sufficient number of men about him, destroyed the Altars, and slue those that had forsaken their religion, as many of them as he could lay hands on. For diuers were scattered heere and there among the nations, for the feare they had; these commaunded hee to circumcise their children that were not circumcised; driuing those from euery place, whom King Antiochus had ordained to see his lawes executed.

After therefore Matthias had gouerned for the space of one yeere, hee fell sicke of a most desperate disease; for which cause he called for his sonnes, and spake vnto them after this manner. My sonnes, I must now walke the way that is destinated vnto all men: I therefore commend and exhort you to follow my deliberation, and diligently to obserue the same, remembering you of the intent of me your father, who haue begot and nourished you, which is, to maintain the lawes of our country, and to establish our estate, which is vpon the point to be ouerthrowen, except you submit vnto those who either voluntarily or forcibly betray the same: shew your selues therefore to bee worthy sons of me who am your father, strengthen your hearts with courage to ouercome all force and necessity; thinking with your selues, that if God see that you be such, hee will not forsake you, but taking pleasure in your vertue, he will once more graunt you the fauour to recouer your former peace and liberty; and will establish you in assured possession

Ff 3.

of

An Apostate slaine by Matthias.

Matthias with his sons fled into the desert.

The Iewes are slaine on the Sabbath day, which slaughter maketh Matthias more wearie.

Matthias teacheth out all Idolatry.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8.

Matthias exhorteth his sons to pietie: fortitude and concord.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

of your ancient lawes. True it is, our bodies are mortall and subiect vnto destiny; but the memory of our vertuous actions are enfranchised by immortality: being therefore stirred vp with the loue thereof, strue and bestirre your selues to obtaine honour, to the end that projecting mightie things, you make no difficulty to hazard your liues in the execution of the same. About at things, I exhort you vnto concord, to the end that in whatsoeuer one of you shall be found more rally apt and fitted then another, hee may prosecute the same without any contradiction of the rest. I charge you also to obserue and obey your brother *Simon* (who is a politique and valiant man) in whatsoeuer he shall counsell you. As touching your chieftaine, you shall serue vnder *chabaus*, because he is both valiant and strong: for he shall reuenge the iniuries & outrages, which haue bene done to our nation, and put our enemies to flight: second him therefore with men of valour, and such as feare God: and by this meanes you shall augment your forces.

CHAP. IX.

Matthias dieth, and his sonne Iudas succeedeth him.

2. Mac. 3.
Matthias
death.
Iudas Macha-
beus appoin-
ted gouernor.

After *Matthias* had spoken in this sort vnto his sonnes, and praied God to fauour their enterprises, and to restore the people to their ancient policie, and the accustomed fashion of their life, which they had in former times continued and obserued; he diied anon after, and was buried in Modin. And after the people had grievously lamented and mourned for him, for a certaine time; and performed publicly such honour in his funerals, as was agreeable to his estate: his sonne *Iudas Machabeus* tooke vpon him the gouernment of the warres, in the hundreth fortie and sixt yeere; and by the assistance both of his brethren & other Iewes, he draue the enemies out of the countrey, & put those of his owne nation to death, who had forsaken their religion; and purged the countrey of all vncleanness, which had bene brought into it.

CHAP. X.

Apollonius generall of Antiochus army, commeth into Iurie, and is discomfited and slaine.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9.
Iudas Machabeus ouercometh Apollonius in battell.
Seron gouernor of Coelolyria is put to flight in Iudæa.

When *Apollonius*, who was *Antiochus* generall in Samaria heard hereof, hee gathered his army together, and invaded Iudæa: against whom *Machabeus* made head, & ouercame him in a battell, wherein there died many, and among the rest *Apollonius*, whose sword *Machabeus* got as his part in the spoile. There were a great number of them also who were wounded, and much bootie was taken in the enemies campe: after which execution enriched with spoiles, he retired himselfe. But *Seron* gouernour of Coelolyria hearing hereof, and vnderstanding that diuers had ioyned themselves with *Iudas*, and that hee had already about him a sufficient power to keepe the field, and bid the battell; hee thought that it concerned him to begin to punish those, who resisted the kings Edicts. For which cause, after hee had assembled all the forces that he had, and besides them hired certaine apostate or fugitiue Iewes, he marched forth against *Iudas*, and came as farre as Bethoron a village in Iewry, where hee incamped. *Iudas* also came out to meete with him, determining with himselfe to bid him battell: and seeing that his souldiers would hardly be drawne out to fight (both by reason of their inequalitye of number, as also for that they had eaten no meate, but had fasted a long time) he encouraged them, saying, that the meanes to obtaine victorie, and to haue the vpper hand ouer their enemies, consisted not in the greatnes of their number; but in their deuotion towards God: wherof they had a most euident example in their forefathers, who had oftentimes defeated with a small number of men diuers thousand of their enemies, because they fought for iustice, for their law, & for their children: for the greatest force (saied he) that a man may haue, is to be innocent and without iniurie. By these words perswaded he his souldiers, so that without any feare of the multitude of their enemies, they altogether ranne vpon *Seron*, and encountering with him, they discomfited the Syrians. For their chieftaine being slaine, all the rest betooke them to their heeles, in which thing only consisted the safetie of their liues. *Iudas* therefore, pursuing them as farre as the champaigne, slew about eight hundreth of them. The rest saued themselves in those quarters that bounded vpon the sea.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Lysias and Gorgias lead their armies into Iewry, and are overthrowne.

When King *Antiochus* heard these tidings, he was highly displeased at that which had hapned: he therefore assembled all his forces, and hiring diuers strangers & mercenary Islanders, hee prepared himselfe to invade Iudæa about the spring time. But after the muster of his army, when he truly found that his treasures failed him, & that he was in great scarcitie of money (for all his tributes were not truly paid him, because the Nations were rebellious) being likewise in his owne nature a man of a great & magnificent spirit, that he could not be contented with that which he then had, he resolved first of all to goe into Persia, to gather his tributes. He therefore left the charge of his affaires with *Lysias* (a man very much esteemed by him, and such a one as gouerned all the countrey from Euphrates, as farre as the borders of Egypt, and the lower Asia) giuing him likewise a part of his army and some of his Elephants. To him had the king giuen charge to see his sonne *Antiochus* well and carefully trained vp, vntill his returne: commanding him expressly, that when he had conquered Iudæa, he should make the inhabitants thereof his slaues, and sell them to those that would giue most, & destroy Ierusalem, and utterly abolish that race. The king hauing giuen this charge to *Lysias*, led forth his armie towards the countrey of Persia, in the hundreth, fortie and seauenth yeere: and after hee had passed Euphrates, he marched onward toward the gouernours of the higher countrey.

As for *Lysias*, hee chose *Pholomey* the sonne of *Dorymenis*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* (men of great power and authoritie amongst the kings friends) and gauethem forty thousand footmen, and seuen thousand horsemen, to invade Iewry. Who marching as farre as the citie of Emaus, encamped in the plaine field, and strengthened their army with diuers allies out of Syria, & of the countreies thereabouts, and with diuers Iewes also, who were Apostataes. There came also certaine Merchants with them, with an intent to buy those that should be taken prisoners, bringing Giues with them to manicle those that should be apprehended, and money to pay for them.

When *Iudas* had viewed the campe, and numbred the enemy, he encouraged his souldiers, exhorting them to repose their confidence and hope of victory on God, willing them to inuocate and call vpon him, according to their law, and that clothing themselves in sackcloth, they should humble themselves according to their accustomed manner in such extreme dangers, and call vpon God with supplications and prayers; and that in so dooing, God would haue compassion on them, and giue them force to stand against their enemies, and put them to shame. When as therefore he had arranged his battell, according to the ancient custome of his countrey, by thousands and hundreths, and sent away those that were newly married, and such as had newly bought possessions, for feare lest such men being too niggard of their liues, or distracted by such affections, should not fight courageously: he stood vp in the midst of them, inciting his souldiers to fight valiantly, in these or such like words; My countremen and companions, neuer haue wee hitherto had any occasion more necessary, wherein we ought to expresse our courages, and contemne our dangers, then at this present. For at this time, if you fight courageously, you may recouer your libertie: which of it selfe is so acceptable vnto you all, that beeing of it selfe most desired, ought the rather more earnestly to be affected, because by it onely you shall win the meanes to serue God.

As therefore you shall be disposed at this time, you may obtaine the same, & withall enioy a happy life (which consisteth in liuing according to our lawes and ancient customes) if you behaue your selues valiantly: but if you proue cowards in fight, you are to expect no worse then the extremities of infamie, and hope no lesse then the vter extermination of all your race. Think therefore with your selues, that if you fight not, you must die: and on the other side, assure your selues that in fighting for your libertie, for your lawes, and for pietie, you shall obtaine immortall glorie: prepare your courages therefore in such sort, that to morrow morning you may bid your enemies battell. Thus spake *Iudas* to his army, to encourage them.

Whilst thus hee was intent about the future battell, certaine tidings was brought him, that *Gorgias* was sent with one thousand horsemen, and five thousand footmen, to the end that (vnder the conduct of some fugitiues, he might by night time, and when he least suspected him, set vpon him: Whereupon he decreed the very same night to breake into the enemies army, especially for that he knew that their forces were diuided. Hauing therefore refreshed both himselfe & his army somewhat liuely, and left a number of fires in his campe, hee marched all the night, and sought out the enemy, who was at Emaus. *Gorgias* perceiving that the Iewes had forsaken their campe, supposed

Antiochus
preparation to
invade Iudæa.

The year of the
world, 3800. Be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 164.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10.
Ptolomey, Gorgias, and Nicanors war in Iudæa.

Iudas oration to his souldiers.

1. Mach. 4.

308

The year of the
world, 3800. be-
fore Christ's birth
164.

supposed that they were retired for feare into the mountains to hide themselves: For which cau-
les trauailing onward, he determined to search diligently in what place they might be. But early
in the morning, *Judas* accompanied with three thousand men (who were slenderly armed by rea-
son of their poverty) shewed himselfe vnto his enemies, who were at Emaus; and after hee had
fornied and seene their warlike discipline, and mightie number, and how souldier-like they were
encamped, he exhorted his followers, telling them that it concerned them to fight, notwithstanding
that they should be naked: for although they were in that estate, yet God (who tooke pleasure in
the greauesse of their courage) had already given them the victorie against a number of armed
souldiers: and suddainly he commaunded the trumpets to sound, to that rushing in vpon his en-
emies on the suddaine, he dismayed them, and discomfited their hearts. And after he had slaine di-
uers of them who resisted, and put all the rest to flight, hee pursued them as farre as *Gadara*; and
the *Plaines of Idumæa*, of *Azor*, and of *Iamnia*. In this countrie there died about some three
thousand of the enemy. Notwithstanding, *Judas* would not permit his souldiers as yet to take the
benefit of the spoile, because they were as yet to fight against *Gorgias* & his army; assuring them,
that as soone as they had valiantly executed the same, it should be lawfull for them to make their
booty, without feare, because they should haue no further enemies either to feare or expect.

*Judas over-
cometh Lyfias
army.*

Whilſt hee spake in this sort vnto his souldiers, they that were with *Gorgias* discovering from
the toppe of a certaine hill, perceived that the armie that was left behind them, was put to flight;
and that their camp was on fire: for although they were farre off, yet did the smoake assure them
of the same. When these men vnderstood that the matter had fallen out in this sort, & perceived
that *Judas* and his fellowes in battel ray expected their comming, they feared, and betooke them
to flight. When as therefore *Judas* perceived that *Gorgias* troups were discomfited, without
stroke stricken, he went out to gather the pillage; and after hee had gotten together great store of
gold, siluer, scarlet, & purple, hee returned to his dwelling place, with ioy, praising God for their
happy successe: for this victorie did not a litle aduantage them, towards the attaineement of their
libertie. But *Lyfias* being confused at the discomfiture of those whom he had sent, assembled an
other armie of almost three score thousand chosen men, & five thousand horsemen, to invade *Iu-
dæa*. After he had therefore made his entrie by the mountaines, hee encamped in *Bethsura*, a vil-
lage of *Iudæa*.

*Judas gather-
eth a huge
prey.*

*Lyfias once
more inva-
deth Iudæa &
Ioseph & thou-
sand of his
souldiers.*

Judas hauing knowledge thereof, came forth against him, accompanied with tenne thousand
men; and discovering the number of his enemies farre to exceed his (after he had besought God &
by prayer that it would please him to fight with him) hee charged the vaunguard of the enemy
with lo great force, that he discomfited them, & slew about some five thousand of them, leaving
the rest in great feare. *Lyfias* knowing the resolution of the Iewes, and how they were prest to die,
except they might liue in liberty; on the other side redoubting their desperations, more thē their
forces, he gathered together the rest of his army, and returned back to *Antioch*: where he sojour-
ned, hiring many forraigne souldiers, to make a greater army & preparation to invade *Iewry* with-
all. After that *Antiochus* captaines had been discomfited so many times, *Judas* assembled the peo-
ple together, and told them, that after they had obtained so many victories thorow the mercie of
God, it behoued them to ascend vnto *Ierusalem*, and to purifie the temple that was desolated;
and to offer thole sacrifices ordained by the law. Ascending therefore thither with a multitude of
people, he found the temple desert, and the gates thereof burned, and grasse growing within the
same, thorow desolation. Being therefore confused with so pitious a spectacle, he began to weepe
with all those that accompanied him: And hauing chosen out certaine of his best souldiers, he com-
maunded them to enforce the garrisons that were in the fortreſſe; whiles hee himselfe purged the
temple. Which command of his being exactly and resolutely fulfilled, hee sent for new vessels, a
candleſticke, a table, an altar of incense, all made of gold. Hee put also vailles or hangings to the
doores, accustomed to be ſpred abroad; and ſet gates to the temple. And hauing thrown downe
the altar of burnt offerings, which had been prophaned by *Antiochus*, he builded a new of sorts
of stones, neither hewen, nor hammered according to arte. The five & twentieth day of the mo-
neth of *Chasleu* (with vs September) there were lights sette vpon the candleſticks, and perfumes
laid vpon the altar, & loaves imposed vpon the table, and sacrifices offered vpon the new altar. All
which hapned the same day three yeeres wherein before time the sacred Religion was changed
into prophane and hatefull impietie. For the temple was ruinated and left desolate by *Antiochus*,
and remained in that estate for the space of three whole yeeres. For this desolation hapned in the
hundredth, forty and fift yeere, & the five and twentieth day of the moneth called *Apellæus* or *At-
guſt*; in the hundredth, fiftie and three Olympiade: and the temple was repaired on the ſameday,
in

The Temple of
Ierusalem.
The year of the
world, 3800. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tinitie, 163.

The Temple
left desolate
for 3 whole
yeeres space.
Daniel. 12.

A in they were one hundredth, fortie and eight; and the hundredth, fiftie and fourth Olympiade. This
desolation of the temple hapned, according as *Daniel* had foreprophecied, foure hundred & eight
yeeres before: for he declared euidently that the Macedonians should destroy the same.

After that *Judas* had reſta-
blished the seruice of the temple, both hee & his countymen solem-
nized a feast for eight daies, omitting not any kind of honest pleasure, banquetting them sumptu-
ously and magnificently, and honouring God in Hymnes & Psalmes. Thus reioyced they at this
reſta-
blishment, seeing that contrary to all hope after so long time, they had recovered the cu-
stomes of their countrey, and their ancient Religion: so that a decree was made for those vvich
should come after, whereby it was commaunded, that for the space of eight daies the rebuilding
of the temple should be solemnized, with the ceremonies and ancient ordinances: and euer since
B that time vntill this day we celebrate this feast, called the feast of Lights; for this cause in my opi-
nion, for that this so great felicitie began to shine vnto vs as a light, contrary to all hope. Hee in-
closed the Citie like wife with a wall, and builded high towers thereon, in which hee planted gar-
risons against the incursions of the enemies. He fortified the Citie of *Bethsura* also, that it might
serue as a fort against the enemy.

Whilſt these things passed thus, the nations round about displeased with the reſta-
blishment and force of the Iewes, oppressed diuers, whom they surprized by ambuſhes and treacherie. On
those *Judas* made continuall war to hinder their incursions, and to make them partakers of those
evils they had inflicted vpon the Iewes. So that invading *Acrabathan*, hee slew the *Idumæans*
that were delcended from *Eſau*, and brought away a great prey out of their countrey, and shut vp
C the sonnes of *Baan* their prince, who lay in waite for the Iewes; and hauing besieged them, hee
ouercame them, setting fire on their towers, and killing all the men that were therein. After this
he departed from thence, and made war vpon the *Ammonites*, who had a great and mighty ar-
mie, vnder the conduct of *Timotheus*. These did he encounter with and overcome, & tooke their
Citie of *Iazor*, and burned it, and led away their wives and children into captiuitie, & afterwards
returned into *Iudæa*. The neighbouring nations hearing of his departure, assembled themselves
together in *Galaad* against the Iewes, who inhabited the frontiers of *Galaad*; who hauing retired
themselves to the fort of *Dathema*, sent letters vnto *Judas*, giuing him to vnderstand, that *Tim-
otheus* intended to surprize the place whereunto they were retreated, and requested him to deliuer
them from this danger. And whilſt he was reading of these letters, certaine messengers came vi-
D to him out of *Galilee*, giuing him to vnderstand, that they were assaulted by the inhabitants of
Ptolemais, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and other people thereabouts.

The festiual
solemnized
for the reſta-
blishment of
the temple.

*Hedio & Ruf-
firus chap. 11.
Machab. 5.
Judas maketh
continuall
war with the
neighboring
nations.*

*Hedio & Ruf-
firus chap. 12.*

CHAP. XII.

*Judas fighteth with the Ammonites, Simon against the Tyrians, and others,
whom he discomfith.*

E *Judas* bethinking himselfe of that which best concerned him in these two vrgent and in-
stant occasions, commaunded his brother *Simon* to take three thousand chosen men
with him, and to goe and succour those Iewes that were assailed in *Galilee*: and him-
selfe, accompanied with *Jonathan* his other brother, and eight thousand fighting men,
repaired vnto the countrey of *Galaad*; leaving the government of the rest of the forces in the
hands of *Ioseph* the sonne of *Zachary*, and with *Azarias*, commanding them to haue a carefull &
diligent eye to *Iudæa*, and not to enter battell with any one, vntill his returne. *Simon* arriuing
in *Galilee*, fought against his enemies, and discomfited them; and afterwards pursuing them that
ſcidd as farre as the gates of *Ptolemais*, he slew about three thousand: and after he had gathered
the spoiles of such as were slaine, hee ſet many Iewes at libertie, who were prisoners; & hauing re-
stored them their goods, retired himselfe backe againe to his countrey. But *Judas Machabæus*, &
F *Jonathan* his brother hauing past *Iordan*, and marched on the other side thereof for the space of
three daies, encountered with the *Nabatheans*, who peaceably came out to meet them; by who
he vnderstood the estate of those that were in *Galaad*, and how diuers of them were in extreme
penury, inclosed and besieged in Castles and Cities of the countrey by their enemy. Who like-
wise belought him to make haste and encounter the strangers, & to seeke the meanes to ſaue their
countymen. For this cause hee returned into the desert, and first of all assailed the inhabitants of
Bofra, and tooke their Citie, & ſet it on fire, killing all the men that were therein, who were able
to beare armes. Neither was he contented therewith; but whē night drew on, he marched towards
another

*Simon over-
cometh his
enemies in
Galilee, deli-
uereth the
Jewes that
were captiue.
Judas and Jo-
nathan succor
the Iewes be-
sieged in Ga-
laad.*

*Bofra taken
and burnt.
another*

The yeeres of the world, 3801. before Christs Nativity, 163. Judas succoureth the besieged Iewes.

Timothies soldiers slaine. Malla taken & burnt. Chalpoma & Bofor taken. Timothy gathereth new forces, and is overcome by Judas.

The Iewes are brought out of the country of Galaad into Iudæa. Ephron besieged & burnt.

An admirable victorie of Iudas Machabæus, who in all these conflicts lost not one man. Ioseph and Zachary overcome by Gorgias, Iole two thousand soldiers.

Chebron and Marissa besieged.

another Castle where the Iewes were inclosed, and shut vp by *Timothy* and his armie; and attaining the same about the mornings brie, he surprised the enemy, at such time as they were raising their ladders to scale the walles, and addressed their engines for battery; whereupon he caused the trumpet to be sounded, and after hee had encouraged his people to fight valiantly and faithfullie for their kinsmen and friends being in great danger, and had distributed his forces into three battalions, he set vpon the enemies rereward. *Timothus* soldiers perceiuing that it was *Machabæus*, whose valour and good hap they had already approued to their great losse, they without delay tooke themselves to flight. But *Judas* with his army followed after the, & slew about eight thousand of them, and marching towards Malla (a citie of the enemies) he surprised the same, & slew all the men therein, and afterwards consumed it with fire. After this, departing thence, hee tooke and destroyed Chalpoma, Bofor, and diuers other places in Galaad.

Anon after *Timothy* leuied another great army, and drew out with him all his allies to his succour, and a number of Arabians, whom he had hired for wages: with this army of his passed hee the flood, and encamped neere vnto a towne called Rapha, exhorting his souldiers to behaue themselves like valiant men against their enemies the Iewes, & to hinder their passage ouer the streame: foretelling them, that if they should win the passage, both hee & his were assured of the worst. *Judas* vnderstanding that *Timothus* was prepared to fight, tooke with him all his forces, and marched hastily against the enemy; so that hauing passed the riuer he set vpon them, killing diuers of them that resisted, and grievously affrighting the rest, who casting away their armes, were constrained to flie. There were some of them, who saved themselves by swiftnesse of foote: and some also, who retired themselves into a temple called Carnain, where they were in hope to be secured: and so to escape: but after that *Judas* had taken in the Citie where the temple was, he slew them, and burnt the same, enforcing his enemies to suffer diuers and dreadfull sorts of death. After this execution, he led away with him from Galaad all the Iewes, their wiues & children, & substance, and brought them with him into Iudæa. When as therefore he drew neere vnto the towne of Ephron, which was situate directly in his way, so that it was impossible for him to march any other waies or returne home, except they leuelled their way (which they refused to doe) hee sent Embassadors to the inhabitants to pray them to open their gates, and to grant him free passage thorow their citie. For they had made Baricadoes of stones to cut off the passage. When as therefore the Ephronites would giue no eare vnto him, he besieged their Citie for a day and a nights space, and tooke and burned the same, and slew all the men that were therein, and afterwards drew onwards on his way; and so great a number was there of those that were slaine, that hee marched vpon the bodies of dead men.

After they had past Iordan, they came into a great Plaine, wherein the Citie of Bethsan (by the Greekes called Scythopolis) confronted their eyes; from whence they departed & came into Iudæa with ioy and gladnesse, singing and praising God, and vsing their accustomed pastimes & songs of victorie. This done, he offered vp sacrifices of thanksgiving for their happy successe, and the safetie of his army; for that in all those battels and encounters he had not lost one Iew.

In the meane while two captaines, to wit, *Ioseph* the sonne of *Zachary*, and *Azarias*, who were left for the garrison of Iudæa (whilst *Simon* went into the country of Galilee against those of Ptolemais, and *Judas* and *Jonathan* his brother were in Galaad against the Ammonites) desired also for their part to obtaine the honour and reputation of valiant men of warre by some notable exploit; tooke their forces, and went towards Iamnia. Against these issued out *Gorgias*, who was Gouverneur in that place, & charged them in such sort, as the Iewes lost some two thousand men, and fled as far as the marches of Iudæa. This mischief fell vpon them, because they had disobeyed *Judas* commandement, who had prohibited them to fight with any before his returne. For besides many other projects of his warlike prudence, this is to be wondred at, that hee foresaw that if they should attempt any thing contrary to his commaund, they should haue but bad successe therein. *Judas* and his brethren making warre against the Idumæans, gaue them no respite, but continually charged them on euery side: they tooke also the Citie of Chebron, and destroyed all the fortifications in the same, & burnt the towers, spoyling all the country of the enemies, and rased the Citie of Marissa likewise. Afterwards comming to Azot, they tooke & spoiled it, and carried away a great quantitie of bootie from thence, and returned backe into Iudæa in safetie, ioyfull of their victorie.

CHAP.

The yeeres of the world, 3801. before Christs birth 163.

CHAP. XIII.

The death of Antiochus Epiphanes in Persia.

AT that time *Antiochus* trauiailing along the higher countries of his kingdome, vnderstood that there was a very wealthy Citie in Persia called Elymais, in which there was a rich temple of *Diana*, replenished with all sorts of presents: wherein also he was informed, that *Alexanders* armes and curers, who was *Philip* king of Macedons son, were reserued there of long time. Vpon these considerations he was incited to repaire vnto Elymais, which he besieged & laboured to take by force. And for that the inhabitants thereof, were neither affrighted with his approach, nor terrified with his siege, but sustained the same valiantly, he failed of his purpose. For they draue him from their citie, and falling out vpon him, they pursued him so hotly, that he fled back to Babylon, and lost a great number of his men. Whilst thus he was discomfited, for that he had been frustrated of his hope, newes was brought him of the overthrow of his captaines, whom he had left to warre against the Iewes, and how they of Iewry were now the stronger, and had the vpper hand. This trouble seconding his former discontent, he was surprised with despaire, and fell sick; which sicknesse aggravated with other accidents, increased in such sort, that he knew well that he should die: and for that cause he called for his most familiar friends, and certified them, that his sicknesse was violent and desperate, and that hee was seized with such affliction, for that hee had tormented the people of the Iewes, and destroyed their temple, committed horrible sacrilege, & contemned the reuerence of God: and whilst thus hee spake vnto them, he gaue vp the ghost. So that I wonder at *Polybius* the Megalopolitane (who is otherwise praise-worthy) for that he writeth that *Antiochus* died, for that he would haue spoiled the temple of *Diana* in the country of Persia. For sith hee had onely intended to commit sacrilege, but had not effected it, he merited not to suffer punishment for the same. And if it seemeth good vnto *Polybius*, that *Antiochus* was punished by death for this occasion, it is far more likely to be true, that his death befell him for the sacrilege hee had committed in the temple of Ierusalem. But our purpose is not to argue against those that maintaine, that *Polybius* reasons are of greater truth and consequence, then ours are.

CHAP. XIII.

Antiochus Eupator discomfited the Iewes, and besiegeth Iudas, and smiteth him up in the Temple.

BEfore *Antiochus* gaue vp the ghost, hee called for *Philip* one of his chiefest familiars, and made him gouernor of his kingdome. And hauing deliuered the diademe into his hands, he put on his roiall robe, and his ring with other iewels, he charged him to beare and deliuer them to his sonne *Antiochus*, requiring him earnestly to haue care of his bringing vp, and to maintaine the kingdome in his behalfe, vntill he coming vnto the yeeres of discretion, were fit to manage it himselfe. This done, *Antiochus* died, the hundred, fortie and ninth yeere of the kingdome of Syria. After that *Lysias* had certified the people of the kings death, hee proclaimed his sonne *Antiochus*, whom at that time hee had in his protection, king, furnaming him *Eupator* (according to the instructions that were giuen him.) About that time, the garrisons & Apostataes that were in the fortresse in Ierusalem, did much mischief vnto the Iewes. For setting vpon those at vnawares, who ascended the temple to worship and offer their sacrifice, they slew them: for the fortresse commaunded the temple. For these causes *Judas* resolved to cut off these garrisons, and to that intent hee assembled all the people, and besieged it. This enterprise was vnderooke in the yeere one hundred and fiftie, after that *Seleucus* had vsurped the gouernment of those countries. Hauing therefore made him certaine engines, and raised diuers rammes, hee industriously continued the siege: But diuers of those Apostataes that were reuolted, and of that garrison, issued out by night, and assembling together such men as were of so malicious nature as themselves, they came vnto king *Antiochus*, requiring him that he wold not suffer them to be abused in such sort by those of our nation, nor so carelessly neglected by them, considering their disgrace grew by his fathers seruice, for whose sake they had forsaken their own religion, & followed his lawes and ordinances. Furthermore they intreated, that the fortresse was in danger to be surprised by *Judas*, and his associates, except some present succours were sent vnto them. VVhen *Antiochus* the younger had notice hereof, he was sore displeased, and sent for his captaines & friends, commanding

Hedion & Rufinus, chap. 13. 1. Mac. 6. Antiochus desires to spoile Dianes temple, besiegeth Elymais, and is shamefully repulst to Babylon. The yeeres of the world, 3801. before Christs Nativity, 163.

Antiochus Epiphanes burdened with cares, falleth sicke.

Polybius Megalopolitan of the cause of Antiochus sickness.

Antiochus appointeth Philip gouernour of his kingdome, and committeth his son Antiochus to his charge. Hedion & Rufinus chap. 14. Lysias createth Antiochus the younger, king, & furnameth him Eupator. The Macedons in the castle of Ierusalem doe much harme to the Iewes. Iudas Machabæus besiegeth the castle. The fugitiue Iewes fly out of the castle, and require Antiochus assistance.

CHAP. XV.

Antiochus giueth over his siege from before the Citie, and entreth a league and alliance with Iudas.

Wherupon *Antiochus* sent a herald to *Iudas* and those that were besieged with him, promising the peace, with permission to liue according to their religion. Which condition they willingly entertained: and hauing taken an oath & assurance frō the king; they surrendered vp the temple. Vherupon *Antiochus* entred the same, and seeing it to be a place so wel fortified, he contrary to his oath, commanded his army to leuel the wall that enuironed the same with the ground: which done, he returned to Antioch, leading away with him the high priest *Onias*, who was called *Menelaus*. For *Lysias* had counselled the king to murther *Menelaus*, if he minded that the Iewes should liue in peace, without any commotion: and the rather, because it was he onely who was the author of all these euils, by reason of the counsaile he had giuen to *Antiochus* his father, to enforce the Iewes to forsake their religiō. The King for that cause sent *Menelaus* vnto Bercea, a citie of Syria, where he commanded him to be put to death, after he had enioyed the high priesthood for the terme of ten yeeres. He was a wicked and impious man, who for his onely ambitious desire of authoritie had enforced our nation to reuolt from their religion. As soone therefore as *Menelaus* was dead, *Alcimus* was made high priest, who was called *Iacimus*. Now when *Antiochus* found that *Philip* had already conquered a great part of his countrey, he fought with him, and taking him prisoner, slewe him. But *Onias* the sonne of the high priest (whom as we haue heretofore declared, was left an Orphā in his infancy) seeing that the king had slaine his vnclie *Menelaus*, and giuen the priesthood to *Alcimus*, who was not of the race of the priests, and had transferred this honour into another family at the perswasion of *Lysias*, he fled vnto *Ptolomey* King of Egypt, where being honourably entertained by the King and his Queene *Cleopatra*, he obtained a place in the Heliopolitane signorie, where hee builded a temple like vnto that which was at Ierusalem: whereof wee shall heereafter haue more fit opportunity to speake.

Alcimus or *Iacimus* made high priest. The year of the world, 3804. before the birth of Christ, 160. *Philip* slaine by *Antiochus*. *Onias* the high priest's sonne builded a temple in Egypt resembling that at Ierusalem.

CHAP. XVI.

Bacchides generall of *Demetrius* army, commeth to make warre against the Iewes, and returneth backe againe vnto the king without performance of anything.

AT that time *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* sonne fled to Rome, and tooke possession of Tripolis in Syria, and after he had set the diademe vpon his head, and had leuiued and hired certaine souldiers, he inuaded the kingdom: where he was received to the generall content of all men, who submitting themselues vnto him laid hold on the king *Antiochus* and *Lysias*, and brought them alieue vnto him; but he incontinently commanded that they should be put to death, after that *Antiochus* had reigned two yeeres, as we haue already declared in an other place. To this new elected king, diuers Iewes (banished for their impietie) and with them the high priest *Alcimus* made their resort: who in general accused their nation, and as principals *Iudas* and his brethren, obiecting against them, that they had slaine his friendes, and all such as were on his side; and that among all those that were in the kingdom and expected his comming, some of them were slaine; and that the rest being driuen from their native countrey were banished into other places: requiring him that hee would send some one of his friendes to take knowledge of the outrages committed by *Iudas* and his brethren. *Demetrius* was much moued by these reports of theirs, and for that cause sent *Bacchides* (who was in times past much esteemed by *Antiochus* *Epiphanes* for his valour, and to whose gouernment at that time all Mesopotamia was committed;) To whom he gaue an army, ioyning with him the high priest *Alcimus*, with commission to kill *Iudas*, and his confederates. *Bacchides* departing from Antioch with his army, came into Iudæa, and sent a certaine herald to *Iudas* and his brethren; to intreat with him vpon certaine articles of peace, because his intent was to surpriue them by some subtiltie and treacherie. But *Iudas* smelling his drift, gaue little trust vnto him: for in that hee came thither with so great an army, hee easily coniectured that he intended no peace; but to make warre: notwithstanding some of the people gaue eare vnto the peaceable proclamation of *Bacchides*; and supposing that there was no sinister intent in *Alcimus*, who was their cotriman, they submitted them-

Hedio & *Rufinus*. chap. 19. 1. *Machab.* 7. *Demetrius* seizeth Tripolis and other cities of Syria, and killeth *Antiochus* and *Lysias*. *Alcimus* the high priest, with a postate accuseth *Iudas* before *Demetrius*.

Bacchides killeth diuers that trust his oath.

CHAP.

The year of the world, 3803. before Christ's Nativity, 161. *Antiochus* marcheth into Iudæa with his army. *Bethsura* besieged. *Iudas* with his forces encountereth the king at Bethsacharia.

ding them to hire strange souldiers, and all those in his kingdom, who were of yeeres to beare armes; so that he gathered in short time an army of one hundred thousand footmen, and twentie thousand horsemen, and thirtie two Elephants: and with this Equipage departed hee out of Antioch, committing his army to *Lysias* direction. As soone as he came into Iudæa, hee went vp vnto Bethsura a walled Citie, and very difficult to be surpriued, which he besieged and began; but with such disadvantage, that the Bethsuriens resisting him valiantly, & sallying out vpon him, burned those preparations & engines which he had furnished for the batterie of the towne. Where as therefore a long time was consumed about this siege, *Iudas* hauing intelligence of the kings approach, raised his campe from before the Castle of Ierusalem, & marching forward to meet the enemy, hee shut his army in a certaine streight, in a place called Beth-zacharia, some 70 foulds distant from the Enemies campe.

The king hauing tidings hereof, raised his siege from Bethsura, & marched toward the streight wherein *Iudas* army was inclosed, and about the morning he set his souldiers in battell array. He first of all caused his Elephants to march one after another thorow the streight (for that it was impossible for them to march in square.) About euery Elephant were one thousand footmen, & fife hundred horsemen. These Elephants bare high towers on their backs, garnished with Archers. Touching the rest of his forces, he caused them to ascend two severall waies by the mountaines, vnder the conduct of his most intrest friends, commanding them with a huge shout and cry to charge their enemies, & to discover their golden and brazen bucklers, to the end the reflection thereof might dazle the eyes of the Iewes: whereupon, the mountaines resounded with fearfull cries of *Antiochus* army: Yet was not *Iudas* any waies amated hereat. For entertaining the charge with a noble courage, he slew almost fixe hundred of the forlorne hope. But *Elezazar*, surname *Auranus*, *Iudas* brother, seeing a huge Elephant among the rest armed with roiall trappings, and supposing that the king was vpon the same, he ran against him with a mighty courage, and after he had slaine diuers of them that enuironed the Elephant, & scattered the rest, hee thrust his sword into the belly of the beast, & wounded him to the death: so that the Elephant falling vpon *Elezazar*, slew him with the waight thereof; and thus nobly died this woorthy man, overthrowing a great number of his enemies, thorow his infinite valour. *Iudas* seeing his enemies forces so great in number, retired backe to Ierusalem to continue his siege; and *Antiochus* sent part of his army to Bethsura to surpriue the same, and with the rest hee himselfe marched onward to Ierusalem.

Elezazar *Iudas* brother killeth an Elephant. *Iudas* returneth to Ierusalem, and *Antiochus* followeth him. The Bethsuriens yeeld vp their citie. The Temple of Ierusalem besieged.

The Bethsuriens being affraid of this mighty army of the king, and seeing their necessary provisions failed them, yeelded vp their Citie, after they had taken the kings oath, that they should receiue no outrage. When as therefore *Antiochus* became Lord of this Citie, he offered them no iniurie; onely hee thrust them out disarmed from the Citie, and planted a garrison therein. Hee spent a long time also in besieging the temple of Ierusalem, for that they who kept the same, defended it valiantly. For against euery engine the king builded & raised vp against them, they erected a contrarie engine. Their onely want was victuals, because their old prouision was consumed, and the ground had not bin manured that yeere because it was the seauenty; in which, according to the law, the countrey and soile should not be stirred: which was the cause that diuers of those that were besieged, fledde secretly for want of victuals, insomuch that very few remained for the defence of the Temple. In this estate were they who were besieged in the temple.

When as King *Antiochus* and *Lysias* the generall had receiued tidings, that *Philip* coming out of Persia, intended to make himselfe master and Lord of the countrey; they concluded to giue ouer the siege for that time, & to march forward against *Philip*, without giuing any inkling thereof either to his souldiers or captaines. He onely commaunded that *Lysias* should communicate the same with the capitaines, without discovering of his deliberation or enterprise against *Philip*; and to tell them that for these reasons hee leuiued the siege: first, for the length thereof; next, for the strength of the place; lastly, for want of victuals, and for many affaires that required some circumspet and carefull foresight in his kingdom: Furthermore, for that hee thought it most expedient to capitulate with the besieged, and contract friendship with all the nation of the Iewes, promising and permitting them the exercise of their religion, because they onely rebelled for that they were deprived of the same; and for that he was assured, that hauing the grant thereof, they would each of them returne into their owne countreies. When *Lysias* had expressed and published these reasons; all the armie and the capitaines approved the same.

Antiochus hearing newes of *Philip*'s intent to inuade Persia, giueth ouer his siege to meet him.

The years of the world, 3804. before Christes birth, 160. Bacchides vltch great tyranny in Bethzeth. Alcimus vltch popularitie and familiaritie to win the peoples hearts, and killeth all such as were of Iudas faction.

Iudas resisteth Alcimus power.

Alcimus accuseth Iudas to Demetrius.

themselves vnder his gouernment. Hauing therefore receiued an oth from them both, that neither they, nor any of their followers should any waies bee endamaged by them, they committed themselves to their protection. But *Bacchides* setting light by his oth, slue three score of them; & by this breach of his faith towards these, hee caused others (who intended to submit themselves) to forsake and fly his gouernment. As soone as therefore hee had remooued his army from Ierusalem, hee came vnto the village of Bethzeth, and there apprehending many of those which had fled, and some others among the people, he slue them all, commaunding all those that lived in the country to obey *Alcimus*, to whom he left in that place for the gard of his person a part of his army: and that done, hee returned vnto Antioch to King *Demetrius*. In the meane while *Alcimus* intending to assure his estate and gouernment; and supposing that it should bee so much the better confirmed, if so be he could obtain the good wil of the people, he vied all kind of plausible & familiar speech vnto them; & deuising with euerie man pleasantly & graciously, he adioyned in short time great forces to those which he had before: amongst whom there were many fugitives and vngodly men, by whose help and assistance he marched thorowe the country, killing all those whom hee found to be of *Iudas* faction. *Iudas* perceiuing that *Alcimus* hauing gathered great forces, had already slaine diuers of the most vprightest men, and such as feared God in all his nation, hee addressed himselfe also to ouerunne the country, and slue as many of *Alcimus* partakers, as he could meet with. Who perceiuing in himself that he was vnable to resist *Iudas*, made his account to recouer *Demetrius* fauour. For which cause hee repaired to Antioch, and incensed *Demetrius* grieuouly against *Iudas*, accusing him for inforcing many iniuries against him: protesting that he should endure farre more, except hee were preuented and punished by a good army I sent out against him.

CHAP. XVII.

Nicanor being sent after Bacchides to be chieftaine of the warre against Iudas, is discomfited with all his army.

Demetrius imagining, that if *Iudas* should increase in power, it should bee some preiudice to his estate, he sent *Nicanor* his most intire and faithfull friend, to make war against him: (who was one of them also, who accompanied him in his flight from Rome.) Hauing therefore furnished him, in his owne opinion, with a sufficient army, and able to make head K against *Iudas*, he commaunded him to spare no one of that nation. As soone as *Nicanor* came to Ierusalem, hee intended not incontinently to make warre vpon *Iudas*, but cast with himselfe to surpris him by some subtiltie: to this intent he sent him a peaceable message, alledging that it was neither necessarie nor conuenient for him to fight or hazard his fortune; protesting vnto *Iudas*, that he would offer him no iniurie; and that hee resorted thither with his friends, onely to expresse the good affection of king *Demetrius* towards him, and how wel hee was affected towards the nation of the Iewes. *Iudas* and his brethren beleecued this false embassage of *Nicanors*, and suspecting no kinde of sinister dealing, they gaue him credite, and entertained both him and his armie. When as therefore *Nicanor* had saluted *Iudas*, he conferred with him, and in the meane while gaue a signe vnto his souldiers to lay hands on him: who perceiuing and discovering his L treason betime, incontinently brake from him, and fled vnto his souldiours. When *Nicanor* sawe that his intent and subtiltie was discovered, hee resolved to make open warre vpon *Iudas*, and to bid him battell neere vnto a borough called Caphar-salama: in which place obtaining the victorie, he constrained *Iudas* to retire himselfe into the fortresse in Ierusalem. When as therefore *Nicanor* returned from the siege of *Iudas* in the temple of Ierusalem, certaine of the Priests and Elders went out to meet with him, and after they had done their reuerence, they shewed him those sacrifices, which (as they said) they intended to offer vnto God for the kings prosperitie and health. But he blaspheming, threatned them; that if the people did not deliuer *Iudas* into his hands, he would destroy the temple vpon his returne, and with these menaces he departed out of the citie. Which when the Priests heard, they began to shed abundant rears, praying God that M it might please him to defend his sacred temple, together with those which called on his name therein, from the violence and outrage of their enemies.

When as therefore *Nicanor* departing from Ierusalem arrived neere vnto the borough of Bethoron, he encamped there; and to that place a great supply of soldiers came vnto him out of Syria. Now *Iudas* was encamped in an other borough called Adas, about thirtie furlongs distant from Bethoron, hauing with him at the most not about one thousand men. Notwithstanding he exhorted

A exhorted his souldiers not to be afraid of the multitude of their enemies, neither to thinke with themselves against how many they were to fight; but against whom, & for what recompence they were to fight, to the intent they might altogether courageously set vpon the enemy, at such time as he should lead them forth to the onset. Whereupon assailing *Nicanor*, there arose a dangerous conflict betwene them; wherein *Iudas* had the vpper hand: for he slue a great number of the enemy, and finally *Nicanor* himselfe fighting courageously was slaine; and as soone as hee fell downe dead, his army betooke them to flight. For hauing lost their chieftaine, they dispersed themselves, and cast away their weapons: *Iudas* speedily pursuing them, made a great slaughter, and by sound of trumpet certified them of the neighbouring villages, that he had discomfited the enemy. Whereupon the inhabitants thereabout vnderstanding hereof, betooke them to their weapons, and meeting with those that fled in the forward, slue them, so as no one escaped from this battell: notwithstanding they were to the number of nine thousand. This victorie hapned on the thirteenth day of the moneth Adar, as our countymen call it, and the Macedonians Distre: And heereof each yeere there is both a solempne feast and memoriall obserued. Fro this time forward the nation of the Iewes were in quiet without any inuasion, & lived in peace for a little time: but afterwards they were troubled with the like combats and dangers. Whereas therefore the high priest *Alcimus* intended to beate downe an olde wall of the sanctuary, which had bene builded by the holy Prophets, hee was sodainly strooken by God, so that hee incontinently lost his speech, and fell to the ground; and after he had endured grieuous torments for diuers dayes, at last hee died miserably: after hee had enioyed the Priesthood for the space of foure yeeres.

After his death, the people with a generall consent gaue his place to *Iudas*. Who vnderstanding of the great power of the Romanes, and how they had conquered Gaule, Spaine, Carthage, Greece, and the Kings *Persens* and *Philip*, and besides all these, the great King *Antiochus*, determined to make friendship with them, and sent *Eupolemus* the sonne of *Iohn*, and *Iason* the sonne of *Elenazar* his two intire friends vnto Rome, to intreate the Romanes to be their allies and confederates, and to write vnto *Demetrius*, that hee should giue ouer to war against the Iewes. When the Embassadors that were sent from *Iudas*, were arrived in Rome, the Senate entertained them; and after they had discoursed with them vpon the occasion of their Embassage, they accepted and concluded vpon their alliance, and made a decree, the copy whereof was then brought into Iudaea, and the original referred in the Capitoll, engraued in a Table of Brasse. Which arrest or decree of the Romanes, as touching their alliance and good affection they bare vnto the Iewes, contained these articles. *That no man vnder the obedience of the Romans, should maintaine warre against the nation of the Iewes: neither should furnish them with victuals, shippers, or siluer, who should make warre vpon them. And if any enemies should assaile the Iewes, the Romans should giue them succours to the vitermost of their power. And that likewise if any one should make warre against the Romanes, the Iewes should succour them. That if the Iewish nation would adde or diminish any thing of that association, it should be done with the common aduise of the people of Rome, and that that which should bee ordained, should remaine irreuocable.* This arrest was written by *Eupolemus* the sonne of *Iohn*, and by *Iason* the sonne of *Elenazar*, at such time as *Iudas* was high Priest, and his brother *Simon* generall ouer the armie. See heere how the first amitie and alliance was contracted betwene the Romanes and the Iewes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Bacchides is sent once againe into Iudaea, and obtaineth a victorie.

When as *Nicanors* death, and the discomfiture of his army was reported to *Demetrius*, he sent a new army into Iudaea, vnder the conduct of *Bacchides*: who departing from Antioch, and repairing to Iudaea, encamped in Arbela a city of Galilee: where hauing inforced, conquered, and taken a great number of those that were retired into caues, hee departed from thence, and repaired in all haste to Ierusalem. And vnderstanding that *Iudas* was encamped in the village of Berzeth, he marched out against him with twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen. Now *Iudas* had not on his side in all about two thousand men, who perceiuing the multitude of *Bacchides* soldiers were afraid; so that some of them forsaking their camp, fled away: by which means there remained no more with *Iudas*, but eight hundred men. Seeing himselfe therefore abandoned by so many of his men, and pressed by his enemies, who gaue him

The years of the world, 3804. before Christes birth, 160. Iudas and his followers put *Nicanor* and his soldiers to flight.

Adar, March.

Alcimus was high priest.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 17. 1. *Matthab*, 8. *Iudas* couenaeth with the Romanes.

The decree of the Romanes touching Iewes, etic and friend shippe of the Iewes.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 18. 9. *Demetrius* sendeth *Bacchides* with force into Iudaea. *Bacchides* meeteth *Iudas* with a few soldiers.

The year of the
world, 3804.
before Christ
birth, 160.
Judas with a
small army in-
tendeth to
affaile a might-
y host.

him neither truce nor time to reassemble his forces, he resolved to fight with those eight hun-
dred which he had: whom he exhorted to be of good courage, and to fight valiantly: but they
answered, that they were insufficient to make head against so huge an army, and counselled him
to retire, and to stand on his guard for that time, vntill hee had gathered forces that might be
able to confront the enemy. But *Judas* replied to this effect: God forbid (said he) that the Iewes
should see mee turne my backe vpon mine enemies. And if by this meanes I meete with my
death, and that I must needs spend my last blood in this battell, I will neuer foyle for many notable
actions so worthily achieued, nor staine so much glorie obtained with so great vertue by one
ignominious flight. And hauing in this sort exhorted the small remnant of those souldiers
that were with him, he commanded them that without any apprehension of danger, they should
bend themselves altogether against the enemy.

CHAP. XIX.

Judas overcome in the battell, dieth.

Bacchides dis-
poseth his
armie, and
fighteth with
Judas.

Judas disper-
seth the ene-
mies army, kil-
leth some, and
at last is slaine
himselfe.

Judas is buried
in Modim.

BUT *Bacchides* drew out his army, and arranged them in battell, placing the horsemen
both the wings; his light armed souldiers and archers in the front of the army; and af-
ter these a strong band, called the Macedonian Phalanx; and hee himselfe led the right
wing of the battell. And in this array he approached *Judas* campe, and caused the trumpets to be
sounded, commanding all his souldiers to giue a great shout, & to charge their enemies. *Judas*
did the like, and encountred *Bacchides*; so that on both sides there was a most cruell conflict,
which continued vntill the sunne-set. And when as *Judas* perceived that *Bacchides* & the flower
of his army fought in the right wing, he chose out a certaine number of his most resolute follow-
ers, and drew towards that quarter, and setting vpon them, hee brake their squadron; and af-
terwards thrusting into the midst of them hee forced them to flie, and pursued them as farre as the
mount *Aza*. They of the left wing, perceiving the flight of those in the right, went after *Judas*,
and enclosed him on the backpart. He being vnable to flie, and seeing himselfe enclosed by his
enemies, resolved with his souldiers to fight it out. When as therefore hee had slaine a great
number of his enemies, and being infeebled more through wearinesse, then by the wounds re-
ceiued of them, hee fell to the ground, and was himselfe at last slaine likewise: adding this ho-
nourable manner of death to his former notable and valiant exploits. His souldiers seeing
him dead, and hauing no gouernour of respect left amongst them after the losse of so valiant a
captaine, betooke them all to flight. *Simon* and *Jonathan* his brothers vpon intreatie recou-
ered his bodie, and carried it to *Modim* (a place where his father was buried) there was hee enter-
red by all the people, who wept for him diuers daies, and honoured him publicly according
to the custome of their country. Such was *Judas* ende, who was a valiant man, a great warriour
and verie respectiue of the commandements of his father *Matthias*, hauing done and suffered all
that he might for the libertie of his country. Being therefore after this manner adorned with
vertue, he hath left behinde him a perpetuall renowne of his worthy actes, and an honourable
memorie of himselfe obtained by the libertie, in which he reestablished his nation, retying
them from the seruitude of the Macedonians: who died also after hee had discharged the office
of the high priest, for the space of three yeeres.

THE



THE THIRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

B The Contents of the Chapters of the 13. Booke.

- 1 Jonathan after his brother *Judas* death, succeedeth him in the gouernment.
- 2 Jonathan hauing wearied *Bacchides* by warre, compelleth him to draw to a league, and to de-
part away with his army.
- 3 Alexander the sonne of Antiochus Epiphanes, maketh warre vpon King *Demetrius*.
- 4 *Demetrius* sedeth an embassador to *Jonathan* with presents, perswading him to be of his factio.
- 5 Alexander by greater proffers then *Demetrius* did offer, and by offering the high Priest's place
to *Jonathan*, draweth him to fauour his faction.
- 6 Of the temple of God builded by *Onias*.
- 7 How Alexander after the death of *Demetrius*, highly honoured *Jonathan*.
- 8 *Demetrius* the sonne of *Demetrius*, ouercomming Alexander, possesseth the kingdome, and
plighteth friendship with *Jonathan*.
- 9 *Tryphon* Apamenus after he had overcome *Demetrius*, reserueth the kingdome for *Antio-
chus*, Alexander's sonne, who receiueth *Jonathan* into fauour.
- 10 *Demetrius* being overcome by the Parthians, *Tryphon* breaketh his couenāt of peace, & laying
hold on *Jonathan* traiterously killeth him, and afterwards assaulteth *Simon* his brother.
- 11 How the natio of the Iewes committed both the priesthood & the gouernment of the army to *Simon*.
- 12 *Simon* driuing *Tryphon* into *Dora*, besiegeth him, and entresth friendship with *Antiochus* fur-
named *Pius*.
- D 13 A debate arising betweene *Antiochus* and *Simon*, *Cendebeus* the kings captaine is driven out
of the country.
- 14 How *Simon* was traiterously slaine at a banquet by *Ptolomey* his father in law.
- 15 How *Ptolomey* endeouours being made frustrate, *Hircanus* obtained the gouernment.
- 16 How *Antiochus* furnamed the Just, leading an army against *Hircanus*, for three hundred ta-
lents is both reconciled and tied in league of friendship.
- 17 *Hircanus* expedition into Syria.
- 18 How *Antiochus* *Cyzicenus* assisting the Samaritanes is both conquered and enforced to flie.
- 19 *Aristobulus* was the first that set the Diademe on his head.
- 20 The actes of Alexander King of the Iewes.
- E 21 The victorie of *Ptolomey* *Lathurus* against Alexander.
- 22 *Demetrius* *Eucærus* ouercommeth Alexander in battell.
- 23 The expedition of *Antiochus* *Dionysius* into Iewry.
- 24 Alexander being dead, his wife *Alexandra* succeeded him in the kingdome.

CHAP. I.

Jonathan after the decess of his brother *Judas*, succeedeth him in the gouernment.



WE haue declared in our former booke, how the nation of the Iewes
(after they had been vnder the subiection of the Macedonians) reco-
uered their libertie: wee haue likewise discovered the great and grie-
uous conflicts, which *Judas* their captaine performed, and in which
hee finally died in the behaile of their libertie: how likewise (after the
death of *Judas*) at the wicked Apostate Iewes, who had requiered from
their religion, tooke courage, molesting and doing many iniuries to
the rest of their countriemen. Finally, how besides their malice, the famine inuaded the coun-
try;

The year of the
world, 3805, be-
fore Christ Na-
tinitie, 159.

The year of the world, 3805.
before Christ
birth, 159.
The Iewes compelled by the Apostates, by famine submit themselves to the Macedonians.
Bacchides murdereth those of Iudas faction.

rey; so that diuers being vnable to sustaine these two mortall scourges of famine and warre, G were constrained to submit themselves vnto the Macedonians. In the meane while, *Bacchides* gathering together the false Apostates (who were fallen from the religion of the Iewes, with an intent to liue after the prophane manner of the Paganes) committed the gouernment of the countrey vnto them: who laying hold on *Iudas* friends and partakers, betrayed and deliuered them to *Bacchides*: who first of all tormented and beate them at his pleasure, and afterwards put them to death. This so grievous affliction (then which the Iewes had neuer endured a worse, since their returne from Babylon) was the cause that those of *Iudas* faction, who were yet aliue, fearing the totall and cruell ruine of their nation, addressed themselves to *Jonathan* his brother, exhorting him to imitate his brother *Iudas* vertues, & to haue no lesse care of his countremen, the other had; who fought for their libertie vntill his latest breath, requiring him not to abandon the gouernment of his nation, especially in that so miserable estate wherein they were pliged. *Jonathan* answered them, that he was ready to die for them; and being in all things esteemed no lesse valiant and politique then his brother *Iudas*, he was proclaimed generall and chiefe of the Iewes.

Jonathan by the publike instigation of the Iewes vnderstandeth the gouernment.
Bacchides complotteth to betray *Jonathan* & his brother.

Bacchides hauing notice hereof, feared least *Jonathan* should be no lesse infestuous to the king and Macedonians, then his brother *Iudas* before him had bene; for which cause hee sought the meanes to make him away by treason. But both *Jonathan* and his brother *Simon* gat intelligence hereof; and hauing discovered his practise, they tooke all their families with them, and fled into the desert that confined the Citie *Ierusalem*: and retiring themselves neere vnto a water called the lake of *Alphar*, they remained in that place. When *Bacchides* perceived that they mistrusted him, and were drawne thither; hee went out against them with all his forces, and being encamped on the other side of *Iordan*, he gathered his army together. *Jonathan* knowing well that *Bacchides* came out to seeke him, sent his brother *Iohn* (surnamed *Gaddis*) vnto the Arabians *Nabatheans*, to commit the trust of their goods vnto their hand, vntill the end of the warre betwixt him and *Bacchides*: for the Arabians were his friends. Whilest therefore *Iohn* marched towards the *Nabatheans*, the sonnes of *Amarau* laid an ambuscado for him (who were of the citie of *Medaba*) and after they had furiously set vpon him on the way, & laid hold on whatsoeuer hee brought with him, they at length slew him and all his companie: for which fact of theirs, they were shortly after punished by his brethren, as we will make manifest in that which afterward followeth.

Bacchides draweth out his forces against *Jonathan*. *Iohn* the brother of *Iudas* is slaine by *Amarau* sonnes. *Bacchides* assaulteth *Jonathan* on the Sabbath day, & loosed two thousand of his men.

When *Bacchides* knew that *Jonathan* was incaped in the marshes of *Iordan*, he made choise of K the Sabbath day to set vpon him, hoping that he would not defend himselfe on that day, because of the prohibition of the law. But hee contrary to his expectation encouraged his companions, & declared vnto them how it concerned their liues to be valiant, for that it was impossible for them to escape, because they were shut vp in the midt betwixt the flood and the enemy: for they had the enemy before them, and the flood on their backs. As soone therefore as hee had made his prayer vnto God, that it might please him to grant him the victorie, hee set vpon the enemy with a stout courage, and slew a great number of them: and perceiuing *Bacchides* how with great fierceness he set forward against him, he stretched out his right hand to strike him; but hee preventing the stroke by stepping aside, *Jonathan* and his companions leapt into the river, and so saved themselves by swimming ouer to the other side of *Iordan*, because the enemies durst not passe the water to pursue them. Whereupon *Bacchides* returned incontinently to the Castle of *Ierusalem* (after he had lost about some two thousand of his men.) After this, hee fortified diuers Cities (which were before time ruined) namely *Iericho*, *Emas*, *Ethero*, *Bethella*, *Thamnata*, *Pharathon*, *Techoa*, and *Gazara*, and builded in euerie one of them certaine towers, and great and strong walles, and afterwards he planted garrisons therein to sally out vpon the Iewes & vex them; but in especiall he fortified the citadel of *Ierusalem*, in which hee kept for hostages the children of the principallest men of *Iudaea*.

The castle of *Ierusalem* fortified.

About that time there came a certaine man to *Jonathan* and his brother *Simon*, bringing them newes that the sonnes of *Amarau* would solemnize their nuptials, and were to lead the bride from the Citie of *Gabaia*, which was daughter to one of the noblest amongst the Arabians: M for which cause she should be conducted with great magnificence and sumptuous pompe. *Jonathan* and his brother, supposing that a fit opportunitie was offered them to reuenge their brothers death, and to punish the *Medabanes* for the wrongs they had done vnto their brother, they tooke with them the greatest forces that they could, and marched towards *Medaba*; where they lay in ambush vnder the couert of a mountaine. But when they saw them that led the bride and accompanied the bridegroom, and a great troupe of their friends likewise, according to the accustomed

Simon reuengeth his brother *Iohn* about the sonnes of *Amarau*.

The year of the world, 3808. before Christ Nativity, 156.

A customd manner of marriages, they brake out of their couert, and put them all to the sword; and after they had seized their Iewels, and all other bootie of that company that followed them, they retired backe againe ioyfully hauing obtained their purpose: and thus reuenged they the death of their brother *Iohn* vpon the sonnes of *Amarau*. For not onely these alone, but their friends that accompanied them, with their wiues and children, were all of them slaine, to the number of foure hundred. And in this manner *Simon* and *Jonathan* returned into the marshes aforesaide, and abode there. But *Bacchides* hauing fortified all the garrisons of *Iudaea*, returned back vnto the king. And at that time the estate of the Iewes was in peace for the space of welny two yeeres.

But the wicked, and such as were reuolted from the religion of the Iewes, seeing that *Jonathan* and his followers conuerfed in the countrey in great assurance, by reason of the peace; they sent certaine Embassadors vnto king *Demetrius*, requiring him to send them *Bacchides*, who might apprehend *Jonathan*, declaring that it might easily bee done, and that in one night breaking in vpon them, hee might murder them all before they were aware. When *Bacchides*, by the kings commaundement came into Iury, he wrote vnto all his friends both Iewes & also his other allies, requiring them to lay hold on *Jonathan*: but when by no policie nor prowells of theirs, they were able to apprehend him (for that *Jonathan* hauing notice of their ambushes, stood vpon his guard) *Bacchides* the Macedonian was displeased with the Apostates or fugitiues, objecting against the that they had deceiued both the king and him, and laying hold on fiftie of the principallest of them, hee put them to death. But *Jonathan* and his brother, with those of their company, retired themselves vnto *Bethalaga* (a certaine village in the desert) for feare of *Bacchides*, in which place he builded towers, and walles to keepe his garrison in more securitie. *Bacchides* vnderstanding hereof, tooke the army that hee had with him, and those Iewes that were his confederates, and marched forward against *Jonathan*; where battering those fortifications that were made by him, he besieged him for many daies. But *Jonathan* for all his busie siege and violence, was not a whit terrified, but resisted him valiantly; & leauing his brother *Simon* in the citie to make head against *Bacchides*, hee secretly stole out, and gathered a great number of foldiers that fauoured his proceedings, and in the night time with valiant courage brake into *Bacchides* camp; and after he had there slaine a number of them, hee gaue his brother *Simon* notice of his coming: who, as soone as he heard the noise in the enemies campe, hastily issued forth with his souldiers, and burnt all the Macedonians engines, and for his part also made a great slaughter of them. *Bacchides* seeing that hee was circumvented by his enemies, and that both before and behinde hee was pressed by them, being astonished at this so hard, so daime and vncexpected encounter, was almost out of his wits; so fore was he confused at the issue of his siege, that fell out altogether contrary to his expectation: for which cause he discharged all his choler vpon those Apostates, supposing hee was abused by them, who had sent vnto the king and had caused him to bee sent thither: and full gladly would hee haue returned home, could hee but make an ende of the siege without his dishonour.

Demetrius by the solicitation of the fugitiues sendeth *Bacchides* against *Jonathan* with an armie. *Bacchides* displeased with the Apostates for that they could not surprise *Jonathan* killeth fiftie of them. *Jonathan* and his brother besieged in *Bethalaga*.

Jonathan stealing out of the citie assaulteth *Bacchides* by night. *Bacchides* reuengeth himselfe on the fugitiues, and is enforced to retreat.

CHAP. II.

E

Jonathan constraineth *Bacchides* to make peace with the Iewes, and to depart out of the countrey.

BVt *Jonathan* knowing his deliberatiō sent an Embassador vnto him to conclude a peace and amitie betwixt them, with this condition; that they should each of them deliuer vp those prisoners that were taken on either side. *Bacchides* supposing that his request would be to his great honour, and that a fit occasion was now offered him, wherupon he might raise his siege without any disgrace, promised *Jonathan* his friendship; so that both of them swore from that time forward neuer to make warre the one against the other; and each of them both received, and restored their prisoners. Thus returned *Bacchides* into *Antioch* vnto his King, and after that retreat hee neuer made warre againe vpon *Iudaea*. But *Jonathan* hauing obtained this securitie, went and dwelt in the towne of *Machmas*; where administering and gouerning the common weale, he executed such seuerie iustice on those that were reuolted from the religion of their countrey, that hee cleansed the nation of all such kind of men;

Macg. *Bacchides* maketh peace with *Jonathan*. *Jonathan* liueth at *Machmas* punishing the wicked.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

CHAP. III.

Alexander the sonne of Antiochus Epiphanes, maketh warre against Demetrius.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus chap. 11.
Alexander the
sonne of Anti-
ochus Epiph-
anes commeth
into Syria, and
seizeth Pto-
lemais.

IN the hundreth and sixtie yeare, Alexander the sonne of Antiochus the Famous came into Syria, and seized the Citie of Ptolemais, by the treason of those soldiers that were therein; who were ill affected towards Demetrius, by reason of his arrogancy, which was such, that he granted no man access vnto him: for being locked vp in a royall fort fenced with foure towers (which himself had builded neer vnto Antioch) hee suffered no man to approche his presence, but was carelesse and wholly negligent in his affairs; living in pleasure and idleness: whereby he grew into great hatred amongst his subiects, as wee haue already declared in another place. Now when Demetrius knew that Alexander had seized Ptolemais, hee gathered all his forces and marched forth against him.

CHAP. IIII.

Demetrius couenanteth a peace with Ionathan.

Demetrius war-
reth against Alex-
ander.
1. Machab. 10.

After he sent Embassadors vnto Ionathan, that might confirme an alliance & ratifie a friendship betwixt the: for he determined with himselfe to preuent Alexander, for fear least he capitulating with him first of all, should obtain his assistance. And this did he especially for the fear he had of Ionathan, least remembering those injuries hee had before time received at his hands, he should oppose himselfe against him. He therefore sent vnto him requiring him to assemble his forces, & to make preparation for the warre: commanding likewise, that those Iewes should be delivered into his possession, whom Bacchides had shut vp for hostages in the fortresse of Ierusalem. After that Demetrius had demeaned himselfe in this sort, Ionathan resorted to Ierusalem, and in the presence of all the people, and of the garrison that was in the fortresse, hee read the Kings letters; and after the reading thereof, the cursed and reuolted Iewes that were in the fortresse were fore afraid, seeing that the king permitted Ionathan to leaue an army, & to receiue the hostages. But hee receiving them into his hands, restored each of them to their fathers and mothers: and by this meanes remained Ionathan in Ierusalem, where hee made diuers reparations and buildings, according as him pleased. For he builded the Citie walles of hewen stone, to make them more forcible against the assaults of warre. Which when they perceived who were in the garrisons throw out all Iudaea, they forooke them all, & retired back into Antioch, except they that were in the Citie of Bethsura, and those in the fortresse of Ierusalem: for they conspired for the most part of those Iewes that had abandoned their religion, who for that occasion feared to forsake their garrisons.

The Macedo-
nians for aking
their garrisons
resort to
Antioch.

CHAP. V.

Alexander draweth Ionathan to his partie.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus chap. 8.Alexander en-
deuoreth to
draw Ionathan
to his faction
by presenting
him with the
high Priest-
hood.

BUT Alexander knowing what promises Demetrius had made vnto Ionathan, and being well assured how valiant he was, and how he behaved himselfe against the Macedonians; moreover how he was vexed by Demetrius and his Lieutenant Bacchides: Hee told his friends and familiars that it was impossible for him to meete with a better allie at that time then Ionathan, who had approoued himselfe a valiant man against his enemies, and for particular causes bare hatred against Demetrius, from whom he had receiued many injuries, and on whom hee had wrought sundrie reuenges: for which cause if they thought it good to draw him vnto their side against Demetrius; the time was verie fit to entertaine and confirme a mutuall peace betwene them: which aduise of his being approoued by his favorites; hee sent a letter vnto Ionathan to this effect. King Alexander to Ionathan his brother, Health: We haue long since vnderstood of your valour and fidelitie, which hath caused vs to send our Embassadors vnto you, to intreat with you of alliance and amitie betwixt vs; and from this day forward, wee elect and ordaine you high priest of the Iewes, & receiue you into the number of our chiefe friends. Moreover in way of present, I send you a purple robe, and a crowne of gold, exhorting you, that since you are thus honoured by vs, you will in like sort yeeld vs an answerable respect and friendship. Ionathan hauing receiued this letter inuested himself in the habite of the high Priest, and the day

OF THE IEWES. THE XII. BOOKE.

A Of the feast of the Tabernacles, which was the fourth yeere after the death of his brother Judas. (For during all that time there had not been any high priest.) He assembled also a great number of soldiers, and caused a great quantity of armors and weapons to be forged.

When Demetrius heard these newes, hee was much troubled, and accused himselfe of sloth and too much negligence in looking to his affaires, for that hee had not preuented Alexander in the courteous entertainment of Ionathan; but had suffered him to take the benefit of this occasion. He sent letters likewise to Ionathan and the people, containing that which followeth: King Demetrius to Ionathan, and to all the nation of the Iewes: Health. Since you haue obserued the friendship that you beare vnto vs, & haue not entangled your selues with our enemies, nor with-
standing their diuers sollicitations, wee praise your fidelitie, and pray you to perseuere in the same

B estate, assuring you that you shall receiue the like fauours from vs, in all integritie. For I will forgive you the greater part of the tributes and taxes that you haue vntill now paid, either to the king, or to my predecessors, or to me; and from this time forward, I acquite you from those tributes which you were wont to pay hereafter. And moreover, I release you of the price of sale, and of the gold which you were wont to give vnto vs for our crowne. Vee likewise acquite you of the third of the fruit of your lands, and the halfe of the fruit of your trees, which heretofore you haue been accustomed to pay me, to keepe and hold them peaceably from this time forward. I acquite you also at this present for euery, of all that which the inhabitants of Iudaea, and the three provinces annexed thereto, Samaria, Galilee, and Peraea, are bound to pay me; willing and commanding that the Citie of Ierusalem be held sacred, and to haue the right of the freedome, exempt from all tributes

C and tenths, both in it selfe, & also all the countrey belonging thereto. And I commit the fortresse in the same to the hands of Ionathan the high Priest, permitting him to plant such a garrison therein, as in his opinion shall be held both honest and lawfull; and such as will faithfully maintaine it to his vse. I will also that all the Iewes, who are imprisoned in my countrey, be set at libertie. Moreover, it is my pleasure, that no horses of the Iewes be taken vp to runne post for vs: I grant also on the Sabbaths, and other festiual daies; yea, three daies also before euery one of those feasts, libertie and freedome be vsed. And my will is, that the Iewes, who inhabit within my dominions, be likewise freed of all molestations. The like priuiledge grant I them that will beare armes with me, to the number of thirtie thousand; who in what place soeuer they shall be, shall haue no worse entertainment then mine owne army: and part of them will I place in my

D garrisons; the rest shall be of my guard; and I will make them captains in my court, and will permit them to liue according to the ordinances of their countrey, which they shall obserue. & I will also that the three governments annexed to Iudaea be made subiect vnto the same lawes. My pleasure is in like manner, that the high Priest, shall take order; that no Iew adore in any of the temple thons in Ierusalem, and of my owne charge I giue euery yeere a hundredth and fiftie thousand stiles of siluer to be employed in making sacrifices: and that which shall be ouer and aboue those sacrifices, my pleasure is that it shall be yours. Moreover, I acquite the Priests and ministers of the temple, of the ten thousand drachmes of siluer (which the kings leuied on the temple) because they appertaine vnto the Priests who serue in the temple; as I haue been rightly formed.

E within the precincts thereof (whether it be for money due vnto the king, or for any other cause) that they be acquit thereof, and receiue not any damage in their goods. I permit also, that the temple be repaired and builded at my charge. My will is also, that the walles of the Citie be repaired, and that certaine towers be builded about the same, at my costs. Furthermore, if there be any places fit to build fortresses and strong holdes in through all the countrey of Iudaea, and to place garrisons in them, my will is that all this be done and fortified, at the charges leuied out of mine owne coffers. These are the promises and offers that Demetrius made vnto the Iewes.

But king Alexander hauing gathered great forces, as well of strange & hired soldiers, as of those who in Syria had reuolted from Demetrius, led forth his whole army against the enemy; and after the ensignes were displayed and the onset giuen, the left wing of Demetrius compelled Alexanders soldiers that fought against it to flie; and his men pursuing them hard at heeles spoiled their campe. But the right wing in which the king himselfe was, being forced to retire, was discomfited; and as for the rest they betooke them all to flight; but Demetrius fighting valiantly slew some of his enemies; and in pursuing other some, who could not endure his fierce assault, was in the ende, by setting spurres to his horse, mainly carried into a deepe and muddie bogge, whereinto by misadventure his horse fell, and being unable to get out he was slaine in that place. For being discovered by his enemies, they turned backe vpon him; and hauing inclosed him, they

The battel be-
tweene Alex-
ander and De-
metrius, and
of Demetrius
death.

322
The year of the
world, 3813.
before Christ
birth, 151.

IOSEPHVS SHOFATHE ANTIQVITIES

they altogether shot their arrows against him, who being on foot and fighting valiantly, was at length slaine, after he had received diuers wounds, and was no more able to sustaine himselfe. Thus died *Demetrius*, who departed this life the eleuenth year of his reigne, as we haue declared in an other place.

CHAP. VI.

Onias winneth the fauour of Ptolomey Philometor, and obtaineth leaue of him to build a temple in Aegypt, which was called the temple of Onias.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4.
Onias the son of Onias the high priest seeketh to build a temple in Egypt.

The year of the world, 3814.
before Christ's natimitie, 150.

BVt *Onias* the sonne of the high priest called also *Onias* (who flying out of his countrey liued in Alexandria, with *Ptolomey Philometor*, as wee haue heretofore declared) seeing all Iudea destroyed by the Macedonians, and their kings; and intending in his heart to purchase an immortall memorie, hee determined to beseech the king *Ptolomey* and the queene *Cleopatra* by letters, that it might be lawfull for him to build a temple in Aegypt, resembling in all points that which was at Ierusalem, and that hee might haue libertie to plant Leuites and Priests in the same, of his owne kinred: And hereunto was he especially moued, by a certaine prophecy of *Esay*, who more then six hundred yeeres before, had foretold that a temple should be assuredly builded in Aegypt, in honour of the almightie God by a Iew. Being therefore incited by this Oracle, he wrote a letter to *Ptolomey* and *Cleopatra*, to this effect: During the time that I was employed in your warres, and by Gods fauourable assistance haue done you many seruices, I haue visited Coelosyria and Phoenicia, and haue bene in the Citie of Leontopolis (which is in the territories of Heliopolis.) I haue also visited diuers other places, wherein the Iewes haue temples, against all right and honestie: which is the cause that they agree not among themselves: as also the like hath hapned amongst the Aegyptians, thorow the multitude of temples, and the great diuersitie of religions. And hauing found out a verie convenient place neere a Castle called Bubastis in the Plaine, where there is store of all sorts of stufte for building & cattell fit for sacrifice: I beseech you that it may be lawfull for me to purifie the temple that is leuelled in that place with the ground, & dedicated to no sacred power; & that in the place thereof it may be lawfull for me to erect & build a temple in honor of the highest God, according to the patterne and the same dimensions of that temple, which is in Ierusalem, for the preseruacion and prosperitie both of you, your Queene, and children; and to the intent that those Iewes that dwell in Aegypt may assemble and serue God therein; for that by how much the more there is vntie and concord among themselves, by so much the more may they bee disposed to your seruice. For to this effect is the prophetic of *Esay*, which saith thus: *There shall be saith he a temple for our Lord God in Aegypt*: many other things also hath he foretold as touching this place.

This is the effect of that which *Onias* wrote vnto *K. Ptolomey*. And by his answer which he made herunto, a man may easily coniecture what pietie was both in him, and *Cleopatra* his sister, and wife. For they haue returned the sinne and transgression of the law, which through this meanes fell vpon *Onias* head, by this answer that ensueth. King *Ptolomey* and Queene *Cleopatra* to *Onias* as the high Priest, Health. Wee haue perused your letters, by which you require vs to giue you licence to cleanse the temple, that is defaced at Leontopolis, in the seigniory of Heliopolis, in the place called Bubastis in the Plaine. Wee maruell very much that a temple builded in a place so vncleane and full of execrable beasts should be agreeable vnto God: but since that you informe vs, that the prophet *Esay* did long time sithence prophetic the same, we giue you licence, if it may be done according to the law, and with this condition, that we commit not any sin against God.

Vpon this answer, *Onias* (taking possession of the place) builded therein a temple, and erected an altar vnto God according to the module of the temple of Ierusalem; but farre lesse, and lesse rich. Yet thinke I it no wayes requisite to declare the dimensions thereof, neither the vessels in the same, because I describe them particularly in my seauenth booke of the warres, and captiuitie of the Iewes: neither wanted there some Leuites and Priests, who being answerable to *Onias* in deuotion and zeale, frequented the diuine seruice in that place, and renewed the ceremonies. But let this suffice for the present as touching the temple.

But it came to passe, that the Iewes of Alexandria, and the Samaritanes that brought in the seruice and worship of the temple vpon the mount Garizim, vnder *Alexander* the great, fell at oddes, and debated their differents before *Ptolomey*. For the Iewes said that the temple in Ierusalem

A temple builded in Egypt by Ptolomey's consent. The warres of the Iewes, li. 7. chap. 17. Sedimon betwixt the Iewes and Samaritans as touching their temple.

OF THE IEWES. THE XIII. BOOKE

A Ialem builded according to *Moses* lawes and ordinances, was the lawfull temple; but the Samaritanes maintained that that which was builded on mount Garizim, was the true temple. They therefore besought the king that it would please him to sit in iudgement, with the assistance of his friends, to hear their allegations in this behalfe, and to condemne the partie vnto death, who should be found faultie in his proceffe. Now the aduocates which pleaded for the Samaritanes, were *Sabbaus* and *Theodosius*; and *Andronicus* the son of *Mesalam* defended the cause of Iude of Ierusalem, and the other Iewes. And both of them swore both by God and by the King, that they would bring their prooues according to the law, beseeching *Ptolomey* to adiudge him to death, whom he should finde to haue falsified his oath. The king therefore sate downe with his friends, both to heare the cause, and determine vpon their differents. But the Iewes of Alexandria were sore moued and displeased against them, that had drawne the preheminance of the temple in Ierusalem into question, and were highly discontent that a temple so auncient and famous, and so esteemed and honoured thorow the whole world, should in such sort bee disgraced. When as therefore the day of audience was come, *Sabbaus* and *Theodosius* lusted *Andronicus* to declaine first: who began to approoue the lawfulness, holiness, and religion of the temple in Ierusalem out of the law; and by the successiue gouernment of the high priests, who from father to sonne, and from hand to hand, had receiued this honour; therein alleading that all the kings of Asia had honoured the maiestie of that place with presents and rich oblations: whereas neither in record of men, nor course of antiquitie, the temple of Garizim hath bene in any estimation. By these and such like words, *Andronicus* perswaded the king, that the temple of Ierusalem was builded according to the ordinance of *Moses*, inuiting him to adiudge *Sabbaus* and *Theodosius* to death. This may suffice as touching the differents of the Iewes of Alexandria, and such things as befell them during *Ptolomey Philometors* time.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander after Demetrius death honoured Ionathan greatly.

After that *Demetrius* was slaine in fight (according as wee haue heretofore declared) *Alexander* was king of Syria, who wrote to *Ptolomey Philometor*, requiring his daughter in marriage, telling him that it was a matter answerable to his dignitie, to contract affinity with him; first since he had obtained his fathers empire by the fauour of God: and next for that he had overcome *Demetrius*. *Ptolomey* yeelding a willing care to these his demands, and entertaining them with great pleasure, wrote backe that hee was verie glad that he had recovered his fathers kingdome; promising him to giue him his daughter in marriage; giuing him to vnderstand, that he would meet him at Ptolemais, and bring his daughter vnto him to that place, and there celebrate the nuptials. After hee had written these letters, *Ptolomey* made his speedie repaire to Ptolemais, and led with him his daughter *Cleopatra*; where meeting with *Alexander* (according to their appointment) he deliuered him his daughter, with such a dowrie of gold and siluer, as well beleemed his kingly magnificence. Vnto the solemnizing of this marriage, *Alexander* by letters inuited the high Priest *Ionathan*, commanding him to repaire vnto him to Ptolemais. Where, after he was arrived, and had both presented his seruice with other magnificent presents to both the kings; hee was highly honoured by both, in so much as *Alexander* constrained him to put off his ordinarie garments, and to put on a purple robe, and after that to sit vpon a royall throne; commaunding his captaines to march before him thorow the Citie; and to commaund by publike edict, that no man should dare to speake any thing against him; neither offer him any cause of discontent in what sort soeuer. All which the captaines performed; so that they, who purposely and maliciously repaired thither to accuse him, seeing the honour that was done vnto him by this publication, fled away hastily, for feare lest some mishap should befall the. This king *Alexander* loued *Ionathan* so intirely, that he afforded him the chiefest place amongst the number of his dearest friends.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. l. Mac. 11. Alexander king of Syria marrieth Cleopatra Ptolomeis daughter.

CHAP:

Demetrius the sonne of Demetrius ouercommeth Alexander, obtaineth the kingdome, and contracteth friendship with Ionathan.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6.
Demetrius the sonne of Demetrius passeth out of Greece into Cilicia & seeketh to make himselfe Lord of Syria.

A man confident in battell.

Apollonius fighteth with Ionathan, and is put to flight.

Ionathan pursued the enemy as farre as Azot, and burned Dagon temple, and killed 8000. men.

IN the hundreth, sixtie and fift yeere (of the raigne of the Greekes) *Demetrius* the sonne of *Demetrius* (accompanied with diuers hired soldiers, whom *Lasthenes Candiot* furnished him with) depart out of Candia, and came into Cilicia. Which newes as soone as *Alexander* heard, he was grieuously vexed & troubled: for which cause he instantly possessed from Phoenicia to Antioch, with intent to assure the affaires of his kingdome in that place before the arrivall of *Demetrius*. Hee left behind him for his gouernor in Coelosyria *Apollonius Danus*: who comming vnto Iamnia with a great army, sent a messenger vnto the high priest *Ionathan*, signifying vnto him that it was not conuenient that hee onely should liue in assurance at his own ease: & in authoritie, without submitting himselfe vnto a King; and that it was a great indignitie for him in all mens eyes, for that he had not inforced himselfe to stoupe vnder the obedience of a king. For which cause (said he) deceiue not thy self, neither hope thou by skulking in the most raines, or depending on thy forces to continue thy greatnes; but if thou trustest to thy power, come down into the field, & encounter with me & my army in the Plain, to the end that the issue of the victorie may shew which of vs is most valiant. Be not thou so ignorant that the noblest of euerie Citie beare armes vnder one, who haue alwaies ouercome thy predecessors. For which cause I challenge thee to meet me in that place where we may vse our swords and no stones; and where the vanquished shal haue no aduantage by his flight. *Ionathan* whetted by this bitter message, chose out ten thousand of his best souldiers, and departed from Ierusalem accompanied with his brother *Simon*, and came vnto Ioppe, and encamped without the Citie (because the Citizens had shut the gates against him) for they had a garrison planted in that place by *Apollonius*. But as soone as hee addressed himselfe to batter the Citie, the inhabitants were afraide, for feare least hee should surpris the same by force, and for that cause they opened him the gates. *Apollonius* understanding that Ioppe was taken by *Ionathan*, hee tooke three thousand horsemen, and eight thousand footmen with him, and came into Azot; whence he departed, leading out his army with a sober march, foot by foot; & arriuing at Ioppe, he retired backe to draw *Ionathan* into the field, assuring himselfe vpon his horsemen, & grounding his hope of victorie vpon them. But *Ionathan* issuing out boldly, pursued *Apollonius* as farre as Azot: who finding himselfe in the champain field, turned backe vpon him and charged him. *Ionathan* was in no sort abashed to see the thousand horsemen, that *Apollonius* had laid in ambush neere vnto a certaine streame, to the end they might charge the Iewes behind, but disposed his armie in such sort, that his souldiers on euerie side turned their faces vpon the enemy; commanding his men to defend themselves on both sides, fighting with those that assailed them either in the vanguard or the rereward. This battell continued vntill euening, and *Ionathan* had given his brother *Simon* a part of his forces, charging him to set vpon the enemies battell: as for himselfe, he drew himselfe and his souldiers into a forme of a battalion resembling a Tortoise, to the end that being couered with their bucklers, ioyned the one with the other, they might beare off the horsemens arrowes: to which all of them shewed themselves obedient. The enemies horsemen shooting all their arrowes against them, did them no harme; for they pierced not as farre as the flesh, but lighting vpon the bucklers (enclosed and fastned the one within the other) they were easily beaten backe & borne off, and fell downe being shot all in vaine. But when as the enemies were wearied with shooting from betimes in the morning vntill euening, & that *Simon* perceiued they could charge no further, he set vpon them with his souldiers to couragiously, that he put them all to flight. The horsemen of *Apollonius* perceiuing that the footemen were dilarraid, grew hartles likewise, & wearied also for that they had fought vntill the euening; and hauing lost the hope that they had in the footmen, they tooke their flight in great disorder, and confusion: so that they brake their ranks of themselves, and were scattered thorow all the Plaine. *Ionathan* also pursued them as farre as Azot, and taking the Citie by assault, he slue diuers of them, conftraining the rest that were in despair to flee into the temple of Dagon, which is in Azot; and taking the Citie by assault, hee burned it with the villages round about, and spared not the temple of Dagon, but burned it and all those that were therein. The number as well of those that were slaine in the battell, as of those that were consumed by fire in the temple, was eight thousand men. Hauing therefore in this sort discomfited this army, he departed from Azot, and marched towards Ascalon: and as he was encamped without the Citie, the Ascalonites came out vnto him, and both presented and honoured

The year of the
world, 3818.
before Christes
birth, 146.
Alexander teadeth
presents
to Ionathan.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7.
Ptolomey Philometor repaireth into Syria with an army to fight his son in law Alexander. Ionathan meeteth with Ptolomey, & is honorably entertained by him.
Treason intended against Ptolomey, and discovered for which cause hee taketh away his daughter from Alexander, and giueth her to Demetrius for his wife.

A red him. He willingly entertaining their good affection, departed from thence, and iourned towards Ierusalem charged with great spoiles, which after his victorie against his enemy, he draue before him after he had spoiled the country.

As soone as *Alexander* heard that *Apollonius* the generall of his army was discomfited, and forced to flee, he made a shew that he was glad thereof, pretending that it was against his wil that *Ionathan* had beene molested by warre, who was both his friend and ally. Whereupon he sent an Embassadour vnto him, to signifie vnto him how much hee reioiced at his victorie, offering him presents and honours, with a chaine of golde, such as the kings were accustomed to giue to those of their kinred: he likewise gaue him *Ascaron* and the countrey thereunto belonging, to him and his heires for euer.

B About the same time king *Ptolomey Philometor* set out an army by sea, and another by land, to repaire into Syria, and to succour his sonne in law *Alexander*: and in his way all the Cities entertained him very affectionately, according as *Alexander* had commaunded them, and conducted him as farre as the City of Azot: in which place all of them exclaimed before him, and chalenged Iustice at his hand, for that the temple of Dagon was burned and destroyed; accusing *Ionathan* for the firing thereof, and the slaughter of many people therein. But *Ptolomey* hearing these accusations, answered them not a word: But when *Ionathan* came for to meete him at Ioppe, he courted him with royall presents, and all the honour that was possible, and after hee had kept him company as farre as the floud called Eleutherus he dismissed him, and sent him backe to Ierusalem. When *Ptolomey* was come to Prolcmais, he hardly escaped death, and that contrary to all expectation by *Alexanders* owne complouring, and *Ammonius* his friends mediation: Which treachery being discovered, *Ptolomey* wrote vnto *Alexander*, requiring him that *Ammonius* might bee punished for his treasons and conspiracies practiced against him, which in their natures required a seuer & cruell punishment. But seeing that *Alexander* deliuered him not vp into his hands, he coniectured and concluded, that he himselfe was the author thereof, & conceived a hainous displeasure against him. In like manner before that time *Alexander* had offended the Antiochians, by the means of the said *Ammonius*, who had laden them with many wrongs and incommodities: but in the ende *Ammonius* was punished for these his outrageous misdemeanors, and disgracefully slaine like a woman, whilest in a womans attire, he sought to hide himselfe; as we haue expressed in another place.

D At that time *Ptolomey* began to aduise himselfe for bestowing his daughter in marriage on *Alexander*, and for refusing *Demetrius* to be his friend and confederate: so that he brake off the affinity that he had with him; and after he had withdrawn his daughter from him, hee presently sent Embassadours vnto *Demetrius* to confirme a league of peace and affinity with him; promising him to bestowe his daughter vpon him in marriage, and to establish him in his fathers kingdome. *Demetrius* very ioyfull to heare of this Embassage, accepted both of the confederation and marriage. There onely remained one difficulty for *Ptolomey* to surmount, which was how he might perswade the Antiochians to admit *Demetrius*, against whom they were so grieuously incensed, for the indignities which his father *Demetrius* had offered them; but this difficulty ouercame he by this means that ensueth. The Antiochians hated *Alexander*, because of *Ammonius* (as we haue expressed heretofore) and by that means were the more easily drawn to driue him out of the Citie. Hee perceiuing himselfe to bee thrust out of Antioch, came into Cilicia. Whereupon *Ptolomey* came vnto Antioch, and was both by the Citizens and souldiers therein, proclaimed king, and was constrained to take two Diademes, the one as King of Asia, the other as king of Aegypt. He was a man of a gentle and iust nature, no waies ambitious; but such a one as prudently did forecast what was to ensue: straining by all meanes possible to auoid the hatred and ialousie of the Romans. For which cause (assembling the Antiochians together) he wrought so much with them, that at last hee perswaded them to accept of *Demetrius*, assuring them that if he should receiue that benefite at their hands, he would no more keepe in memory those things that had fallen out betwixt them and his father: protesting for his own part that he would instruct him both how to order the course of his life honestly, & to manage his publike affairs rightly; and promising them that if he attempted to work them any inconuenient, he himselfe would be the formost to chastice him; alleaging for his own part, that he would content himselfe to be king of Aegypt. And by this means the Antiochians were induced to receiue *Demetrius*.

But when as *Alexander* was departed out of Cilicia, with a great armie, and was come into Syria, and had burned and spoyled the countrey of the Antiochians, *Ptolomey* accompanied with his sonne *Demetrius* (for hee had already married his daughter vnto him) issued out with

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their

The year of the world, 3818, before Christ's birth 146. Alexander being overcome rich into Arabia, and is slain in that place. Ptolomeis death.

their armies, and obtained a ioint and mutuall victorie, by ouercomming *Alexander*, who was constrained to flie into Arabia. It came to passe in that conflict, that *Ptolomeis* horse hearing the noise of an Elephant, was troubled and stumbled in such sort, as he threw his master on the ground: which when his enemies perceiued, they ran altogether vpon him, and gaue him diuers wounds in the head, whereby he was in danger to haue been slaine, vnlesse his guard had rescued him: notwithstanding he was so sicke for foure daies space, that he could neither heare nor speake. But *Zabel* the potentate of Arabia beheaded *Alexander*, and sent his head vnto *Ptolomey*; who being somewhat come vnto himselfe after his wounds on the fifth day, and hauing some knowledge, heard and saw together a thing both delightfull in his eare, and pleasant in his eye, which was the death and the head of his enemy. But some few daies after, he dyed himselfe, being full of ioy in that he saw his enemies fall. This *Alexander* surnamaced *Balles*, reigned for the space of fife yeers, as we haue elsewhere declared.

Demetrius surnamed *Nicanor*, hauing obtained the kingdome, began thorow his malice to dismember *Ptolomeis* army, forgetting both the confederacy and affinity that he had with him, by reason of *Cleopatra* his wife, who was *Ptolomeis* daughter. But the men of warre hating his ingratitude, fled into Alexandria to warrantize themselves from his wickednesse; notwithstanding they left the Elephants in his power and possession.

But the high Priest *Jonathan* hauing assembled an army of all the countrey of Iudæa, began to besiege the castle of Ierusalem, where there was a garrison of the Macedonians, and a great number of wicked Apostates that were fallen from the Iewish religion, who in the beginning set light by the engines that *Jonathan* had raised to surprise the place; in the strength whereof they repelled too much confidence: But in the end, some of these miscreants breaking out by night, came vnto *Demetrius* and certified him of the siege; who was sore displeased thereat, & taking a strong army with him, departed from Antioch to make warre vpon *Jonathan*. At such time as he came to Ptolemais, he wrote to *Jonathan* and commanded him to come vnto him: notwithstanding *Jonathan* gaue not ouer the siege, but tooke the Elders and the Priests with him, with gold and siluer, robes, and a great quantity of presents to beare vnto *Demetrius*, and when he had deliuered them into his hands he appeased his wrath; and after he had receiued many honors at his hands, he obtained the confirmation of his priesthood, in as ample manner, as hee enioied it during the time of his predecessours: And although the miscreant Iewes accused him, yet did not *Demetrius* giue them any credit. Moreouer, *Jonathan* requiring, that for the whole countrey of Iewry, and for the three gouernments of Samaria, Ioppe, and Galilee, hee might pay no more then three hundred talents for tribute, he granted him a full exemption, and wrot his letters patents in these tearms: King *Demetrius* to *Jonathan* his brother, and to all the nation of the Iews: Peace and Ioy. We haue sent you the copy of the letter, that we haue written to *Lasthenes* our father, to the end you may know the contents thereof, which is this. King *Demetrius* to *Lasthenes* his father: Ioy and Peace. Because the people of the Iewes are our confederats, and obiect our ordinances, my intent is to requite their good affection, & to assigne them the three gouernments of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramatha, with their appurtenances, which haue been taken from Samaria and annexed to Iudæa. Secondly, we remit all that which our predecessors kings receiued of them that sacrificed in Ierusalem: and other tributes likewise, which were gathered for the fruits of the earth & the trees; the tribute of the salt likewise, and the gold that was leuiued for the crowne: so that henceforward nothing herof be exacted at their hands, either for the time present or to come. See you therefore giue order that the Copy of these our present letters be sent and deliuered to *Jonathan*, to be affixed in some open and conspicuous place in the sacred temple. See here what hee wrote at that time. *Demetrius* perceiuing that his countrey was in peace, and that hee liued without feare of any warre, he dismissed his army, & cashiered his souldiers, hiring only certaine strangers (who were mustred out of Candy and other Isles) whereby it came to passe that his owne souldiers conceived an enuy and hatred against him; in chat hee gaue them no wages: whereas his predecessors maintained them as well in peace as in warre, to the end that they might be the more affectionate towards them; and that if need required to employ them, they might shew themselves more ready and couragious to fight for them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Tryphon Apamenus ouercommeth *Demetrius*, and giueth the kingdom to *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander*, and plightheth friendship with *Jonathan*.

Certaine man called *Diodotus*, and by surname *Tryphon* (an Apamean by nation and generall of *Alexanders* army) hearing what mutiny there was amongst *Demetrius* souldiers, came to *Malchus* the Arabian, who had the bringing vp of *Antiochus Alexanders* sonne, and wrought as much as in him lay that he would commit *Antiochus* to his trust, to the intent he might make him king, and establish him in the soueraigne gouernment which appertained to his father. And although vpon this first motiõ of his, he could hardly be drawn to beleue it; yet not long after by the continual instance of *Tryphon* he was perswaded to condescend, and suffered himself to be drawne by his perswasions. See here what this man pretended at that time. But *Jonathan* the high Priest, desiring that they within the citadel of Ierusalem and those wicked and Apostate Iewes, and in generall all those that were in the garrisons thorowout all the countrey, might be displaced and dismissed; he sent Embassadors with rich presents vnto *Demetrius*, beseeching him to cashier those that were in garrison in the fortresses of Iudæa: who nor onely promised him that demaund, but also matters of far greater moment, after that warre which hee had then in hand, were determined. For the present troubles at that time, gaue him no leisure to performe the same: he therefore praid him for the right of their friendship to send him some of his forces, giuing him to vnderstand, that his army was revolted. Whereupon *Jonathan* chose out three thousand fighting men, and sent them vnto him. But the Antiochians hated *Demetrius*, both because of the injuries they had endured vnder him, as also for the hatred they had conceived against his father, who had in like manner done them much wrong; so that they onely expected and watched their opportunity, to expulse him. Vnderstanding therefore that the succours that *Jonathan* sent vnto *Demetrius* were at hand; & foreseeing that in short time hee would gather a great army, if they hastened not themselves to preuent him betime; they betook them to their weapons, and beset the kings palace after the manner of a siege, and guarded all the gates with an intent to lay hold on the king. Who seeing himselfe roundly beset by the armed multitude of the Antiochians, tooke those hired souldiers (with those whom *Jonathan* had sent him) and charged them: but hee was forced to retire, and ouercome by them, who were assembled in that place to the number of manie thousands. For which cause the Iewes perceiuing that the Antiochians had the better hand, they mounted vpon the battlements of the palace, and from thence darted and shot against them, without any endamage to themselves (by reason of the distance and height of the place where they were) notwithstanding they gauled the people grieuouly, in so much as they drove them from the houses nere adioining, which they continually set on fire, whereby the flame thereof was spread thorow the whole Citie; so that the houses that were closely builded the one by the other, and for the most part framed of wood, were burnt downe to the ground. The Antiochians perceiuing that they could not remedy the fire, nor extinguish the same, betook them to flight, and the Iews chasing them from house to house, pursued them after an incredible manner. When the king perceived that the Citizens of Antioch ranne here and there to saue their wiues, and children, and for that occasion had giuen out the battel, he set vpon them in a certaine narrow streight, whereas diuers of them were slain, and all at last enforced to cast downe their weapons, and to yeeld themselves to *Demetrius* mercie, who pardoning them their rebellion, pacified that sedition. After this he rewarded the Iewes with part of the pillage, thanking them as the onely authours of his victorie. Whereupon hee sent them backe to *Jonathan*, with no small acknowledgement and testimony of their prowess & virtue. But afterwards he discovered his euil nature towards him, and falsified his promises, menacing him to make warre vpon him except hee paid him those tributes, which the people of the Iewes ought, and were wont to pay vnto the kings his auncestors before time. And these designs of his had he executed, had not *Tryphon* hindered him: for hee was enforced to turne his forces that he had prepared against *Jonathan*, to make warre vpon *Tryphon*: who returning from Arabia into Syria, with the younger *Antiochus* (who at that time was under yeeres) he set the diadem vpon his head. All the army likewise that had abandoned *Demetrius*, for thoring them of their wages, came and followed him, and made open warre against their master, and vnder *Antiochus* and *Tryphon* fought with him and ouercame him, seizing both his Elephants, and the

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Therebellion of the Citizens of Antioch, & the reuenge taken on them by *Demetrius*.

Jonathan appeaseth *Demetrius* by presents.

Demetrius letters, to *Lasthenes* in which he bestoweth many priuiledges on the Iewes.

Demetrius incurreth the hatred of his souldiers by abridging their pay in time of peace.

The year of the world, 3820, before Christ's birth 144.

The year of the
world, 3820. be-
fore Christs birth
144.
Jonathan for
the fauours &
benefits he re-
ceiued at
Typhens and
Antiochus
hardly offereth
to performeth
his self inde-
uours against
Demetrius.

Citie of Antioch. Whereupon *Demetrius* being wholly discomfited, fled into Cilicia. But the younger *Antiochus* sent Embassadors and letters to *Jonathan*, calling him his ally and friend, confirming the priesthood vnto him, and allotted him the foure governments annexed to Iudæa; and besides these, he gaue him vessels of gold, a robe of purple, with permission to wear the same; he gaue him also a pendent of gold, and enrolled him amongst his chiefest friends, and created his brother *Simon* Generall of his army, from the marches of Tyre as farre as Aegypt. *Jonathan* highly reioiced at these fauours of *Antiochus*, and sent Embassadors both vnto him and *Tryphon*, protesting that he was their friend and ally, and that he would fight on his side against *Demetrius*, who neglecting those benefites which he had receiued (notwithstanding that in his necessity he had been succoured by him) returned him euil for good, which he had so kindly extended towards him.

But after that *Antiochus* had granted him leaue to leuy a great army out of Syria & Phœnicia, to fight against *Demetrius* followers, he addressed himselfe incontinently into the Cities, who receiued him very magnificently; yet did they not afford him any men of war. Comming from thence vnto Aſcalon, the Citizens in honourable array came out to meete him with presents; whom, together with the Cities of Coelosyria, he exhorted to forsake *Demetrius* part, & to follow *Antiochus*; to the end, that ioining themselves with him, they might all of them combine their forces against *Demetrius*, and take vengeance of those mischiefs which they had oftentimes endured by his means; and which if they prudently examined, they had many reasons to procure their reuenge. After he had perswaded these Cities to enter into confederation against *Demetrius*, he came to Gaza, to induce them likewise, and reconcile them to *Antiochus*. But hee found the Gazcans to be of a farre contrary disposition, then that which he expected; for they flatly refused him; and although they were intended to forsake *Demetrius*; yet would they not ioin their forces, or submit their Citie to his government. For which cause *Jonathan* besieged their Citie, and spoiled their country: for with the one halfe of his army he begirt Gaza; and with the other halfe he ouerranne the countrey, spoiling and burning the same. The Gazcans seeing these miseries which they were constrained to endure, and perceiving that no succours came vnto them from *Demetrius*; but that their own overthrow was at hand, & their assistance farre off; and that which was worse, most vncertaine: they thought it to be the wisest part for them to forsake the one, and follow the other. Whereupon they sent messengers vnto *Jonathan*, protesting that they would bee both his friends and confederates. For, men doe vnwillingly take knowledge of their profite, before they haue bought it to their sorrow; and that which they neglected at first, and was most expedient for them to performe before they were afflicted, that doe they earnestly hunt after, at such time as they haue been chastised. Vpon this submission of theirs, *Jonathan* receiued them into fauour, and took pledges of them, & sent them to Ierusalem; and from thence marched hee along the countrey as farre as Damaſco. And whereas a huge host sent by *Demetrius*, came out against him, as farre as the Citie Cedſa neere vnto Tyre and Galilee, making their reckoning to diuert *Jonathan* from Syria, by succouring and relieuing those of Galilee, who were their confederates: *Jonathan* went out speedily to meete with them recommending the estate of Iudæa to the charge of his brother *Simon*. Who assembling all the power that was possible to be gathered thoroughout all the countrey, encamped before Bethſura, a strong fort in Iudæa; and besieged it (for *Demetrius* being before time seized thereof, kept garrison therein, as before this we haue declared.) When as therefore *Simon* raised his bulwarkes and fitted his engines to assault the Citie, and employed all his study to surpris the same, they that were besieged waxed afraid, least if he should take the towne by force, they should lose their liues. For which cause, they sent an herald vnto *Simon*, requesting him that hee would permit them to depart out of Bethſura with the safety of their liues and goods, and go vnto *Demetrius*: who satisfying their demands, they presently departed out of the Citie, and he planted a garrison therin of his own men, in place of the Macedonians. In the meane while *Jonathan*, who was in Galilee, caused his army to dislodge from a place called the waters of Genezareth, where first he was encamped, & marched towards the plaine of Azot, without any suspition that his enemies had been planted thereabouts: When as therefore *Demetrius* souldiers had intelligence the day before that *Jonathan* should march forward against them, they laid an ambush for him, which they placed neere the mountain, preparing the rest of their forces to bid him battell in the Plaine. As soone as *Jonathan* perceiued their preparation to the battell, hee arranged his army as conueniently as was possible; but when they that lay in ambush arose, and charged the Iewes vpon their backs, they fearing to be inclosed, and consequently easily slaine, began to flie; so that all of them abandoned

Simon Jonathan's brother
taketh in
Bethſura.

The year of the
world, 3820. be-
fore Christs birth
144.
Jonathan put-
teth Demetri-
us souldiers to
flight.

ned *Jonathan* except som few to the number of fifty at the vttermoſt, & *Matthias* the son of *Abſalom* and *Judas* the sonne of *Chapſeus*, the chieftains of the army, who boldly entred, and like desperate men charged the enemy in the vangard with such fury, that they made them amazed at their valour, & by force of handy blowes compelled them to trust to their heels. Which when they that fled from *Jonathan* perceiued, they rallied themselves and began to pursue them as far as Cedſa, where the enemies were encamped.

Now when *Jonathan* had obtained this famous victorie, wherein there dyed about some two thousand of the enemy, he returned to Ierusalem, and seeing that by Gods providence all things fell out according as he himselfe desired, hee sent Embassadors vnto Rome, purposely to renewe the auncient league that was made betwixt them, and the people of the Iewes: commending his Embassadors vpon their returne from Rome, to transport themselves to Sparta, and renewe their common friendship and acquaintance also in that place. As soone as they were come to Rome, and had presented themselves before the Senate, they declared how they were sent from the high Priest *Jonathan*, who required the renouation of their alliance. Whereupon the Senate granted all that which they had demanded as touching the amity of the Iewes, and gaue them their letters of recommendation to beare vnto all the Kings of Asia and Europe, and to the gouernours of all the Cities; commanding them to grant them free passage to returne into their countrey. And in their returne they passed by the Lacedemonians, and presented those letters which *Jonathan* had written vnto them, the copy whereof contained matters to this effect. *Jonathan the high Priest of the Nation of the Iewes, and all the communalitie of the Iewes; To the*

Ephores, Senate and people of Sparta: Health. If you be in health, and both your particular and publicke affaires haue their desired successe, we haue that which we desire: For our selues we are in good disposition. For as much as heretofore we haue receiued a letter by the hands of *Demoteles*, written from *Arius* your king to *Onias* our high Priest, making mention of that acquaintance and alliance, which is betwene you and vs (the copy whereof we haue hereunder inserted) and haue receiued your letters with great content, and haue with all kindly acceptance requited both *Demoteles* and *Arius* (notwithstanding we were not ignorant of this consanguinity long before, for that we were instructed therein by our sacred scriptures:) And whereas we haue not first of all acknowledged you for our kinsmen, it was to no other end but for feare we should rashly the honour of ratifying the friendship betwene vs, which wee intended alwaies should be D yours. Since which time wherein we haue contracted friendship with you, we haue on our holy and Iſtemne daies sacrificed vnto our God, beseeching him to continue & keep you in prosperity: & on the other side, in as much as we haue bin inuironed with many wars, caused by the disordered desires of our neighbours, we haue neither thought it meet to be troublesome vnto you, or to any other whatſoeuer. But now at this time, since we haue obtained a happy issue of all these troubles, we haue sent *Numenius* the sonne of *Antimachus*, and *Antipater* the sonne of *Iafon*, men honourable amongst our counsellors, both to the Romans and to you also; to whom wee haue giuen our letters to be presented vnto you, in our behalfe, to the end they might renewe the amity which is betwene you & vs: you shall therefore do well if you write backe vnto vs, and certify vs wherein we may steed you, in that we haue euer had an earnest desire, and will to continue our loue towards you, or ought else what concerneth your welfare. These Embassadors of his were kindly entertained by the Lacedemonians, who made a publik ordinance as touching their association, and amity with the Iewes; which they deliuered vnto them.

In this time were there three sects among the Iewes, who had different and contrary opinions as touching humane affaires: the first was that of the Pharisees, the second of the Sadduces; and the third of the Essenians. The Pharisees affirme that some things and not all things, are directed by destiny; and that some other things were tyed to mens election, whether they would performe them or not. The Essenians said, that destiny governed all things; and that nothing hapned amongst men that was not disposed thereby. The Sadduces auow that there is no destiny; and that humane affaires, in that destiny is not, cannot be gouerned and disposed thereby: F their onely opinion is, that all things depend vpon our owne disposition; so as in respect of our good deedes, we are the authors thereof; and in respect of our euill, they are the fruites of our irregard. But hercof haue I intreated more exactly in my second booke of the warres of the Iewes.

Demetrius Capitaines desirous to abolish the dishonour of that discomfiture, and recouer the losse that had lately befallen them, gathered together a greater povver then the former, & went out against *Jonathan*; vvhoe hauing intelligence of their coming, marched speedily to encounter them

Jonathan re-
neweth his
friendship and
confederacy
with the Ro-
mans and Lacedemonians.

The year of the
world, 3821. be-
fore Christs birth
145.

Three sects of
the Iewes.
The Pharisees.
The Essenians.
The Sadduces.

The warres of
the Iewes.
lib. 2. cap. 12.

them neere vnto the Plaine of Amath: for he resolved to preuent their intended roade into Iudæa. Encamping therefore some fifty furlongs off of the enemy, hee sent out spies to discover of what force they were, and how they were encamped. Who, when they had by a most diligent view knowe all that possibly they could, returning tooke certaine prisoners, and brought them away by night with them: by whose confession the entent of the enemies was discovered vnto *Jonathan*; which was, that they would set vpon them on the suddaine. But *Jonathan* with a provident care speedily fortified his campe, and prepared all things necessary for defence, and placed a watch or Sentinell without his host, keeping his souldiers vp in armes all the night, and exhorting them to be both valiant and ready, forasmuch as they must needs fight by night, to the end that they might not be surpris'd by the subtilties and policies of their enemies. But when the Captaines of *Demetrius* understood that their intended purpose was discovered vnto *Jonathan*, they were in suspence, and knew not what counsaile to take: for this troubled them, because they saw that nothing would fall out to their good, without the practice of subtil meanes to entrap their enemies: and supposing themselves not to be of sufficient strength to bid *Jonathan* battell in the plaine field; they therefore resolved to flie, and leaue great fires through all their campe, to the end their enemies might thinke they were asleepe: and so they discamped by night. On the morrow, when *Jonathan* drew neere their campe to bid them battell, and saw it abandoned, and coniectured thereby that they were fled, he followed after them; but he could not overtake them, because they had already past the floud *Eleutherus*, & were retired into their strong holds and places of security. Returning therefore from thence into Arabia, and making warre on the Nabatheans, he spoiled their country, tooke great booties, and led away many prisoners: and from thence came to Damasco, and sold all in that place. About this very time, *Simon* his brother (marching thorow out all Iudæa & Palestine as farre as Ascalon; planted his garrisons in all those places, and fortified them both with men and munition: and finally came to Ioppe, which he tooke by force, and planted a great garrison therein, because he was aduertised that they of Ioppe intended to surrender the Citie to *Demetrius* forces. When *Simon* and *Jonathan* had in this sort disposed all things, they came to Ierusalem, and assembled the people together in the temple, and perswaded them to fortifie the walles of the City, and to strengthen the inclosure of the temple that was ruinated, aduising them to fortify the same with strong towers: & besides this, he caused another wall to be builded in the midst of the Citie, to warrantize the same against the garrisons of the Cittadel, to the intent that by that meanes they might cut off and stop vp the passages to victuall the fort. Hee aduised them likewise, to build farre stronger fortresses thorow out the country, then those that were already finished. Now whenas the people had allowed of this his good aduice, *Jonathan* gaue order as touching all those things that concerned the buildings within the City, and set his brother *Simon* about the fortresses in the country. But *Demetrius* passing the riuer, came into Mesopotamia, intending at one time to take possession both of it and the Citie of Babylon; that being seized thereof, he might the better prouide for all the occurrences of his kingdom. For the Greeks & Macedonians, who inhabited that countrey, had solicited him by often Embassadors to come vnto them, promising him to subscribe to his authority, and to warre with him against *Asaces* King of the Parthians. He puffed vp with those hopes, marched towards them with great speed, resolving with himselfe, that after he had overcome the Parthians (if he had any forces left him) he would wage warre with *Tryphon*, and easily drine him out of the kingdome of Syria. Being therefore entertained by those of the country with great affection, he leuied a great army, and assailed *Asaces*; but he lost the day, and himselfe was taken prisoner, as we haue elsewhere declared.

CHAP. X.

Demetrius is taken prisoner. Tryphon breaketh the covenant of peace betwixt him and Jonathan, and surpriseth and killeth him treacherously, and afterwards maketh warre against his brother Simon.

When *Tryphon* vnderstood that *Demetrius* affaires had so vnfortunate an issue, he forsook *Antiochus* and his seruice; and complotted with himselfe how hee might kill him and make himselfe king. But the feare that he had of *Jonathan* *Antiochus* friend, hindred this intent of his: For which cause he resolved first of all to deliuer himselfe of *Jonathan*, and that done, afterwards to make *Antiochus* the young king away. Having therefore concluded with him

himselfe to kill *Jonathan* by some stratagem of treason, he came from Antioch to Bethsan (which the Greeks call Scythopolis) whither *Jonathan* came to meete him with forty thousand chosen men, supposing that *Tryphon* resorted thither to make warre vpon him. But he knowing that *Jonathan* came thither with so much strength, wrought him by presents and counterfeit curtelies; commanding his captaines to obey *Jonathan*, thinking by that meanes to perfwade him that hee intirely and truely loued him, and to extinguish his suspition, to the intent he might lay hold and intrap him, at such time as he had least suspition of him. He counsell'd him to dismisle his army likewise, because hauing cut off all occasion of warre, he had no reason to retaine them, for that there was no suspition of alteration. After this he inuited *Jonathan* to come to Ptolemais, and to bring with him some few of his souldiers, signifying vnto him that he would deliuer the Citie into his hands, and resign all the fortresses that were in the country to his possession; vrging further, that he came into that country to no other end, but to performe it. *Jonathan* suspecting no sinister dealing, and beleeuing that *Tryphon* spake of good and entire affection, discharged his forces, and tooke onely three thousand men with him, whereof two he left in Galilee, & with one thousand repaired to Ptolemais vnto *Tryphon*. But the Ptolemaidans shutting the gates as soone as he was entred (according as *Tryphon* had commanded them) tooke *Jonathan* prisoner, and slewe all those that attended vpon him. He presently sent also part of his army vnto the two thousand that were left in Galilee, to the intent to put them all to the sword: but they hauing notice of that which had befallen their chieftaine, taking vp their arms, speedily departed out of Galilee. And although the souldiers of *Tryphon* exceeded them farre in number, yet were they not so hardy as to trie whether part were the stronger; because they knew that the Iewes were ready to expose themselves to all dangers, to defend their liues: and so they returned back to him that sent them, without doing any thing.

CHAP. XI.

The people maketh Simon generall of their army, and declareth him the high Priest.

They of Ierusalem vnderstanding of the surprisall of *Jonathan*, and the losse of his souldiers, grievously lamented for this accident, that so great a man as he was, was taken from them, in that they feared (& that not without cause) that being destitute after his decesse both of his valour and prudence, the nations that were round about them would seek their trouble and molestation: who hauing held themselves quiet in admiration of him, would at that time list themselves vp against them; and not only persecute them with warre, but bring them into extreame danger of their liues. Neither did their expectation deceiue them. For the neighbouring nations, vnderstanding of *Jonathan's* death, began presently to make warre vpon the Iewes on all sides, as against those who had no longer any chieftaine vnder whose conduct they might wage warre and shew themselves valiant. And *Tryphon* likewise hauing gathered forces, was determined to ascend into Iudæa, to warre against the inhabitants thereof. *Simon* perceiuing that the Citizens of Ierusalem were dismayed with the feare, which they apprehended of those rumours intended by *Tryphon*; assembled the people in the temple, and began to exhort them after this manner. You are not ignorant (men and brethren) how both I, my father, and brethren, haue voluntarily offered our selues vnto death for your libertie. Since therefore, I haue abundance of such like examples, and that it is the ordinary course of our family to die for our lawe and religion, there is no feare so great as can plucke out this resolution out of my heart, as it may plant such a desire of life in me, as to be drawne to forget all honour. Wherefore since you haue such a chieftaine and commander, as setteth light by all danger, whereby he may endure or doe any thing for your safety; it behooueth you to follow me courageously to what place soeuer I shall conduct you. For I am of no better account then were my brethren, whereby I should spare my life; neither am I lesse then they, whereby I should thorow negligence and cowardise shun and forsake that which they haue esteemed to be honorable, as is to die for the law and the seruice of our God. I will make manifest therefore by all the testimonies that I can, that I am their true and lawfull brother; for I trust in God, that he will giue me power to take vengeance of our enemies; and deliuer not onely all of you, but your wiues and your children from the iniurie which they intend against you; and by the grace of God I will preserve the holy temple, that it may not be ruined by their prophane hands. For, I already perceiue, that the prophane nations set vs at nought,

The year of the world, 3824, before Christ's birth 141.

Tryphon by fraudulent promises vnder certain conditions perswaded Simon that his brother should be set at liberty.

Jonathan is slain by Tryphon.

Jonathan's monument.

The year of the world, 3824, before Christ's birth 140.

The Jewes discharged of tribute. Simon's authority.

nought, and contemne you as if you had no chieftaine: and I know already that they are marching forward to fight with you. By these words *Simon* harmed the people, who were distracted with feare, so that they reuiued their spirits and conceiued better hope. Whereupon all of them cried out with a loude voice, that *Simon* was their generall, and that he was to succeed his two valiant brethren *Iudas* and *Jonathan* in the government; and that as touching themselves, they would be obedient in all things that he should command them. He therefore assembled in one instant all the men at armes in that country, and hasted himselfe to repaire the City walls, defending them with high and strong towers, and sent a certain friend of his called *Jonathan* the son of *Abisalom*, with an army to Ioppe; commanding him to expulse the inhabitants of that City from thence, for that he feared lest they should submit themselves to *Tryphon*: As for himselfe he remained in Ierusalem to secure the same.

Tryphon departing from Ptolemais with a great army, came into Iudæa; leading his prisoner *Jonathan* with him. Whereupon *Simon* with his army went out against him as farre as Addida (a Citie situate vpon a mountaine, as the foote whereof beginneth the champain country of Iudæa.) *Tryphon* knowing that *Simon* was made gouernour of the Iewes, sent messengers vnto him, intending to circumuent him by treason and policie; giuing him to vnderstand that if hee were desirous of his brothers enlargement, he should send him one hundredth talents of siluer, & two of *Jonathan*'s children for hostages, to assure him, that being set at liberty, he should not withdraw Iudæa from the obedience of the king.) For, till that present he was helde and kept prisoner, by reason of the money which he ought the king.) *Simon* was no waies ignorant of this cunning intent of *Tryphon*, but knew wel enough that he should both lose his money, if he should deliuer the same; and that his brother should not be enlarged, no though his children were deliuered for hostages: on the other side he feared, lest the people should conceiue sinisterly of him, as if he had been the cause of his brothers death, both by not deliuering the money, neither yet the children: Hauing therefore assembled the army, he declared vnto them what *Tryphon* demanded, telling them that the whole scope of his actions were nought els but traitorous stratagemes and subtilities: yet notwithstanding he tolde them, that he had rather send both the money & the children to *Tryphon*, then by refusing his conditions and demands, to be accused to haue neglected the life of his brother. *Simon* therefore sent both the money and children of *Jonathan*: but *Tryphon* hauing receiued both, kept not his promise; but detained *Jonathan*: and leading his armie thorow the country, intended to passe by Idumæa to repaire to Ierusalem. He came therefore to K Dora a Citie in Idumæa; and thitherward marched *Simon* to encounter with him, encamping alwaies right ouer against him. They that were in the Castle of Ierusalem, hearing newes hereof, sent *Tryphon* word that hee should hasten and come vnto them, and send them munition: whereupon he addressed his horsemen, pretending that very night to ride vnto Ierusalem; but the snow about that time fell in such abundance, that it covered the way in such sort and was so thicke, as the horses could not trauell; which hindred his repaire to Ierusalem. For which cause he departed from thence, and came into Coelosyria; and speedily inuading the country of Galilad, he put *Jonathan* to death in that place, and after he had buried him there, he returned to Antioch. But *Simon* sent vnto Basca and transported his brothers bones, and interred them in his country Modin in his fathers sepulcher, and all the people mourned and lamented for him many daies. *Simon* also builded a great monument of white and polished marble for his father and his brethren, and raised it to a great height, and garnished it round about with galleries & pillars all of one piece, which was an admirable work to beholde. Besides that, he erected seuen Pyramides for his father, mother and brethren, for each of them one, so great and so faire, as they moued admiration in those that behelde them; and are as yet to be seene at this present day. So great was *Simons* care, that *Jonathan* and the rest of his family should be honoured with so magnificent a sepulcher: which *Jonathan* died, after he had exercised the place of high priest, and possessed the government for foure yeeres. Thus much as touching his death.

As soone as *Simon* had taken possession of the high Priesthood, by the election of the people; the very first yeere of his government, hee acquitted the people of the tribute which they were wont to pay to the Macedonians. This liberty and exemption from tribute hapned amongst the Iewes, one hundredth and seuentie yeeres since the time that *Seleucus* surnamed *Nicanor* obtayned the kingdom of Syria. And in so great honour was *Simon* amongst the people, that in their priuate contracts and publike letters, the date began from the first yeere of *Simon* the benefactor and gouernour of the Iewish nation. For they prospered greatly vnder his gouernment, and had the victory of all their neighbouring enemies round about them. For he destroyed the Cities

A Cities of Gaza, Ioppe, and Iamnia: he raised also the citadell of Ierusalem, and leuelled it with the ground, to the intent the enemies might be neuer seized thereof any more, nor retreat themselves thither to endamage the City, as before time they had done. Which when he had brought to passe, he thought it not amisse, but very profitable, to leuell the hill whereon the Castle stood, to the intent the temple might be the eminentest place. All this perswaded he the people to do in a common assembly, laying before their eyes how many euills they had suffered, by the means of the garrisons, and how much they were like to suffer hereafter, if a stranger should once more be master of the kingdom, and build a citadell in that place. By these exhortations he perswaded the people to finish these works, and all of them began to trauel without intermission both day & night, so that in the space of 3. yeeres they plained the mountain, and wrought it downe; and from that time forward there was nothing but the temple that commanded the City. See here what *Simon* performed hitherto.

CHAP. XII.

Simon besiegeth Tryphon within Dora, and contracteth alliance with Antiochus, surnamed the Deuout.

Not long after the captiuitie of *Demetrius*, *Tryphon* slew *Alexander* the son of *Antiochus* surnamed *God*, notwithstanding he had the care and charge of his education for foure yeeres, during which time he raigned; and spreading abroad a certaine noise and rumour, that the young king in exercising himselfe fortuned to die, he sent his friends and familiars vnto the men of war, promising them that if they would elect and choole him King, he would giue them a huge sum of money; giuing them to vnderstand, that *Demetrius* was prisoner among the Parthians, and that if *Antiochus* his brother should obtaine the kingdom, he would punish them diuers waies, and reuenge their reuolt and rebellion, which they had committed by forsaking him. The army hoping, that if they bestowed the kingdom on *Tryphon*, it would rebound highly to their profit, they proclaimed him king. But after he had attained the fulnesse of his desires, hee shewed how malicious and wicked his nature was. For at such time as he was a priuate man, he flattered the people and made shew of moderation; and by such allurements he drew them to do what him listed: but after he had taken possession of the kingdom, he discovered his hypocrisie, and shewed plainly that he was not vnaptly called *Tryphon*, that is to say, a trifier or mocker. By which meanes he drew the hearts of the better sort from him: and as for his army, they grew so much in hatred of him, that they submitted themselves to *Cleopatra* *Demetrius* wife, who had at that time shut vp both her selfe and her children in Seleucia. And whereas *Antiochus*, surnamed the *Deuout*, and brother to *Demetrius*, was driven from place to place, and had not any City that would entertaine him for feare of *Tryphon*; *Cleopatra* sent vnto him, inuiting him both to be her husband, and to take the possession of the kingdom. And hereunto did the rather draw him, partly for that she was thereunto perswaded by her friends, and partly for the feare shee had, lest some one of Seleucia should betray the Citie to *Tryphon*. As soon as *Antiochus* was arrived in Seleucia, and that from day to day his forces increased, he marched forth into the field, and fought with *Tryphon*, and ouercame him in battell, and droue him out of the higher Syria, and pursued him as farre as Phoenicia: where after hee had retired himselfe into Dora, a strong and impregnable Castle, he besieged him therein, and sent present Embassadors to *Simon* the high Priest of the Iewes, to confirme a friendship and confederacy with him. *Simon* very curteously accepted his demands, and presently sent *Antiochus* both money and victuals, sufficient to furnish his army at the siege of Dora, so that in short space hee was accepted amongst the number of his entire friends. *Tryphon* flying from Dora to Apamea, was in that place besieged, taken and slaine, after he had raigned three yeeres.

CHAP. XIII.

F After *Tryphons* death, *Simon* made warre against *Antiochus*, and droue *Cendebeus* out of Iudæa.

But the innated avarice that was in *Antiochus*, and the malignitie of his nature made him forgetfull of those offices and seruices that *Simon* had done him: so that he sent *Cendebeus* his great friend with a mighty army to inuade Iewry, and to surpris *Simon*. But hee hauing some priuie intelligence of *Antiochus* treacherie, notwithstanding that at this time hee

The year of the world, 3827, before Christ's birth, 137. Simon and his ten expelled: Caddus out of Iury.

was very olde, was in such sort moued with the iniuries that *Antiochus* had done him, as animated with courage more then became his age, he went himsele to the warre; as if as yet hee had beene but youthfull: he therefore caused his sonne to march before with the picked souldiers of his army; and hauing left a number of his souldiers in ambush, in the hollow retreats of the mountains, he executed all his designs without failing in any one of them: so that after he had euery way obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, he euer after enioied his gouernment in peace, during the remainder of his life, and renewed likewise the confederacy with the Romans.

CHAP. XIII.

Simon is trayterously slaine by his sonne in lawe Ptolomey at a banquet.

The year of the world, 3827, before Christ's birth, 134. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 13. 1. Marc. 16. No faith nor trust, no not in sons in law.

HE gouerned Iudæa for the space of eight ycares, and was at length slaine at a banquet by the trechery of *Ptolomey* his sonne in law; who being seized of *Simons* wife and his two children, and detaining them in prison, sent out certaine of his traine besides, to kill *John* the third sonne surnamed *Hircanus*. But the young man hauing some inkling of their drift, retired himsele speedily into the City, and auoided the daunger that they complotted against him; assuring himsele of the good will of the people, in consideration of the benefites they had receiued at his fathers hands, and the hatred that they bare vnto *Ptolomey*; who intending to enter the City gates was sharply repulged by the Citizens, for that they had already entertained *Hircanus*.

CHAP. XV.

How Ptolomey sayling of his hopes, Hircanus obtained the Soueraignty.

The year of the world, 3827, before Christ's birth, 133.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14. Ptolomey besieged by Hircanus knowing the power of nature: affliction keepeth his mother and brethren prisoners in the walls, & threatneth to throwe them downe.

WHERVpon *Ptolomey* retyred vnto a certaine Castle, situate beyond Iericho called Dagon: but *Hircanus* was made high Priest in his fathers stead: who after hee had recommended himselfe to God by the firstling sacrifices that he offered, marched out against *Ptolomey* his brother in law to make war vpon him. Now when he was fully addrested to besiege the place which *Ptolomey* was retired, he had the aduantage in all other things; but only by the affection that he bare vnto his mother and his brethren, hee was overcome. For *Ptolomey* hauing taken them, and whipt them vpon the walles in all mens presence, threatned *Hircanus* that vnlesse he leuied his siege, he would cast them downe headlong from the toppes of the Castle: now where as one way *Hircanus* had a great desire to enforce and surprise the place; so also on the other side he was wholly weakned, thorow the desire that he had to redeme those, whom hee loved, from the enemies tyranny. True it is, that his mother stretching out her hands, besought him that for her sake hee should not giue ouer valiantly to assault the place; but that hee should bee the more encouraged to surprise the fortresse, and to lay hold vpon his enemy. & be reuenged on the wrong that was offered vnto his dearest friends: alleaging that hee thought it better to die in the midst of a thousand torments, then that the enemy should escape unpunished, who had beene so manifest an occasion of their misery. When *Hircanus* heard his mother speake thus, he was more furiously incensed to giue the assault: but as soone as hee saw his mother so beaten and so sore wounded, his heart melted within him, and that feruent desire which hee before had to batter and beate downe the Citie, was presently alayd and cooled; and so the pitifull compassion on his mother, surmounted and overcame his irefull affection of reuenge. Whilst thus the siege was continued and prolonged, the year of repose celebrated among the Iewes was come: For they obserued the seauenth year, as the seauenth day is obserued in the weeke; so that by this occasion *Ptolomey* was deliuered of this siege, who afterwards slue both *Hircanus* mother & brethren: which done he fled vnto *Zeno* surnamed *Coryla*, who at that time tyrannized in the citie of the Philadelphians.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Antiochus the Deuout maketh warre against Hircanus, and vpon the receipt of three hundred talents contracteth alliance with him.

A*NTIOCHUS* calling to mind the manifold losses he had receiued by *Simons* meanes, inuaded Iury in the fourth year of his raigae, and in the first of *Hircanus* gouernment, which was in the hundredth sixtie and two Olympiade. And after he had spoiled all the countrey, he locked vp *Hircanus* within the City of Ierusalem, which he had besieged with seuen camps; yet with no aduantage at all, both in regard of the strength of the walles, as in respect of the valour of the Citizens, as also the want of water which he had in his campe; which was notwithstanding remedied by a great fall of raine, which fell about the setting of the Pleiades in the beginning of Aprill. On the North side also where there is a great Plaine, *Antiochus* caused one hundred towers to be erected euery one three stages high, on which he planted certain companies of armed souldiers; who daily fought with the besieged, and who by the means of a double and deepe trench, rooke from them all their commodities. They on their side made often sallies, and if they chaunced at any time to charge the enemy on the Iordaine; they made a great slaughter: but if they were discouered, they retired souldier-like. But *Hircanus* considering the great number of people that were in the City, who rather consumed souldiers victuals then performed any seruice, he diuided those that were vsuit for warre and sent them out of the Citie, retaining onely thole with him, who were valiant and warlike. But *Antiochus* permitted them not to haue free liberty to depart; so that wandering here and there betweene the walles and the camp, they were consumed with famine, and died miserably. When as therefore the feast of Tabernacles was to be celebrated during these affaires, they that were within had compassion of their countremen, and drew them within the walles, and entertained them within the City. At this time *Hircanus* sent a messenger to beseech *Antiochus* to grant him truce for seuen daies, by reason of the solemnity of the feast: whereunto he accorded for the honour which he bare vnto God: Furthermore, he sent a magnificent sacrifice into Ierusalem of Bulls with guilded hornes, and vessels full of diuers odors, with other vessels of gold and siluer. Those that had the charge of the gates receiued the sacrifice at their hands that brought the same, and offered them in the temple. *Antiochus* himsele also gaue the souldiers certaine meates to grace their festiuall, shewing himsele herein to be of a farre better disposition then *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who after hee had taken the Citie, caused swines flesh to be sacrificed vpon the Altar, and besprinkled the temple with the broth of hogs, making a confusion of the ordinances of the lawe of God, which was the cause that this nation rebelled and conceived a deadly hatred against him: but *Antiochus* of whom we speake at this present, was by all men called Deuout, by reason of the incredible affection that he had to the seruice of God.

Hircanus acknowledging the bounty and affection he had towards God and his sacrifices, sent Embassadors vnto him, requiring him that he would permit them to vse the ancient policy of their forefathers. Whereupon the King sequestering all thole farre off from his company, who counsailed him to destroe the Iewish nation, who liued apart and had no acquaintance with others, made no reckning of their words. And vnderstanding that al the cōuersation of the Iewes was conformable vnto pietie, he answered the Embassadors, that if the besieged would yeelde vp their armes and pay the tributes of Ioppe, and the other Cities that were out of Iudæa, and would receiue a garrison, such as hee should appoint; hee would discharge them of this warre. They accepted all other his conditions, but they consented not to receiue a garrison; least they should be enforced to entertaine such with whom they could not conuerse; but in steede of the garrison they gaue pledges, and paid five hundred talents of siluer, of which the king receiued three hundred in hand, with the pledges; amongst which was *Hircanus* brother: and after he had beaten downe the cope and panes of the wall, with the other battlements of defence; hee raised the siege and departed. But *Hircanus* opening *Dauids* monument (who surpassed all other kings in riches during his time) drew three thousand talents out of the same: whereby he took occasion first of all among the Iewes to entertaine a forraigne army. There was also a friendship & confederation betwixt him and *Antiochus*, whom he entertained in the City with all his army, and furnished him largely and magnificently with all that which was necessary for the same: And that which more is, *Antiochus* hauing enterprised an exploit against the Parthians, *Hircanus* marched also in his company. *Nicholas Damascene* beareth witness hereof, writing after this manner

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The year of the world, 3831, before Christ's birth, 133.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 15. Hircanus is driue into the citie by Antiochus.

Pleiades the seuen starres.

The weaker fort are thrust out of the citie;

Antiochus affoordeth seuen daies truce to celebrate the feast of tabernacles;

Hircanus maketh peace with Antiochus, and the siege is giuen ouer.

The year of the world, 3838, before Christ's birth, 126. Hircanus taketh a huge summe of money out of king Dauids tomb: Nicholas Damascene.

The year of the world, 3838, before Christs birth 126.

Antiochus slain in the conflict against the Parthians.

ner, in his History: *Antiochus* erected a trophee near the foud Lycus, after he had ouercom the dates general of the army of the Parthians, and abroad there two daies at *Hircanus* the Iewes request, by reason of a solemne feast at that time, in which it was not lawfull for the Iewes to trauel, wherein he is no waies mistaken. For the feast of Pentecost was at that present the next day after the Sabbath, and it is not lawfull for vs neither in our Sabbath nor feasts to iourney any waies, and *Antiochus* fighting against *Asaces* king of the Parthians lost the greater part of his army, and was himselfe slaine. His brother *Demetrius* succeeded him in the kingdome of Syria, whom *Asaces* had put in prison at such time as *Antiochus* came into the kingdome of the Parthians, as we haue declared heretofore in an other place.

CHAP. XVII.

Hircanus leadeth his army into Syria.

Hedio & Rufinus, cha. 16. Hircanus turneth priesth diuers cities of Syria, and layeth desolate the temple that was builded on the hill Garizim.

The year of the world, 3840, before Christs birth 124.

The Idumeans conquered by Hircanus admit circuncision, and the lawes of the Iewes.

Hircanus maketh a league with the Romans.

Hircanus hearing news of *Antiochus* death, led forth his army with all expedition against the Cities of Syria, hoping to finde them disurnished both of garrisons and meanes of defence, as in effect it came to passe. He therefore tooke the Citie of Medaba at the end of six moneths, after that his army had suffered many calamities. Afterwards he seized Samega, and the Cities thereof: The Cities of Sichem, and Garizim also where the Cutheans dwelt, who had a temple there made according to the module of the temple of Ierusalem (which *Alexander* the great permitted *Sanaballath* to build in fauour of his sonne in law *Manasses*, brother to the high Priest *Iaddus*, as we haue heretofore declared) which temple was laid desolate two hundredth yeeres after it was builded. *Hircanus* also tooke certaine fortresses and Cities of Idumæa, as Adora, and Marissa; and after he had subdued all the Idumæans he permitted them to inhabit the countrey, vnder this condition, that they should consent to be circuncised, and to liue according to the lawes and religion of the Iewes. They thorow the desire they had to liue in the place where they were borne, submitted themselves to be circuncised, and to liue according to the customes and ordinances of the Iewes; and from that day forward they were comprehended within the number of the Iewes.

Whilest thus *Hircanus* was high Priest, he thought good to renewe the amitie betwixt the Iewes and the Romans; and to this effect he sent an embassage with letters vnto the Senate. As soone as the Senate had receiued his letters, they made alliance with him; to this effect eniuing: *Fanius M. F. Pr.* assembled the Senate in the fildes of Mars the eight day of February, in the presence of *L. Manlius*, *L. F. Mentina*, and *C. Sempronius*, *C. F. Falerna*; concerning that which *Simon* the sonne of *Dositheus* *Apollonius* the sonne of *Alexander*, *Diadormus* the sonne of *Isaion*, men of good reputation and honour, and sent Embassadors by the people of the Iewes, haue proposed; who haue dealt with vs as touching the confederation and amity that this nation had with the Romans, and haue likewise conferred as touching the affaires of estate, namely, that Ioppe and the ports thereof, Gazara and the fountaines thereunto belonging, and those other Cities of the countrey, which *Antiochus* tooke from them, contrary to the decree of the Senate, should be restored vnto them: and that it may not be lawfull for the kings souldiers, to pass thorow their country, neither any of those prouinces, that are vnder their gouernment: and that those things which were attempted by *Antiochus* during this war, contrarie to the arrest and decree of the Senat, should be declared void, to the end that the embassadors sent in the Senates behalf, may prouide for the restitution of those things, which *Antiochus* hath spoiled them of; and may rate and set downe the domages, which the countrey hath receiued by this war. Item, that commendatory letters should be written in the behalfe of the Iewish embassadors, to the kings and free people for their secure and safe returne into their country. It hath been held conuenient, to make and ratifie this ordinance, to the end to renew friendship and confederation with men of so good respect, sent vnto them by a nation so good & faithful towards them. And as touching the letters, the answer was; that they should be written, as such time as the affaires of the Senate would permit them any leisure; and that from this time forward, they would haue care that no iniury should be offered them. And the Pretor *Fanius* was commanded also to deliuer the embassadors money out of the common purse to boare their charges home into their countrey: and thus did *Fanius* dismiss the Embassadors of the Iewes after he had giuen them sifter out of the common treasury, with the decree of the Senate addressed to those that should condu& them, and giue them assured conuoy to returne into their countrey. And this was the estate of the affaires during *Hircanus* priesthood.

But

The year of the world, 3844, before Christs birth 120.

Demetrius being ouercome by Alexander is slaine. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 17. Alexander slaine in the conflict betwixt him and Antiochus Gryphus.

The year of the world, 3842, before Christs birth 122.

Hircanus whilst the brothers weaken themselves by ciuill wars liueth in peace.

A But king *Demetrius* being sharply whetted to make warre against *Hircanus*, could haue neither time nor occasion to exploit the same, by reason that both the Syrians and his men of war were scarcely well affected towards him, because of his wickednes of life. For they sent Embassadors to *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Physcon*, to require him to send some one of *Seleucus* race vnto them, to take vpon him the kingdome. Whereupon *Ptolemy* sent them *Alexander* surnamed *Zebina*, accompanied with an armie; who waging battell with *Demetrius* put him to the worst, and constrained him to fly to his wife *Cleopatra* to Ptolomais: who neither accepting, nor entertaining him, he was constrained to retire himselfe from thence vnto Tyre; where hee was taken, & after he had suffered many miseries by the hands of his enemies, he finally died. *Alexander* hauing by this meanes obtained the kingdome, made a league of amity with *Hircanus*. And whereas it so fell out, that *Antiochus*, surnamed *Gryphus*, the sonne of *Demetrius* made warre against him, he was ouercome and slaine in the battell. When as therefore *Antiochus* had taken possession of the kingdome of Syria, he forbore to make warre againe the Iewes, for that hee had intelligence that his brother by the mothers side (who was in like sort named *Antiochus*) assembled an army against him at *Cyzicus*. Remaining therefore in his countrey, he resolved to make preparation against his brothers coming, who was called *Cyzicenus*, because he was brought vp in that citie, and was the son of *Antiochus* called the Conseruer, who died in the countrey of the Parthians, & who was brother to *Demetrius* the father of *Gryphus*: and it so fell out that both these brothers were married to one and the same *Cleopatra*, as we haue heretofore expressed. When *Antiochus* the Cyzicenan was arriued in Syria, he made warre against his brother, which continued many yeeres: during all which time *Hircanus* liued in peace (for presently after *Antiochus* death, he reuolted from the subiection of the Macedonians) and from that time forward gaue them no succours, neither as subiect, neither as friend; but his fortunes both augmented & flourished greatly during the time of *Alexander Zebina*, and principally during the raigne of these two brothers. For the war, wherein they consumed one another, gaue *Hircanus* an opportunity, to leuy all the reuenues of Iudæa, without any contradiction: so that by the same meanes he gathered infinite summes of money. For whilest the Cyzicenan destroyed his brothers countrey, *Hircanus* also made knowne his inclination and disposition: and seeing likewise that *Antiochus* was destitute of those succours he expected out of Egypt, and that both himselfe and his brother also (thorow their mutuall discords) weakened one anothers estates, he set as light by the one, as by the other.

CHAP. XVIII.

How Antiochus the Cyzicenan came to the reliefe of the Samaritanes; and how being conquered, hee fled away.

Or which cause he drew forth his army against Samaria (which was a strong Citie) and is at this day called Sebaste, because it was reedified by *Herode*, as we will make manifest in time and place conuenient. He therefore began to besiege and batter the same with all diligence; animated thereunto, because of the extreame hate he bare the Samaritanes, in that onely to please the kings of Syria they had offered many grievous outrages to the Marissens, who were extracted from, and allied with the Iewes. Hee therefore made a trench round about the Citie, with a double wall of eighty fouds, and committed the generall commaund of this siege to his sonnes *Antigonus* and *Aristobulus*, who so diligently and valiantly behaved themselves, that the Samaritanes being ouerpressed with extreame famine, were constrained to eate such things as were vnusuall and vnaccustomed amongst men: and to call *Antiochus* the Cyzicenan to their rescous. Who readily repaired thither, but was repulld by *Aristobulus* souldiers, and being pursued by the two brethren as farre as Scythopolis, he hardly escaped; and they returning to their siege, freshly assaulted and besieged the Samaritanes within their owne walls: So that once more they were constrained to send Embassadors to *Antiochus* for aide, who was their allie, who sent vnto *Ptolemy Lathyrus* for about some six thousand men of warre, who furnished him with them contrarie to his mothers minde, who therefore had almost thrust him out of his dominion. As soone as he had receiued them, he made a roade into *Hircanus* countrey, and spoiled and foraged the same as farre as Egypt. For he durst not bid him battell hand to hand, because he had not competent forces; but thought that in spoiling the countrey he might cause them to leuy the siege, & forsake Samaria: but after hee had lost a great number of his men by diuers ambuscadoes of his enemies, he went vnto Tripoli, committing the generall charge of that

The year of the world, 3844, before Christs birth 120.

Hircanus besiegeth Samaria.

Antiochus seeking to relieue the Samaritanes, is ouercome and put to flight by *Aristobulus*.

warre

The year of the world, 3854, before Christs birth 110.

Epicrates corrupted with money, selleth Scythopolis & other places to the Iewes.

Hircanus taketh Samaria.

Chelcias and Ananias captaines of Cleopatras army. Strabo of Cappadocia report of the loyalty of the Iewes. Hircanus groweth in discontent with the Pharisees.

Eleazar the Pharisee vnderstandeth Hircanus that his mother was a slave.

The Sadduce Jonathan inceneth Hircanus against the Pharisees.

warre to *Callimander* and *Epicrates*, two of his captaines. This *Callimander* more rashly then *G*wisely attempting to set vpon the enemy was himselfe slaine, and his fouldiers discomfited. And *Epicrates* giuen ouer to couetousnesse did openly yeeld vp Scythopolis and other Cities into the hands of the Iewes: so that it was impossible for either of the to leuy the siege. Finally after that *Hircanus* had continued his siege before the Citie for the space of one whole yeere, hee became master of the same: and not contenting himselfe with the surprisall hereof, he vtterly destroyed it, enforcing the riuers thorow the midst thereof; yea he ruined the same in such sort, that the mud and soile both of the water and earth tooke away all the appearance of the Citie; so that it seemed as if it had neuer bene. Of this *Hircanus* there is a certaine incredible matter committed to memorie, namely, how during his high priesthood God had conference with him. For it is reported, that the very same day wherein his sons fought against *Antiochus* the Cyzicenean, whilst being himselfe alone, he offered incense in the temple, that he heard a voice, saying, that his two sons had at that present overcome *Antiochus*: all which hee incontinently signified vnto the people at the gate of the temple; and according as he had said, so it came to passe. See heere what occurrences hapned in *Hircanus* time.

About this very instant likewise, the affaires of the Iewes prospered not only in Ierusalem and Iudæa, but also amongst the inhabitants of Alexandria; and finally in Egypt and Cyprus. For *Queene Cleopatra* rebelling against her sonne *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, appointed *Chelcias* and *Ananias* as the sonnes of that *Onias*, who had builded the temple in Heliopolis (according to the patterne of that in Ierusalem) her chiefeistans. And hauing committed her army vnto their hands, shee acted nothing without their aduice, according as *Strabo* the Cappadocian witnesseth, speaking I after this manner. Diuers of those who came with vs, and of those who had bene sent into Cyprus from *Cleopatra*, sodainly reuolted to *Ptolomey*: Only the Iewes that were of *Onias* faction, remained constant in their duty, because the *Queene* made great account and reckoning of *Chelcias* and *Ananias* their countinmen. Thus saith *Strabo*. This great felicitie and prosperity of *Hircanus* moued the Iewes to conceiue a hatred against him, and especially the Pharisees opposed themselves against him. These Pharisees were one of the sects of the Iewes (whereof wee haue heretofore intreated) which sect was so great in credit with the common people, that when they deposed any thing, were it against the king or the high priest, they were presently beleueed. *Hircanus* had been one of their disciples, and was in like sort very much beloued of them. Hee therefore inuited them to a feast, and entertained them with all humanitie: and seeing that they were set vpon a merry pin, he began to tell them that they knew his minde, how that he desired nothing more then to be iust, and to square all his actions according to Gods will and direction, according as they themselves taught. He therefore required them, that if they perceiued that he mistooke himselfe in any thing, or that he wandred from the right way, they would by admonition redresse the same. Whereupon all of them gaue testimony of his perfect vertue. Vherewith he was highly contented. But one of the company called *Eleazar*, a man of a malicious nature, and such a one as delighted in mutiny, said vnto him: Since you desire to heare the truth, if so be you affect the estimation of a good man, giue ouer the place of priesthood, & content your selfe with the gouernment of the people. *Hircanus* demanded of him the cause wherefore hee should forsake the priesthood? Because (saith he) that we haue heard say by our auncestors, that your mother was a captiue during the reign of *Antiochus* the Famous (which notwithstanding was a false report.) *Hircanus* hearing this, was sore moued against him; as also all other of the Pharisees, who were assisstant in that place. Amongst the rest there was a certaine man called *Jonathan*, of the order of the Sadduces (who maintaine an opposite opinion against the Pharisees) who was an inward and deere friend to *Hircanus*, with whom he communicated the inuiolent speeches that *Eleazar* had spoken by him, who told him that (as hee thought) *Eleazar* had spoken these words by the publike consent of the Pharisees; and that he might discouer the same most manifestly, if he enquired of them what punishment *Eleazar* had deserued for speaking after this sort. *Hircanus* therefore questioned with the Pharisees as concerning his punishment, telling them that he should very well perceiue, that this injury had not been pronounced by the common consent of them all, if they condemned the offender to suffer a punishment proportionable to his offence. Vherupon they decreed, that hee ought to be punished by imprisonment and scourging, for (saith they) an injury done in word required no capitall punishment: & to speake vprightly, they in their thinking censured seuerely enough of this fault, for that the Pharisees are naturally inclined to mercy when there groweth any question of punishment. But *Hircanus* was sore offended with this their answer, and imagined that this *Eleazar* had spoken after this manner by the common

A common instigation of the rest. This displeasure and conceiued dislike of his, did *Jonathan* aggravate to the vttermost; and handled the matter in such sort, that he drew *Hircanus* to forsake the Pharisees, & subscribe to the opinions of the Sadduces, abolishing their ordinances, and causing them to be sharply punished that observed the same. These practices of *Hircanus* incensed the people against him & his sonnes. But hereof will we speake in another place. At this present I will declare how the Pharisees haue made many ordinances among the people, according to the tradition of their fathers, whereof there is nothing written in the lawes of *Moses*: for which cause the Sect of the Sadduces reiecteth them, affirming that they ought to keep the written ordinances, and not to obserue those that are grounded vpon the tradition of the fathers: And great dispute & diffensions haue been raised among them vpon this occasion, because the richer sort only, and not the baser sort of people, cleaued vnto the Sadduces: but the Pharisees had the commonality on their sides. But of these two sorts, and of the Esleans, I haue more exactly intreated in my second booke of the wars of the Iewes. But *Hircanus* finally appealed this mutiny, & liued afterwards in much peace & happines, & after he had most discreetly gouerned his principedome for the space of one and thirty yeeres he died, leauing fise sonnes behind him. This man was honoured by God with three great gifts: the gift of gouernment; the gift of Priesthood; and the gift of prophecy. For God spake vnto him diuers times by Oracles, and Reuelations, & gaue him the knowledge of things to come; which he in such sort foretold, that hee declared that his two eldest sonnes should not possesse the principallitie any long time: whose ende it shall not be amiss to set downe in what manner it was, to the intent that the prophecy of their father may bee the better known.

The year of the world, 3854, before Christs birth 110. Hircanus forsaketh the Pharisees, and followeth the Sadduces. The constitutions of the Pharisees.

Hircanus death. The year of the world, 3862, before Christs Nativitie, 102.

Hircanus prophesie of his sonnes.

CHAP. XIX.

Aristobulus obtaineth the government, and first of all placeth the kingly Diademe on his head.

After the death of their father, *Aristobulus* the eldest of his sonnes determined to exchange the principallitie into an absolute estate of a kingdome: and the better to attaine thereunto, he first of all set the diademe vpon his head, foure hundred eightie and one yeeres and three monethes, since the people of the Iewes were deliuered from the seruitude of Babylon, and led againe into their country. And for that *Aristobulus* amongst all his other brethren, loued *Antigonus* best of all, who was the neereft vnto him in age, he accepted him as a companion in the government of the kingdome: but as touching the rest, he shut them vp in prison. He locked vp his mother likewise, who had contended with him as concerning the gouernment (for that *Hircanus* had committed all things to her disposition) and so farre extended his cruelty, that he furnished her to death in prison. After he had thus handled his mother, hee slue his brother *Antigonus* also; whom hee pretended to loue aboue all the rest, and whom (as hee made shew) he had made partner of his kingdome. From whom he estranged himselfe, by reason of some slaunders and false accusations raised vp against him; which at the first he gaue no credit to, both for that the friendship which hee bare vnto him, made him slightly respect the same, as also for that he imagined that he was enuiously slandered. It came to passe, that *Antigonus*, returning vpon a certaine time from the armie with great magnificence, about the time of the feast of Tabernacles, chanced to repaire thither at that very time, wherein *Aristobulus* hapned to fall sicke. *Antigonus* intending to celebrate the solemnitie ascended the temple in great brauery, attended by some of his army, to make his special prayers for his brothers health. Vherupon certaine malicious wretches, desirous to breake the concord that was betweene them, made vse of this occasion, and of *Antigonus* magnificent pompe and good fortune; and came vnto the King, amplifying vnto him in malicious words, what pompe and maiestie hee had shewed in that solemnitie, telling him that in these his actions, hee demeaned himselfe in no sort like a private man; but that all his actions were leuelled at a royaltie: finallie, that his intent was to enter the kingdome by force, and to kill him, in that hee made his account that since he might be King alone, it was a great simplicitie for him to haue a companion. But *Aristobulus* although hee would very hardly bee induced to beleue these reports; yet notwithstanding being desirous both to extinguish the suspicion, and to prouide for his owne securitie, hee disposed certaine of his guard in a darke and priuie place vnder ground, and lodged himselfe in a certaine tower called Antonia, commanding that no man should offer violence, except to those who entered armed: Giuing a further charge to his guard, that if *Antigonus* entered armed, he should be slaine.

The year of the world, 3862, before the birth of Christ, 102.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 18.

Aristobulus Hircanus son was the first after the captiuitie of Babylon that set the Diademe on his head.

Aristobulus admitteth his brother *Antigonus* to be his copartner in the kingdome, & imprisoneth the rest of his brethren and familieth his mother.

Antigonus death plotted. *Aristobulus* is incensed against his brother *Antigonus*.

The year of the world, 3864, before Christ's birth 102.
Aristobulus Queen contriveth Antigonus death.

The force of slaughter.

Judas the Effean a prophet.

The punishment of Aristobulus for the murder of his brother.

The touch of conscience.

The year of the world, 3864, before Christ's nativity, 101.

Aristobulus compelleth the Itureans to be circumcised, and to observe the lawes of the Iewes.

Which done, he sent for his brother, willing him to repaire vnto him without weapons. Which when the Queene and they that complotted the murder of *Antigonus* understood, they perswaded the messenger to certifie him the contrary, namely, that his brother expected (in that he made warlike preparation and furniture for waite) that in that estate and pompe, & in those royall and warlike accoutrements, he should come and visit him, to the end he might be an eye-witness of his braue furniture and preparation. But *Antigonus* suspecting no harme intended him, and relying on the good will of his brother, marched all armed on foote toward *Aristobulus*, to shew himselfe in that brauerie: & when he came right ouer against the tower, that is called *Straton*, where the passage was very darke, the kings gard slue him.

By this accident a man may easily coniecture, that there is scarcely any power greater then that of enuie and slaughter, and that there is not any thing that may sooner breake off the good will and amitie amongst brethren, then these two passions. And about all, there is an occasion offered vs of great wonder in respect of one that was called *Judas*, of the sect of the Effeans; who in all those things that he prophesied, varied in no sort from the truth. He seeing *Antigonus* come vp into the temple, cried out among his disciples (who frequented with him to be instructed by him in the methode of prophetic) that hee was wearie of his life, because *Antigonus* security argued the vanity of his prophecy, by which he had foretold, that that very day he should be slain at *Stratons* tower; whereas the place, where he should be murdered, was fixe hundredth foulds off; and the better part of the day was already spent: so that it could not be imagined, but that he should be in danger to haue made a false prediction. Whilest hee debated his doubts after this maner, and was wholly ouercome with choller, newes was brought that *Antigonus* was slain in a certaine place vnder ground, which was called the tower of *Straton*, of the same name with that other that standeth nere the sea, which was afterward called *Cæsarea*; which ambiguitie troubled the diuiner. Incontinently after this accident, *Aristobulus* repented himselfe in that hee had put his brother to death; and this repentance of his, was seconded by a most grievous sickness, proceeding from the affliction of his spirit and detestation of that cruell murder: so that with grievous agonie and torment he vomited blood, as if all his entrails had bene torne in sunder. This blood so vomited by him, it fortuned (in mine opinion) by the diuine prouidence of God, that a certaine seruant of his bearing it from his presence, by some trip of his foote hapned to stumble, and shed the same in that very place, which had been soyled with the blood of slaughtered *Antigonus*. By which meanes they that beheld the same, raised a great crie, exclaiming that the Page had shed the blood in a conuenient place. *Aristobulus* hearing this outcrie demanded the cause thereof, and for that no man addressed himselfe to satisfie him, hee was the more earnest to know it (according to the nature of men, who are alwaies more suspicious and desirous to know those things, which are most concealed.) Finally, from words he fell to menaces, & neuer a man for feare of him durst tell him the truth. Whereupon hee altogether dismayed and affrighted in his conscience, casting forth abundant teares, and loaden with grievous sighes, began to cry out in this maner: How then? Mine impious and detestable act is not hidden from God, but the sodaine punishment of my brothers murder pursueth me: wherefore, O thou shamelesse body of mine, how long wilt thou detain my soule, which is due, and appertaineth to the ghosts of my mother and brother? Why dost thou not take it all at once such as it is, without expecting that I should sacrifice my blood, poured out so many times to those, whom I haue so traiterously slaine? Whilest he pronounced these words, he died, after he had reigned one yeere. He was called *Philelles*, that is to say, a louer of the Greeks. Thus after he had profited his countrie many wayes, and subdued the Itureans, and ioyned the greater part of the countrie to *Judæa*; and had constrained them likewise, who should remaine in that countrie, to be circumcised, and to liue according to the lawes of the Iewes, he died thus miserably. Hee was by nature courteous and very shamefast, as *Strabo* testifieth, speaking after this maner, by the authoritie of *Timagenes*; This was a courteous man, & profitable to his countrimen the Iewes in many things: for he enlarged their countrie, and conquered a part of the nations of the Itureans, whom he betted vnto him by the bond of circumcision.

When *Aristobulus* was dead, *Salome* his wife (whom the Greeks called *Alexandra*) set his brothers at liberty (whom, as we haue heretofore declared, he had shut vp prisoners) and made *Lannus* (who was called *Alexander*) king, who both in age and modesty surpassed all the other brethren; but such mishap had he, that from his birth day vpward, his father had conceived so great a hate against him, that he neuer admitted him to his presence so long as he liued. The cause whereof (as it is reported) was this. When as *Hircannus* loued *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, who were his two eldest sons, with most intire affection, God appeared vnto him in his sleepe, of whom he demanded who should be he that should succeed him? Whereupon God presented vnto his sight the semblance of *Alexander*: wherewith he grew discontent, in that he conceived that he should be heire of all his goods; & so much preuailed displeasure with him, that as soon as he was born, he sent him out of his presence into *Galilee*, to be nourished & brought vp in that place. But God hath apparantly prooued that he lied not to *Hircannus*. For after *Aristobulus* death, he taking possession of the kingdome, caused one of his two brethren to bee put to death, who affected and laboured to make himselfe king: and as for the other, who resolved himselfe to liue in idleness and pleasure, he honoured him greatly.

After that hee had established his estate; according as hee thought it most expedient, hee led forth his army against *Ptolemis*: and hauing obtained the vpper hand in the battell, he couped vp the men within their Citie, and afterward besieged and entrenched about the same. For amongst all the Cities of the sea coast, these two onely, namely, *Ptolemis* and *Gaza* remained as yet vnconquered, and there was no opposite left but *Zoilus*, who was seised of the tower of *Straton* and *Dora* where he gouerned. Whilest *Antiochus Philometor* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus* were thus at debate and warre the one against the other, and consumed each others forces, the *Ptolemaidans* had not any succour from them. But whilest they were trauailed with this siege, *Zoilus* (who held the tower of *Straton* and *Dora*) assited them with that army hee had vnder him, and gaue them some succours, by reason that (since these two kings were whetted with intestine troubles and warres) hee cast how to aduance himselfe to the crowne and soueraintie. For these two kings seemed to neglect their owne dangers, resembling herein those wrastlers, who though being wearied with fight; yet are ashamed to submit vnto their aduersarie, but giue themselves a breathing time, that they may the better bee heartened to encounter. The onely hopes they had were in the kings of *Egypt* and in *Ptolomey Lathyrus*, who held the Isle of *Cyprus* at that time (whither he retired himselfe after he had been driuen out of his kingdome by *Cleopatra* his mother.) To him the *Ptolemaidans* sent Embassadors as vnto their allie, requiring him to come and deliuer them from *Alexanders* hands, into which they were in danger to fall. These embassadors perswaded him, that if he would passe into *Syria*, he should haue both *Zoilus* to friend, and thole of *Gaza* to his followers, in the rescue of the *Ptolemaidans*: and moreouer, they assured him that the *Sidonians* and diuers others would second him: and by this meanes so encouraged him with promises, that he hastened himselfe to set saile.

But in the meane space *Demenetus* (who was both eloquent and in great authoritie with the Citizens) made the *Ptolemaidans* change their resolution, telling them that it was much better for them to hazard themselves in some vncertaine danger, wherewith the Iewes threatened them, then to deliver themselves into the hands of such a master, from whom they could expect nothing but manifest seruitude. And moreouer, not onely to sustaine a present war; but that which is more, an imminent war from *Egypt*: for that *Cleopatra* would not permit that *Ptolomey* should leuy an army of the neighbouring Nations, but would come against them with a great power, and would enforce her selfe also to thrust her sonne out of *Cyprus*. And as for *Ptolomey* if he were frustrate of his hope, yet might he notwithstanding once more returne againe to *Cyprus*; where as they were to expect no lesse but extreame danger. Now although that *Ptolomey* being at sea, vnderstood how the *Ptolemaidans* had changed their opinion, yet continued he his course onward, and landing in the port of *Sicamine*, he caused his army (who were of foote and horse to the number of thirty thousand men) to take land, and with them he approached *Ptolemis*; and perceiving that vpon his encamping, they of the Citie admitted not his embassadors, quire aide against the Iewes, at *Ptolemis* hands. of *Gaza* were come vnto him; requiring him to yeeld them assistance; for that their countrie was destroyed

Hedio. & Rufinus, chap. 19. *Salome* turne med *Alexandra* *Aristobulus* his wife maketh *Lannus* *Alexander* king.

Alexander executeth the one brother that affected the crowne, & honoureth the other.

Alexander besiegeth *Ptolemis*. The year of the world, 3864, before Christ's Nativity, 100. *Zoilus* tyrant of *Straton* and *Dora*.

Zoilus & the *Gazeans* require aide against the Iewes, at *Ptolemis* hands.

The year of the world, 3864, before Christ's Nativity, 100. Alexander periwadeith Ptolomey to cut off Zoilus. Zoilus taken. Ptolemais besieged by Ptolomey.

Ptolomey taketh Azot a towne in Galilee.

destroyed by the Iewes, and by *Alexander*: For which cause *Alexander* raised his siege from before Ptolemais, for feare of *Ptolomey*, and retiring his armie into his owne countrey, he began to vse this stratageme. For couertly he incited *Cleopatra* against *Ptolomey*; & openly he made a shew of amitie and confederation with *Ptolomey*: promising him to giue him foure hundred talents of siluer, provided that he would deliuer him of the tyrant *Zoilus*, and assigne those possessions held by him vnto the Iewes. *Ptolomey* hauing made a peace and league with *Alexander*, did at that time willingly lay hold on *Zoilus*: but after that he vnderstood that *Alexander* had sent and incited his mother against him, hee brake all accord, and went and besieged Ptolemais, that would not entertaine him. After therefore he had left his lieutenants at the siege with part of his forces, hee departed with the rest, to enter vpon and spoile the countrey of Iudæa. *Alexander* perceiuing *Ptolomey's* intent, assembled about fiftie thousand fighting men of his owne countrey, H (or as some historians haue written, eightie thousand) with whom hee went out to fight against *Ptolomey*, who sodainly setting vpon Azoch a city of Galilee on a Sabbath day, tooke it by force, and led away from thence ten thousand prisoners, and a great quantitie of other bootie.

CHAP. XXI.

How Ptolomey Lathyrus fought against Alexander, and obtained the victorie.

Ptolomey assaulteth Sephor. Hecatontamachi, or the warriours by hundredths.

Alexanders ouerthrow.

Ptolomey to the end he might afflict the Iewes with more terror, causeth his soldiers to eat mans flesh.

Ptolemais taken by force. Cleopatra prepareth an army against her sonne.

Afterwards set vpon Sephor a citie neere vnto Azoch, from whence he departed with the losse of many men, with an intent to fight with *Alexander*: who came forth to make I head against him, and met with him neere vnto Iordan, in a place called Asophon, and encamped right ouer against the enemy. He had in his vanguard eight thousand men, whome he called Combattants by the hundredths: who carried brazen bucklers. *Ptolomey's* forward also had bucklers after the same fashion: who perceiuing themselves to bee inferiours in other points, deferred the charge, and were loth to hazard battell. But *Philostephanus* the campmaster did not a little encourage them: For he caused them to passe the flood, hard by which they were encamped, neither would he hinder *Alexander* from passing the same, making his account, that if the enemies had the riuer on their backs, hee should be the more assured of them, that they should not warrantize themselves from the fight. In the beginning of the skirmish, each one of them fought, with answerable valour; so that a great number of them fell on both sides. But *Philostephanus* perceiuing that *Alexander's* army had the better, he tooke a part of his followers, and speedily seconded those who were ready to retire themselves. The wing of the Iewes vanguard that saw themselves freshly charged, and not succoured by any meanes, began to flie; and so farre were those that marched next them, from yeelding them assistance, that contrariwise all of them became partners in one shamefull flight. But they of *Ptolomey's* side behaued themselves farre otherwise: for they pursued and slew them, and after they had wholly disarmed them, they charged them so hotly, that they blunted their weapons, and wearied their armes with killing them. It is reported that thirtie thousand men were slaine in the battell (*Timagenes* saith, fiftie thousand) as for the rest, some of them were taken prisoners, and other some fled vnto their houses. After that *Ptolomey* had obtained this victorie, hee ouerranne and spoiled the whole L countrey, and in the euening he quartered himselfe in certaine villages of Iudæa, which he found full of women & children, and commanded his souldiers without respect of person, to cut their throats, and to chop them into peeces; and afterwards to cast the morfels into a boyling cauldron, and when they were well sod to eate the same: All which he acted, to the intent that they that were fled from the battell, & retired to their owne habitations, should know that their enemies would eate mans flesh; that by this meanes they might redoubt them the more when they should behold them. *Strabo* and *Nicholas* report, that they demeaned themselves after this manner, as I haue declared. And *Ptolomey* tooke Ptolemais also by force, as I haue made knowne else where.

But *Cleopatra* perceiuing how her sonne prospered, and how hee had spoiled Iewry without M any preiudice, and subiected the citie of Gaza to his commaund: shee concluded with her selfe, that shee ought not to suffer him to increase after that manner, considering it was vpon the borders of Egypt, whose souerainty he affected. For which cause, shee sodainly marched out against him, with an armie both by sea and land; committing the command of her whole forces of *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, both Iewes; and sent the greater part of her riches into the Isle of Coos, with her nephewes, and her testament, to be reserved and kept there in safety. And after she had commanded

The year of the world, 3864, before Christ's Nativity 100.

Ptolomey driven out of Egypt. Ptolemais besieged and taken by Cleopatra.

Alexanders peace with Cleopatra renewed.

The year of the world, 3873, before Christ's birth 91. Alexander taketh Gadara.

Alexander besiegeth Gaza. Apollodotus by night invaded the campe of the Iewes.

Aretas king of Arabia batteth the Gazans with hope of rescue. Lyfimachus killeth his brother Apollodotus, and betrayeth Gaza to Alexander.

Amanded her sonne *Alexander* to set saile toward Phoenicia, with a great navy, because the inhabitants of that countrey were reuolted from her obedience: the her selfe departed and came to Ptolemais, and besieged it, when shee perceived that they refused to grant her entry. *Ptolomey* made haste to depart out of Syria, and to enter Egypt, hoping to be Lord thereof at one time, when he should find the countrey disurnished of men of warre. But his purpose failed him. At that time it fortuned, that *Chelcias* one of the two Generals of *Cleopatra's* army, died in Coelosyria; beeing in pursuit of *Ptolomey*. *Cleopatra* hauing tydings of her sonnes enterprise, and that the successe & fortune he expected in Egypt had failed him, shee sent part of her army to driue him out of the countrey; so that he was enforced to returne backe againe out of Egypt, and to goe and spend his winter at Gaza. Meane while *Cleopatra* besieged and tooke the Citie of Ptolemais, whicher *Alexander* resorted vnto her, with great pretents, and an answerable respect vnto his fortune, who had been so vntowardly handled by *Ptolomey*, hauing now no other recourse left him but to her fauour and assistance. Vpon his arrival, certaine of her familiars counselled her to lay hands on him, and to seize the countrey; and not to permit that so greata number of Iewes, and they so valiant men, should become subiects vnto one man. But *Ananias* gaue her counsaile to the contrary, alleading that she should commit an act of great iniustice, if she should depose him, who was her allye, from the gouernment; who was beside that, very neerly allied vnto her. For (saith he) I would you should know, that by committing this wrong, you shall raise in all the rest of the Iewes a hainous hatred against you. *Cleopatra* conforming herselfe according to *Ananias* counsaile, resolved with her selfe to offer *Alexander* no iniurie; but in steed thereof, she entertained him as her C allye and friend, at Scythopolis a Citie of Coelosyria. Now when *Alexander* perceived, that hee was discharged of the feare which he had conceiued in respect of *Ptolomey*, he incontinently drew his army into Coelosyria, and after six moneths siege, tooke Gadara: hee tooke shortly after *Apollodotus* captaine of the Gazans made a sally by night, and entred the campe of the Iewes, hauing onely with him two thousand strange souldiers, & one thousand of his owne followers. And as long as the night lasted, the Gazans had the vpper hand; because that they made their enemies believe that *Ptolomey* was come to their rescue, and to assault the Iewes afresh: but as soone as the day appeared, and this opinion was found false, as soone as the Iewes were assured of the truth, they turned back vpon them, and charging the Gazans, they slew about some one thousand fighting men of them.

This did not any waies astonish *Alexander*: but notwithstanding the disaster, he marched forward toward the Cities Raphia and Anthedon, which *Herod* afterwards called Agrippias, situate on the sea coasts, and tooke them perforce; and seeing that *Ptolomey* was retired from Gaza into Cyprus, and that *Cleopatra* his mother was in Egypt, hee besieged the citie of Gaza, and spoiled D all the countrey round about it, by reason of the displeasure which hee had conceiued against the citizens, for that they had sought their assistance at *Ptolomey's* hands against him. Against him *Apollodotus* captaine of the Gazans made a sally by night, and entred the campe of the Iewes, hauing onely with him two thousand strange souldiers, & one thousand of his owne followers. And as long as the night lasted, the Gazans had the vpper hand; because that they made their enemies believe that *Ptolomey* was come to their rescue, and to assault the Iewes afresh: but as soone as the day appeared, and this opinion was found false, as soone as the Iewes were assured of the truth, they turned back vpon them, and charging the Gazans, they slew about some one thousand fighting men of them.

All this notwithstanding, they bethought them on no surrender, but stood out, being neither E amated with losse of men, or lack of prouision whatsoeuer, resolving themselves rather to endure any misery, then to submit themselves into the hands of their enemies: and that which made the more confident, was the hope of help which they expected from *Aretas* king of Arabia, who had promised no lesse. But it came to passe that *Apollodotus* was slaine before his arriual, and the citie taken. For *Lyfimachus* his brother conceiued a ialousie against him, by reason of the good opinion which the inhabitants had of him; and hauing slaine him, & gathered those fighting men that he might, he yeilded vp the Citie vnto *Alexander*, who at the first made a peaceable entrie, but afterwards dispersed his souldiers, and gaue them licence to execute all hostilitie against the Citizens: so that they acted their crueltie in euery place, and slew many of the Gazans: Neither did these citizens vneueged, but so manfully behaued they themselves, that they butchered no lesse F number of Iewes, then they murdered citizens among them. Some of them likewise perceiuing themselves to be alone, set fire vpon their houses, taking away first that which was therein; to the intent that the enemy might be enriched with none of their spoiles. Other some killed their wiues and children with their owne hands, meaning this way to deliuer them from the enemies seruitude. But the Senators, to the number of 5 hundred, were fled into the temple of Apollo (for at such time as the enemy entred the towne, they were by chance assembled in counsell) all these did *Alexander* put to the sword; and instantly rased and leuelled that Citie with the ground: which

done;

The yeere of the world 3873, before Christs birth 91.
Antiochus Gryphus slain.
Seleucus Gryphus sonne, maketh warre with Antiochus the Cyzecian.
The yeere of the world 3874, before Christs birth 90.
Antiochus Eusebes putteth Seleucus to flight.
Antiochus, Seleucus brother, fighteth against Antiochus the son of the Cyzecian.
Demetrius Eucerus made king of Damasco by Ptoleme Lathurus.
Citrons cast at Alexander.

Antiochus Gryphus slain.
Seleucus Gryphus sonne, maketh warre with Antiochus the Cyzecian.
The yeere of the world 3874, before Christs birth 90.
Antiochus Eusebes putteth Seleucus to flight.
Antiochus, Seleucus brother, fighteth against Antiochus the son of the Cyzecian.
Demetrius Eucerus made king of Damasco by Ptoleme Lathurus.
Citrons cast at Alexander.

Amath destroyed.
Obedak king of Arabia.

The yeere of the world 3884, before Christs Nativity 80.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10.
Demetrius Eucerus marcheth out against Alexander.
Demetrius fighteth with Alexander & hath the vpper hand. Alexander in this fight loleth all his hired soldiers.

done, he returned to Ierusalem, after he had spent one whole yeere at the siege before Gaza.

About this time *Antiochus*, surnamed *Gryphus*, died by the treason of *Hieracleon*, in the fortie and fift yeere of his age, and in the nine and twentieth of his raigne. His sonne *Seleucus* had the kingdome after him, who made warre against his vnckle *Antiochus*, surnamed *Cyzecenus*, and hauing ouercome and taken him, he slew him. Not long after, *Antiochus* the sonne of *Cyzecenus*, & *Antoninus*, surnamed the Deuout, came to Arade, and placed the Diademes vpon their heads, & made warre against *Seleucus*, whom they ouercame in one conflict, and draue him out of all Syria; who flying into Cilicia, and arriuing againe in the Cittie of the Mopseates, he exacted a sum of money at the Citizens hands. But the people were so incensed, that they set fire on his palace; whereby it came to passe, that both he and his friends were burned to dust. During the time that *Antiochus* the son of *Cyzecenus* raigned in Syria, another *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* brother, made warre H against him; but he was not onely ouercome, but both hee and his army were put to the sword. After him, *Philip* his sonne tooke the Diademe, and gouerned in certaine places of Syria.

Meane while *Ptoleme Lathurus* sent to *Gnidus* for his fourth brother *Demetrius Eucerus*, and made him king of Damasco. Against these two brothers *Antiochus* made a manly and valiant resist, but died very shortly after. For repairing to Laodicea to succour the Queene of the Galadonians, who made warre against the Parthians, hee died fighting valiantly; and his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Philip* possessed Syria, as hereafter shall be declared. As for *Alexander*, a domestical sedition was raised against him; for the people arose and mutined at such time, as hee assisted at the Altar to solemnize the feast of Tabernacles, and during the time that hee intended the sacrifice, they cast Citrons at him: for (as we haue declared elswhere) the Iewes haue this custome, I that on the feast of the Tabernacles, each one bringeth a branch of Palme, and of Citrons. They vpbraided him also with many iniurious speeches, reproching him, that hee had been prisoner in warre; and that he was also vnworthy of the honour of the Priesthood. Whereupon, hee being moued by these disgraces, slaughtered about fixe thousand men: and hauing made an inclosure of wood about the temple and the altar (as farre as the place whereinto it was lawfull for none to enter but the Priests) he kept there, to the intent the people might not apprehend him: he entertained also certaine strange souldiers Pisidians and Cilicians. For in that he was at oddes with the Syrians, he made no vse of them.

After this, hauing ouercome the Arabians, hee constrained the Moabites and Galaadites to pay him tribute, and destroyed the Cittie of Amath whilst *Theodore* for feare gaue ouer to restit him. But encountering with *Obeda* the king of Arabia, and being surprisid and betrayed by an ambuscado in certaine miry and vnhauited places, hee was thrust by the presse of the Camels into a deepe trench (neere vnto Gadara a village of Galaad) from whence he almost despaired to escape: notwithstanding, auoiding that danger, he came to Ierusalem. And besides this his last mishap, the people hated him, against whom he made warre for the space of fixe yeeres, and slew at the least fiftie thousand of them: and the more he intreated them to compromit these hainous debates betweene them, the more grievous displeasure conceiued they against him, because of the inconuenients they had suffered: so that when he demanded of them what they would haue him to doe: they all of the with one voice cried out, that he should kill himselfe. And thereupon they presently sent messengers to *Demetrius Eucerus*, requesting him of his fauour and assistance.

CHAP. XXII.

Demetrius Eucerus ouercommeth Alexander in battell.

WHEN comming onward with his army, & taking with him those who had incited him to the enterprife, came and encamped neere vnto the Cittie of Sichem. But *Alexander* gathering together some twentie thousand Iewes (whom he knew to be well affected towards him) with six thousand and two hundred mercenary souldiers & strangers, marched forward against *Demetrius*, who led with him three thousand horsemen, & fortie thousand footmen. Both on the one and the other side there fell out many subtil stratagems: the one of them striuing on the one side to inueigle and withdraw the forraigne souldiers, who were Grecians; and the other inforcing himselfe to reconcile those Iewes that were of *Demetrius* followers to his faction: but neither the one nor other preuailed ought at all by these deuices: so that finally they were driuen to decide their quarrell by the sword: in which encounter *Demetrius* had the vpper hand. For all the strangers that were on *Alexanders* side were euery one hew'd in peeces, after they had made sufficient prooffe both of their faith & valor. There died also many of *Demetrius*

The yeere of the world 3884, before Christs birth 80.
Sixe thousand men resort vnto Alexander.
Alexander besieged the Iewes, be siegeth the mightiest of them in Beths.
Alexander crucifieth 800 Iewes, & murdereth their wiues & children in their presence.

Alexander (surnamed Thracidas)

Demetrius besiegeth his brother Philip in Bercea.

A trins souldiers. But after that *Alexander* had fled vnto the mountaines, diuers Iewes (to the number of fixe thousand) in commiseration of his desperate estate, and thotow the feare they had of *Demetrius*, resorted vnto him; which when the Conquerer heard, he retired himselfe. After this, the Iewes made warre against *Alexander*, and in diuers losses which they receiued, there died a great number of the in diuers combats: Finally, after he had closed vp the most strongest amongst them in the Cittie of Bethom, hee besieged them; and after hee had taken the Cittie, and brought them vnder his subiection, he carried them to Ierusalem, where he perpetrated an vnspcakable & cruell murder. For whilst he banquetted with his concubines, in the sight of them all, hee commaunded eight hundred of them or thereabout to be crucified; & before their eyes whilst they yet liued, he caused their wiues and childrens throats to be cut. All which he did to reuenge himselfe of those wrongs which he had receiued: But he exceeded the bounds of humanitie herein, notwithstanding they had rebelled against him, and reduced him into a most pitious estate, and put him in danger both of his life and kingdome. For being not content to assaile & make warre vpon him with their forces; they drew strangers also into his countrey against him: and finally, they ouerpressed him in such sort, that hee was constrained to yeeld vp into the king of Arabias hands, the countries and cities that he had conquered from the Moabites and Galaadites; for fear least they should ioyne with the Iewes, and make warre against him; besides other innumerable iniuries and outrages committed by them against him. This notwithstanding it cannot be excused, but that hee ouerthor himselfe herein; so that by reason of this his so enormous crueltie, he was called *Thracidas*, that is to say, as cruell as a Thracian: and this title continued amongst the Iewes. The souldiers of the contrary party, who amounted to the number of eight thousand, fled by night into strong and sure holds; and as long as *Alexander* liued, they were in exile. But at the last, after hee was deliuered of all these troubles, hee liued in quier, and gouerned his kingdome peaceably all the remnant of his life. But *Demetrius* departing fro Iudaea to Bercea, besieged his brother *Philip* with ten thousand footmen, and one thousand horse. But *Straton* Lord of Bercea, allied to *Philip*, called *Zirus* Duke of the Arabians, and *Mithridates Sinaces* gouernour of the Parthians, vnto his helpe; who repairing vnto him with great forces, besieged *Demetrius* in his owne trenches, in which they so inclosed him by continuall shooting of darts, & want of water, that they constrained him, and those that were with him, to submit themselves to their mercie. When as therefore they had preyed the whole countrey, and were seized of *Demetrius*, they sent D him prisoner to *Mithridates*, who at that time was king of Parthia. And as touching the Antiochians, as many of the as were found in the camp, were suffered to depart with the safetie of their liues & baggage, and to returne to Antioch. But *Mithridates*, king of Parthia honored *Demetrius* by all means possible, vntill such time as he was surprized with a sicknes, whereof hee died. Incontinently after the battel, *Philip* came into Antioch, & hauing obtained the kingdome ruled ouer Syria.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of Antiochus Dionysius against Iudaea.

Efter this, *Antiochus* called *Dionysius* (who was *Philips* brother) came into Damasco to obtaine the souerainie therein, and there in short space accomplishing his affaires, got possession of the crowne. When his brother *Philip* (who had an army in a readines to inuade the Arabians) had tidings hereof, he came to Damasco with great speed, and made him surrender vp the Cittie, both by the means of *Milesius* whom *Antiochus* had left gouernour in the Castle, as also by the consent of the Citizens themselves. But *Philip* shewed himselfe vngratefull toward *Milesius*, performing nothing of that which he had promised him, at such time as he deliuered him the Cittie; because his intent was, that the world should thinke that the feare of his power, and not *Milesius* fauour, was the cause of the surprisall of Damasco. Which act of his drew him into suspition with *Milesius*, and was the cause that hee lost the Cittie againe. For departing from thence to exercise himselfe at tilt, *Milesius* lockt the gates against him; and kept the Cittie for *Antiochus*. Who hauing intelligence of that which had befallen *Philip*, returned out of Arabia, & at that very instant led his army into Iudaea, in which there were eight thousand footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. *Alexander* fearing his approche, made a deepe trench from Caparfab (which is called at this day Antipatris) as farre as the sea of Ioppe (vvhich was the onely streight whereby he might be assailed) and made a wall furnished with wooden towers, with their courts of guard; distant the one from the other an hundred and fiftie furlongs; to keepe

Caparfab, called Antipatris.

344
The yeere of the
world 3873, be-
fore Christs birth
91.

Antiochus
Gryphus slain.
Seleucus Gry-
phus sonne,
maketh warre
with Antio-
chus the Cy-
zicenian.

The yeere of the
world 3874, be-
fore Christs birth
90.

Antiochus Eu-
sebes putteth
Seleucus to
flight.

Antiochus,
Seleucus brother,
fighteth
against Anti-
ochus the son
of the Cyzice-
nian.

Demetrius
Eucerus made
king of Da-
masco by Pro-
lomey Lathu-
rus.

Citrons cast at
Alexander.

Amath de-
stroyed.
Obeda king of
Arabia.

The yeere of the
world 3884, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity 80.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 20.
Demetrius
Eucerus mar-
cheth out a-
gainst Alexan-
der.

Demetrius
fighteth with
Alexander &
hath the vpper
hand. Alexan-
der in this
fighte loleth
all his hired
soldiers.

done, he returned to Ierusalem, after he had spent one whole yeere at the siege before Gaza. About this time *Antiochus*, surnamed *Gryphus*, died by the treason of *Heracleon*, in the fortie and fift yeere of his age, and in the nine and twentieth of his raigne. His sonne *Seleucus* had the kingdome after him, who made warre against his vnkle *Antiochus*, surnamed *Cyzicenus*, and hauing overcome and taken him, he slew him. Not long after, *Antiochus* the sonne of *Cyzicenus*, & *Antoninus*, surnamed the Deuout, came to Arade, and placed the Diademes vpon their heads, & made warre against *Seleucus*, whom they overcame in one conflict, and draue him out of all Syria; who flying into Cilicia, and arriuing againe in the Cittie of the Mopseates, he exacted a sum of money at the Citizens hands. But the people were so incensed, that they set fire on his palace; whereby it came to passe, that both he and his friends were burned to dust. During the time that *Antiochus* the son of *Cyzicenus* raigned in Syria, another *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* brother, made warre against him; but he was not onely overcome, but both he and his army were put to the sword. After him, *Philip* his sonne tooke the Diademe, and gouerned in certaine places of Syria.

Meane while *Ptolomey Lathurus* lent to *Gnidus* for his fourth brother *Demetrius Eucerus*, and made him king of Damasco. Against these two brothers *Antiochus* made a manly and valiant resist, but died very shortly after. For repairing to Laodicea to succour the Queene of the Galadonians, who made warre against the Parthians, hee died fighting valiantly; and his two brothers, *Demetrius* and *Philip* possessed Syria, as hereafter shall be declared. As for *Alexander*, a domestical sedition was raised against him; for the people arose and mutined at such time, as hee assisted at the Altar to solemnize the feast of Tabernacles, and during the time that hee intended the sacrifice, they cast Citrons at him: for (as we haue declared elswhere) the Iewes haue this custome, I that on the feast of the Tabernacles, each one bringeth a branch of Palme, and of Citrons. They vpbraided him also with many iniurious speeches, reproching him, that hee had been prisoner in warre; and that he was also unworthy of the honour of the Priesthood. Whereupon, hee being moued by these disgraces, slaughtered about sixe thousand men: and hauing made an inclosure of wood about the temple and the altar (as farre as the place whereinto it was lawfull for none to enter but the Priests) he kept there, to the intent the people might not apprehend him: he entertained also certaine strange souldiers Pisidians and Cilicians. For in that he was at oddes with the Syrians, he made no vse of them.

After this, hauing overcome the Arabians, hee constrained the Moabites and Galaadites to pay him tribute, and destroyed the Cittie of Amath whilst *Theodore* for feare gaue ouer to resist him. But encountering with *Obeda* the king of Arabia, and being surprised and betrayed by an ambuscado in certaine miry and vnhaunted places, hee was thrust by the presse of the Camels into a deepe trench (neere vnto Gadara a village of Galaad) from whence he almost despaired to escape: notwithstanding, auoiding that danger, he came to Ierusalem. And besides this his last mishap, the people hated him, against whom he made warre for the space of sixe yeeres, and slew at the least fiftie thousand of them: and the more he intreated them to compromit these hainous debates betwene them, the more gricuous displeasure conceiued they against him, because of the inconuenients they had suffered: so that when he demanded of them what they would haue him to doe: they all of the with one voice cried out, that he should kill himselfe. And thereupon they presently sent messengers to *Demetrius Eucerus*, requesting him of his fauour and assistance.

CHAP. XXII.

Demetrius Eucerus ouercommeth Alexander in battell.

WHEN comming onward with his army, & taking with him those who had incited him to the enterprise, came and encamped neere vnto the Cittie of Sichem. But *Alexander* gathering together some twentie thousand Iewes (whom he knew to be well affected towards him) with six thousand and two hundred mercenary souldiers & strangers, marched forward against *Demetrius*, who led with him three thousand horsemen, & fortie thousand footmen. Both on the one and the other side there fell out many subtill stratagems: the one of them striuing on the one side to inuigle and withdraw the forraigne souldiers, who were Grecians; and the other inforcing himselfe to reconcile those Iewes that were of *Demetrius* followers to his faction: but neither the one nor other preuailed ought at all by these deuices: so that finally they were driuen to decide their quarrell by the sword: in which encounter *Demetrius* had the vpper hand. For all the strangers that were on *Alexanders* side were euery one hew'd in peeces, after they had made sufficient prooffe both of their faith & valor. There died also many of *Demetrius*

Antiochus soldiers. But after that *Alexander* had fled vnto the mountaines, diuers Iewes (to the number of sixe thousand) in commiseration of his desperate estate, and thowgh the feare they had of *Demetrius*, resorted vnto him; which when the Conqueror heard, he retired himselfe. After this, the Iewes made warre against *Alexander*, and in diuers losses which they receiued, there died a great number of the in diuers combats: Finally, after he had closed vp the most strongest amongst them in the Cittie of Bethom, hee besieged them; and after hee had taken the Cittie, and brought them vnder his subiection, he caried them to Ierusalem; where he perpetrated an vnspcakable & cruell murder. For whilst he banquetted with his concubines, in the sight of them all, hee commanded eight hundred of them or thereabout to be crucified; & before their eyes whilst they yet liued, he caused their wiues and childrens throats to be cut. All which he did to reuenge himselfe of those wrongs which he had receiued: But he exceeded the bounds of humanitie herein, notwithstanding they had rebelled against him, and reduced him into a most pitious estate, and put him in danger both of his life and kingdome. For being not content to assaile & make warre vpon him with their forces, they drew strangers also into his countrey against him: and finally, they overpressed him in such sort, that hee was constrained to yeld vp into the king of Arabias hands, the countries and cities that he had conquered from the Moabites and Galaadites, for fear least they should ioine with the Iewes, and make warre against him; besides other innumerable iniuries and outrages committed by them against him. This notwithstanding it cannot be excused, but that hee ouerthor himselfe herein; so that by reason of this his so enormous crueltie, he was called *Thracidas*, that is to say, as cruell as a Thracian: and this title continued amongst the Iewes. The souldiers of the contrary party, who amounted to the number of eight thousand, fled by night into strong and sure holds; and as long as *Alexander* liued, they were in exile. But at the last, after hee was deliuered of all these troubles, hee liued in quiet, and gouerned his kingdome peaceably all the remnant of his life. But *Demetrius* departing fro Iudæa to Beroea, besieged his brother *Philip* with ten thousand footmen, and one thousand horse. But *Straton* Lord of Beroea, allied to *Philip*, called *Zizus* Duke of the Arabians, and *Mithridates Sinaces* gouernour of the Parthians, vnto his helpe; who repairing vnto him with great forces, besieged *Demetrius* in his owne trenches, in which they so inclosed him by continuall hooting of darts, & want of water, that they constrained him, and those that were with him, to submit themselves to their mercie. When as therefore they had preyed the whole countrey, and were seized of *Demetrius*, they sent him prisoner to *Mithridates*, who at that time was king of Parthia. And as touching the Antiochians, as many of the as were found in the camp, were suffered to depart with the safetie of their liues & baggage, and to returne to Antioch. But *Mithridates* king of Parthia honored *Demetrius* by all means possible, vntill such time as he was surprized with a sicknes, whereof hee died. Incontinently after the battell, *Philip* cam into Antioch, & hauing obtained the kingdome ruled ouer Syria.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of Antiochus Dionysius against Iudæa.

AFTER this, *Antiochus* called *Dionysius* (who was *Philip*s brother) came into Damasco to obtaine the soueraintie therein, and there in short space accomplishing his affaires, got possession of the crowne. When his brother *Philip* (who had an army in a readinesse to inuade the Arabians) had tidings hereof, he came to Damasco with great speed, and made him surrender vp the Cittie, both by the meanes of *Milesius* whom *Antiochus* had left gouernour in the Castle, as also by the consent of the Citizens themselves. But *Philip* shewed himselfe vngratefull toward *Milesius*, performing nothing of that which he had promised him, at such time as he deliuered him the Cittie; because his intent was, that the world should thinke that the feare of his power, and not *Milesius* fauour, was the cause of the surprisall of Damasco. Which act of his drew him into suspicion with *Milesius*, and was the cause that hee lost the Cittie againe. For departing from thence to exercise himselfe at tilt, *Milesius* lockt the gates against him, and kept the Cittie for *Antiochus*. Who hauing intelligence of that which had befallen *Philip*, returned out of Arabia, & at that very instant led his army into Iudæa, in which there were eight thousand footmen, and eight hundred horsemen. *Alexander* fearing his approche, made a deepe trench from Caparfabæ (which is called at this day Antipatris) as farre as the sea of Ioppe (which was the onely streight whereby he might be assailed) and made a wall furnished with wooden towers, with their courts of guard; distant the one from the other an hundred and fiftie furlongs; to

The yeere of the
world 3884, be-
fore Christs birth
80.

Sixe thousand
men resorted vn-
to Alexander.

Alexander be-
ing assailed by
the Iewes, be-
sieged the
mightiest of
them in Betho.
Alexander
crucifieth 800
Iewes, & mur-
dereth their
wiues & chil-
dren in their
presence.

Alexander
(surnamed
Thracidas)

Demetrius
besiegeth his
brother *Philip*
in Beroea.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 21.

Antiochus
king of Da-
masco.
Antiochus
thrust out of
his kingdome
by his brother
The yeere of the
world, 3887, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity 77.

Caparfabæ,
called Anti-
patris.

keepe

The year of the world, 3884, before Christs birth 80. Antiochus death and the famine amongst his army. Aretas king of Coelosyria. Certaine cities taken by Alexander.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

keepe backe *Antiochus*. But he fired all these his fortifications, and made his army passe into Arabia thorow this streight. The king of Arabia retired vpon the first assault; but afterwards presently came into the field with tenne thousand horlmen: whom *Antiochus* charged very valiantly, and in the onser lost his life (yet with victorie) whilst hee sought to succour a company of his men that were hardly laid to. After *Antiochus* death, his army retired to the burrow of Cana, where diuers of them died for hunger.

After him *Aretas* reigned in Coelosyria, who was called vnto that kingdom by those that held Damascus and hared *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Mennaus*. *Aretas* led his army into Iewry, and gotte victorie against *Alexander* neere to Adida: which done, he retired out of Iudaea, vpon a composition made betweene them. Moreover, once more *Alexander* marched towards the Citie of Dion, and tooke the same. And afterwards he led his army against *Essa*, where *Zeno* had hoorded H vp his chiefe riches: and before he assailed the fortresse, he inuironed the place with three huge walles, which he builded round about it, and hauing taken it by force, he marched to Gaulana, & Seleucia: which when hee had ouercome, hee made himselfe master of a valley called the Valley of *Antiochus*, with the fortresse of Gamala. And obiecing many crimes against *Demetrius* the Lord of those places, hee dispossessed him of his government. Finally, after hee had made warre for the space of three whole yeeres, hee returned into his countrey; where the Iewes entertained him willingly by reason of the happy exploits which he had archieued.

About the same time the Iewes were already possessed of the cities of Syria, Idumaea, & Phoenicia; of the tower of Straton, Apollonia, Ioppe, Iamnia, Azoth, Gaza, Anchedon, Raphia, Rhinocura, all which were neere vnto the Sea: and in the firme land on the side of Idumaea, as Adora, Marissa, and all Samaria; the mounts Carmel and Itabyr; and herewith Scythopolis, Gadara, Gaulanitis, Seleucia, Gabala; and of Monb, Essebon, Medaba, Lemba, Orona, Telichon, & Zaira; Antona of Cilicia and Pella. This last Citie was rased by them, because the inhabitants would not promise to conuert themselves to the religion of the Iewes) with diuers other of the principall Cities of Syria also, which were conquered by them.

After this, king *Alexander* fell sicke, by the meanes of his surfeit & drunkennesse; and for the space of three yeeres he was traualled with a quartanague. This notwithstanding, he was alwaies in the campe, vntill such time as being wearied with traualles, he died in the marches of the countrey of the Gerasens, at such time as hee besieged Ragaba (which is a Castle situate on the other side of Iordan.) The queene perceiving that he was at deaths doore, and that there remained neither hope of life, nor recouerie; shee began to weepe and lament, and to beate her breasts, because both she and her children were likely now to bee left desolate, and in these words shee bemoaned her selfe vnto him. To whom wilt thou leaue both me and thy children in the estate, wherein we be? or why should we surriue or liue one after another, considering that thou assuredly knowest, that the hearts of thy people are estranged from vs? Hereupon the king comforted her, and gaue her this counsaile, that if she would assure the kingdome both vnto her & her children, she should behaue her selfe according to his direction: which was, first to conceale his death, and not to suffer his men of warre to haue notice thereof, vntill such time as she had taken this Castle. Which done, he aduised her to repaire to Ierusalem in pompe, and triumph; and that beeing there, shee should bestow some authoritie vpon the Pharisees, who should recount her praises, & obtaine her fauour amongst the people. For (said hee) these kind of men are in great estimation and credit with the people, and can doe much hurt vnto those they hate, and further them in like sort verie mightily, towards whom they are well affected: For the people easily belieueth them, when they vigeought against any man, notwithstanding it be of enuie; and that he himselfe also had incurred the displeasure of the people for their sakes, in that he had offended them.

When as therefore (said hee) thou shalt arriue in Ierusalem, send thou for the chiefe amongst them, and pray them to come vnto thee; and after you haue shewed them my dead bodie, vse the most plausible speech that you can, and giue them permission to dispose of my bodie as they list, whether it bee their pleasure to interdict and deny mee funerall (in that they haue received many indignities by mee) or whether in auengement of their displeasure, they will offer any ignominie to my bodie: and promise you them that you will doe nothing in the administration or government of the kingdome, but by their aduise. If in this sort you shape both your manners and discourse towards them, it will come to passe, that I shall bee buried by them with great magnificence (which otherwise I could not bee by any other meanes) because they will offer no outrage to my bodie, no although you should permitte them: and besides that, you shall raigne in more assurance and quiet.

After

The yeere of the world, 3887, before Christs birth 77. The Iewes are Lords of the cities of the Syrians, Idumaeans and Phoenicians. Pella destroyed and rased. Alexanders sicknesse.

The yeere of the world, 3890, before Christs birth 74. Alexander instructeth his wife how she may raigne securely. The authority of the Pharisees among the people.

OF THE IEWES. THE XIII. BOOKE.

After he had giuen his wife these aduertisements, hee gaue vp the ghost; after hee had reigned seauen and twentie yeeres, and liued fortie and nine.

CHAP. XXIIII.

After Alexanders death, his wife Alexandra governeth the kingdome.

After that *Alexandra* had taken the Castle of Ragaba, shee conferred with the Pharisees, according to her husbands counsaile, and committed vnto their discretion, not onely that which concerned her husbands obsequies, but also the government of the kingdome: whereby shee not onely appeased the displeasure which before time they had conceived against *Alexander*, but also obtained their good will and amitie. They therefore came and declaimed amongst the people, making an oration of the acts and gests of *Alexander*, complaining euery where that they had lost a good king, and by the enforced praises that they vsed, they incited the people to great griefe and lamentation: so that they buried him with more magnificence, then any king that reigned before him. This *Alexander* left two sons behind him, the one called *Hircanus*; the other *Aristobulus*; and by his testament committed the government of the kingdome to *Alexandra* his wife. For *Hircanus* was incapable to manage affaires, and rather delighted in peace and quiet; and *Aristobulus*, who was the younger, was both active & fit for government. The people were well affected towards *Alexandra*, because she had manifestly expressed how greatly she misliked her husbands misgovernment.

She appointed *Hircanus* high priest (both in regard of his age, as also for that by nature he was composed to peace and quiet) and committed all things to the disposition of the Pharisees, commanding the people to obey and obserue them. She also renewed and confirmed that which *Hircanus* had disannulled, and the Pharisees (according to the customes of their forefathers) had introduced; so that she bare the name, & the Pharisees the authoritie roiall. For they restored such as were banished, to their estates, and deliuered prisoners; and in all things they demeaned themselves like great Lords. *Alexandra* also for her part vndertooke the care of the common-weale, & kept a great number of souldiers in pay, and increased her power in such sort, that the Tyrants round about her feared her, and deliuered her hostages & pledges of peace. All the countrey was at quiet, onely the Pharisees troubled the queene, perswading her to put those to death, who had containted king *Alexander* to put those eight hundred to death (of whom wee haue spoken before) & they themselves afterwards slew one that was called *Diogenes*, & after him diuers others, one by one: vntill such time as those in authoritie came vnto the roiall palace, accompanied with *Aristobulus* (who seemed to be displeased with that which had hapned, and who if the occasion were offered, made shew that he would not permit his mother to gouern after that manner) and told her that which had hapned, and in what dangers they had beene, to expresse their dutie and loialtie which they ought to their deceased master; and how for that cause they had been greatly honoured by him; requiring her that she would not utterly frustrate them of their hopes, which they expected in lieu of their seruice, that now they that had escaped from the danger of their forraigne enemies, were in their houses murdered like beasts by their priuate maligners, without any reliefe or succours from any one. They furthermore vrged, that if their aduersaries would content themselves with those they had slaine, they would endure their misfortunes patiently, by reason of the sincere affection they bare vnto their Lords: but if they must needly as yet suffer the like, they required that they might haue licence to depart. For that they would not procure their thairfetic, otherwise then by her consent: and would rather suffer a voluntarie death neer vnto her roiall palace, if they might not bee spared: for that it would be a shame both for themselves, and for the Queene, if by her toleration, those, who had beene her deceased husbands friends, should be thus vexed by them which were his aduersaries.

That *Aretas* king of Arabia and other princes, would be glad of this newes, to heare that shee should estrange those persons farre from her, whose names haue beene dreadfull euen amongst those neighbouring kings who haue but heard the same. And if she had resolved to make more account of the Pharisees fauour, then of their seruice, they besought her that shee would at leastwise distribute them in seuerall Castles, for that rather then any mishap should pursue their soueraine *Alexanders* house, they were content to lead their liues in that contemptible and abiect condition. Whilst thus they spake, and exclaimed on the soule of *Alexander*, praying him to haue compassion as well of those that were already dead, as of those who were in danger of their liues

347 The yeere of the world, 3890, before Christs birth 74. Alexanders death.

Alexanders funerall.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 22. Hircanus and Aristobulus Alexanders sonnes.

Hircanus high Priest.

The Pharisees admitted to the administration of the common-weale, are greedy of reuenge. Aristobulus & his followers accuse the Pharisees of tyrannie.

Alexandra com-
mitteth the
custody of the
Castles to the
Iewes.Aristobulus is
sent to Da-
masco against
Ptolomey.
Tigranes in-
uading Syria,
heareth newes
of Lucullus
pursue of Mi-
thridates, and
returneth
home.The yeere of the
world 3893. be-
fore Christ's birth
71.The yeere of the
world 3894. be-
fore Christ's birth
70.Alexandras
sicknes, and
Aristobulus
attempt.The yeere of the
world 3897. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity 67.Aristobulus
seizeth the
castles, and
great con-
course of peo-
ple resort to
him.Hircanus and
the elders in-
forme the
queene, and
accuse Aristobu-
lus.
Alexandras
death.The yeere of the
world 3899. be-
fore Christ's birth
65.

liues, the teares ranne from the eyes of all the assistants: and *Aristobulus* (about the rest) was har-
tily discontent, and expressed the same by expostulating the cause with his mother. But they
themselves were the cause of their owne calamitie, because that against all right and reason, they
had permitted a headstrong & ambitious woman to raigne ouer the, as if the king had no heires
referred to succeed him in the kingdom. The Queene vncertaine how to determine the matter
at that instant, committed the charge of all her Castles into their hands, reseruing onely Hircania,
Alexandria, and Machæron, wherein the Princes moueables and wealth was kept.

Not long after, she sent her sonne *Aristobulus* with a strong army, commanding him to draw
his forces towards Damasco, against *Ptolomey* called *Menna*, who was an ill neighbor vnto that
Citie: but he returned thence without archieuing any memorable action. About the same time
newes was brought, that *Tigranes* king of Armenia inuaded Syria, with five hundred thousand
men of war, intending shortly to set vpon Iewry. This rumour affrighted the queene, and all the
communitie (and not without cause.) Whereupon shee sent Embassadors with many princelie
presents vnto *Tigranes*, who besieged the Citie of Ptolemais. (For queene *Selena*, otherwise cal-
led *Cleopatra*, rained in Syria, and perswaded the Syrians to deny *Tigranes* passage.) But *Alex-
andras* Embassadors met with the king of Armenia, & besought him to conceiue a good opini-
on of their queene, and of all the whole nation of the Iewes: who receiued them willingly, pray-
ing them for that they had sought him out so farre to doe him honor, & put them in good hope.
After the taking in of Ptolemais, it was told *Tigranes* that *Lucullus* pursued *Mithridates* (who
was not as yet apprehended, for that he was fledde into Iberia, which was the cause that *Lucullus*
had entred Armenia, and foraged the same.) *Tigranes* hearing this newes, returned back into his
countrie.

After this, queene *Alexandra* fell sicke of a dangerous and noisome disease: whereby *Aristo-
bulus* tooke occasion to entremeddle with the affaires of estate. Walking therefore abroad one
night attended by a trustie seruant, he repaired vnto those Castles, which were committed to the
custodie of his fathers friends: for of long time he had misliked his mothers gouernment, & now
was the more afraid that if shee should happen to die, all her posteritie should be made subiect to
the power of the Pharisees. For he well perceived how vnapt his elder brother was to gouern the
kingdome, vnto whom notwithstanding the succession appertained: onely his wife, whom (ac-
companied with his children) he had left with *Alexandra*, had an inkling of this his intent. Hee
therefore went first of all to Agaba, where *Galestes* one of the chiefe Potentates commaunded, to
who entertained him with great ioy.

The next day, the queene hearing that *Aristobulus* was departed from Court, yet little sus-
pected he at the first, that he was retired to worke some alteration in the state. But when as mes-
sengers came flocking one after another, and told her that after the first Castle, the second; and
after the second, all the rest had consequently been surprisid by *Aristobulus*: at that time both the
queene and the whole nation were dismayed, fearing least hee should presently vsurpe the soue-
raignie; but about all they feared, least hee should reuenge himselfe on those, who had outraged
his familiars: and it was thought meet that both his wife & children should be committed to the
Castle, that adioyned the temple. But from all parts round about resorted there souldiers to *Ari-
stobulus*; so that he was attended like a king: for in the space of some fiftene daies he took twen-
tie and two forts, whether hee made his retreats, and assembled an armie of souldiers, and leuied
them amongst the Lords that inhabite Libanus and Trachonitis: For the multitude hath alwaies
resort to the stronger side, supposing that if they submit thereunto willingly, and maintaine and
roiallize the same, that they shall draw some profit thereby, as beeing those that were the occasion
of the conformation of his Monarchie.

Heereupon the ancient Iewes and *Hircanus* repaired vnto the queene, humbly intreating her
to take some mature counsaile and good aduice touching the present affaires, because that *Aristo-
bulus* her sonne was already well nigh Lord of the whole countrie, since he had so many forts vn-
der his commaund: Furthermore, that it was inconuenient and vndecent for them to consult
without her expresse order, notwithstanding shee were grievously sicke, but that the impendent
danger extorted the same. The queene willed them to doe that which they thought should be
most profitable for the Common-weale; telling them that they had many meanes, for that their
Nation was mighty, great and strong; and had great store both of money and riches in the com-
mon treasurie: certifying them, that because shee knew that she had not long to liue, shee had no
more reason to take care of those affaires. Anon after shee had spoken thus, shee died; after shee
had reigned nine yceres, and liued in all seauentie and three yceres. This woman was adorned
with

A with greater excellency then could bee expected from one of hir sexe, and expressed both in her
actions and ordinances how fitte she was to gouerne a kingdome, and how oftentimes men tho-
row imprudence ouerthooge themselves in affaires of estate. For making more account of the
present then future occurrences, and neglecting all other things in respect of those which are re-
quisite in a moderated gouernment, shee neuer vpon any instigation whatsoeuer perueried ius-
tice; notwithstanding her family fell into such inconueniences, that the same souerainie, which
shee had obtained by diuers daungers and trauels, was not long after that ruined and lost for
her scarce effeminate desires. For shee gave eare vnto those, who were ill affected towards her
posteritie, and left the kingdome destitute of such as were fit to gouerne; so that the gouernment
which shee enjoyed during her life time, was after her death distracted with infinite troubles, and
calamities, wherewith her family was replenished. And notwithstanding her regiment after this
manner, yet during her life time she kept the kingdome in peace. And thus died *Alexandra*.

Alexandras
family incurrs
much trouble.

THE FOVRTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 14. Booke.

- 1 How after the death of Alexandra, her youngest sonne Aristobulus made warre against his brother Hircanus for the kingdome; who obtaining the victorie, compelled Hircanus to fly into a castle in Ierusalem. And how after it was agreed and concluded betweene them, that Aristobulus should be king, and Hircanus liue as a priuate man without dignitie.
- 2 Of the race of Antipater, and how he purchased renowne, great power and authoritie both to himselfe and his children; and of the flight of Hircanus to Aretas king of Arabia.
- 3 Aristobulus, being vanquished, is pursued as farre as Ierusalem.
- 4 Hircanus and Aristobulus send Embassadors to Scaurus to request his aide and succour.
- 5 Aristobulus and Hircanus present themselves before Pompey, to debate their titles touching the kingdome.
- 6 Pompey is seized of the fortresses by a warlike stratageme.
- 7 They of Ierusalem shut their gates against the Romans.
- 8 Pompey taketh the temple and lower part of the citie by force.
- 9 Scaurus maketh warre against Aretas, and by the perswasion and sollicitation of Antipater maketh a league with him.
- 10 Alexander being overcome by Gabinius, retireth himselfe into a castle, where he is shut up and besieged.
- 11 Aristobulus escaping out of prison, flieth from Rome: who being taken againe in Iudæa by Gabinius, is sent backe prisoner to Rome.
- 12 Crassus warring against the Parthians, passeth thorow Iewry, and spoyleth the Treasurie of the temple.
- 13 Pompey retireth into Epirus, and Scipio commeth into Syria.
- 14 Cæsar's voyage into Egypt, wherein the Iewes doe him faithfull seruice.
- 15 Antipaters valiant acts, and the amitie betwixt him and Cæsar.
- 16 Cæsar's letters, and the Senates decree, as touching the friendship betwixt the Iewes and Romans.
- 17 Antipater committeth the gouernment of Galilee to his sonne Herod, and that of Ierusalem to Phasaelus his other sonne; and how Sextus Cæsar advanced Herode to great honour & dignitie.
- 18 Cæsius afflicteth Iurie, and exacteth eight hundredth talents.
- 19 Malichus poisoneth Antipater.
- 20 Herode putteth Malichus to death, by Cæsius commandement.

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21 Antigonus

- 21 Antigonus the sonne of Aristobulus seeking to recover his fathers kingdome by the aid of the King of Tyre, is discomfited and driven out of Iudaea by Herod.
- 22 Herod meeting Antonius in Bithynia winneth his favour with a great summe of money, to the intent hee should giue no care to his wrongs.
- 23 Antonius arriving in the prouince of Syria established Herode and Phaelus for Tetrarchs.
- 24 The Parthians make warre in Syria to restore Antigonus the sonne of Aristobulus to the kingdome.
- 25 The Parthians take Hircanus, and Phaelus prisoners, and lead them away.
- 26 Herode at Rome is declared King of Iurie by the Senate.
- 27 Herode returneth from Rome, and fighteth against Antigonus.
- 28 Antigonus is discomfited by Sosius and Herod.

CHAP. I.

How after the contention betweene the two brethren touching the Kingdome, it was agreed that Aristobulus should be King, and Hircanus live as a priuate man.

The yeare of the world, 3890, before Christ's birth 65. The office and dutie of an Historiographer.



We haue already intreated in our former Booke both of the adces and death of Queene Alexandra: it now remaineth at this present to prosecute and continue the sequell of our History, to the end that we neither omit any thing thorow ignorance, or bury ought in forgetfulness. For they that make profelion to write Histories, and to recite such things as are obserued by antiquitie, ought not only studioustly to conforme their stile, but also to beautifie the same with ornaments of eloquence, to the intent the reader may conuerse in their writings with the more delectation. But about all things they must haue an especiall care so exactly to set downe the truth, that they, who know not how these things came to passe, may be the more duely and fitly informed.

Aristobulus and Hircanus strive for the kingdome.

When as therefore Hircanus had taken vpon him the high Priesthoode, in the third yeere of the hundredth seuentie and seuenth Olympiade, and in the yeere that *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus* called the Cretensian were consuls at Rome: *Aristobulus* sodainly vnderooke the warre against *Hircanus*, and fought with him neere vnto Iericho: where a great number of *Hircanus* followers submitted themselves of their owne accord to *Aristobulus*. Thorow which accident *Hircanus* was enforced to fly to the fortresse of the higher citie, wherein *Alexandra Aristobulus* mother had imprisoned both his wife & children (as before this is specified.) The rest of the faction for feare of his brother, who had gotten the victorie, retired themselves within the enclosure of the Temple, where they were besieged and taken. After this, a peace was entreated of betwixt both the brethren, and their different was accorded in this manner: that *Hircanus* should passe the remnant of his life without intermedling with affaires of estate, but should onely intend his securitie and peace; and *Aristobulus* should command the kingdome. This league was ratified betweene them in the temple, and confirmed with oathes, coniunction of hands and embraces, in the sight of all the people: which being finished, *Aristobulus* retired himselfe into the palace; and *Hircanus* to *Aristobulus* lodging, to lead a priuate and quiet life.

CHAP. II.

Of the race of Antipater, and how he is aduanced to high estate, and how Hircanus flieth to Aretas King of Arabia.

Heio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Antipater the Idumæan Hircanus friend Antipater of Iudaea, as Nicholas Damascene writeth of this man, that he was descended from the noblest amongst those Iewes who returned from out of Babylon into Iurie: but this hee did of set purpose to gratifie *Herode Antipaters* sonne, who by a casualtie became afterwards King of the Iewes (as we will expresse hereafter in time and place conuenient.) This *Antipater* was at the first called *Antipas*, according to his fathers name, who (as it is reported) was made

A made gouernour of all Idumæa by king *Alexander* and his wife: and afterwards made a league with the Arabians, Gazeans, and Afcalonites, corrupting them, and insinuating himselfe into their fauours by diuers great presents bestowed vpon them. This young *Antipater* considering with himselfe what *Aristobulus* power was, and fearing least some mischief might befall him thorow the hatred the yong king had conceiued against him, he communicated with certaine of the greatest reckoning amongst the Iewes, and secretly and cunningly incensed them against *Aristobulus*, telling them that they had done amisse, both to see and suffer *Aristobulus* to detain the kingdome vniuistly in his hands, and to dispossesse his elder brother *Hircanus*, to whom by right of inheritance it appertained. He likewise accosted and founded *Hircanus* ordinarily with these words; telling him that he liued in danger of his life, and would doubtlesse bee ouertaken except hee sought his owne security, and fled his imminent perill: allcadging, that *Aristobulus* friends would neuer cease to consult how they might shorten his life, to the end that hee might live in more securitie. To these instigations of his, *Hircanus* gaue small credit (for that of his own nature he was curteous, and could not easily be it duced or seduced by detractions) but this negligence and carelesse in him, was the cause that hee was accounted a silly and abiect man. On the contrarie side, *Aristobulus* was of a different and more heroick nature, being more actiue in performance, and carefull preuention.

Now although *Antipater* saw that *Hircanus* made small account of his instigations; yet ceased he not daily to inuent and propose new surmises & accusations, vrging *Aristobulus* hatred and practise to murder him: so much preuailed hee by his importunitie, that at last he perswaded him to fly to *Aretas* king of Arabia, promising him that in so doing, he would giue him both aide and assistance. *Hircanus* hauing debated vpon these conclusions, at last thought good to flie to *Aretas* (for that he knew that Arabia confined vpon Iewry.) Whereupon he first of all sent *Antipater* to *Aretas*, to take assurance of him that hee should not betray him into his enemies hands, if so be he should submit himselfe vnto him, and require his assistance. When as therefore *Antipater* had receiued this assurance from the king, he returned to Ierusalem vnto *Hircanus*: & not long after that tooke him away with him, and departed the Citie by night, and afterwards with great iourneies arriued at Petra, where *Aretas* kept his royall court. And for that hee was inwardly familiar with the king he besought him to reestablish him in the kingdome of Iewry, and wrought so much by his importunitie and the presents which he gaue him, that he perswaded *Aretas* to attempt the matter. Whereupon *Aretas* promised, that if hee confirmed him againe in his royall dignitie, hee would vpon the recouery of his realme restore vnto him those twelue Cities which his father *Alexander* had taken from the Arabians, the names wherof are these that follow: Medaba, Nabello, Liuias, Tharabasi, Agalla, Athona, Zoara, Orona, Narissa, Rydda, Lusa, Oryba.

The yeare of the world, 3899, before Christ's Natistie, 65.

Antipater incensteth the princes of the Iewes against Aristobulus.

The yeare of the world, 3900, before Christ's birth 64.

Heio & Rufinus, chap. 3.

CHAP. III.

Aristobulus being vanquished, is pursued as farre as Ierusalem.

E *Aretas* induced by these promises, was content to send forth an armie against *Aristobulus*, and himselfe in person conducted onward in that expedition fiftie thousand men both on foote and horse, and had the vpper hand of his enimie in such sort, as diuers after the attainment of this victorie, of their owne accord submitted themselves to *Hircanus*: and *Aristobulus* perceiuing himselfe to be destitute of all his friends and followers fled vnto Ierusalem. After him the king of Arabia led his army with all expedition, and besieged him in the temple: In this siege the common people assisted *Hircanus*, neither were there any but the priests only that stuck to *Aristobulus* side. Whereupon *Aretas* marshalled the forces he had, and busily set the army both of Iewes and Arabians about the siege. Whilest these things were vnder these tearmes, the feast of vnleauened bread, which we call the passeouer, was at hand, and the princes of the Iewes forsaking their countrey were fled into Egypt. About that time, a certaine man called *Onias* (such a one who for his vertue was beloued of God, and in times past had by his deuout praies and supplications in a time of drought, obtained raine from God) hid himselfe, perceiuing that this sedition would be of some continuance. This man therefore being surprised and brought into the campe of the Iewes, they requiured him that as by his praies he had obtained water; so at that time likewise he would by his imprecations incense God against *Aristobulus*, and his accomplices. But whereas he contradicted and excused himselfe, he was at last constrained

Aretas maketh warre against Aristobulus, and enforceh him to flie to Ierusalem. The Arabian, besiegeth Aristobulus in the temple.

The Iewes fly into Egypt.

The year of the world, 3900, before Christ's birth 64. Onias contradicting the Iews petition is stoned to death.

Breach of faith, and the reuenge thereof.

constrained by the people to performe their request; so that standing vp in the midst of them he spake after this manner. O God, king of the whole world, since they who are at this present here with me are thy people, and those that are besieged are thy priests; I humbly beseech thee, that when they shall require thee to be incensed against their brethren, thou wilt not heare them: and when as likewise they shall prouoke thee against the other, thou wilt not respect them. Hereupon, a certaine sort of reprobate souldiers amongst the Iewes, hearing these words of his, stoned him to death: but God incontinently punished this cruelty in them; & the murder of Onias so curiously perpetrated, was reuenged by this meanes which ensueth. At such time as Aristobulus & the priests were besieged, the feast of Easter or the pasche fell out, during which time it was an vsuall custome amongst the Iewes to honour God with many sacrifices: Now for that they who were with Aristobulus, had not any beastes to offer vp in sacrifice, they required the other Iews which were without, that they might haue some deliuered vnto the for their money. Whereunto it was answered, that if they would giue one thousand drachmes for euery head, they should haue some deliuered vnto them. To this demand of theirs, Aristobulus and the priests that were with him, willingly condescended, and let downe the prefixed price and deliuered the same from the wall: but the others, after they had received the money, deliuered them not those beastes which they required them to sell them for sacrifice; but so farre were they giuen ouer to impiety, that they falsified their oathes not onely toward men, but defrauded God also, in denying that which they had promised toward the furnishing of their sacrifice. For which cause, the priests (being defrauded in this manner contrarie to the oath and protestations of their aduersaries) besought God to shew vengeance on their countreimen, that had committed this haughty and perurious impiety: neither did God defer their punishment any long time, but incontinently after he sent a great and violent winde, that spoiled all the fruits of the country; so that a measure of wheat was sold for eleuen drachmes.

CHAP. III.

Hircanus and Aristobulus send Embassadors To Scaurus, to couenant their peace with him.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 4. Hircanus and Aristobulus embassadors vnto Scaurus.

Scaurus is presented.

Aristobulus maketh warre against Aretas and Hircanus.

When Pompey sent Scaurus into Syria (himselfe being in person detained in Armenia in pursuit of the war betwixt him and Tigranes.) Now when as Scaurus came vnto Damasco, he found that Metellus & Lollius had newly taken the citie; for which cause he marched onward towards Iewry: Where being arriued, certaine Embassadors came vnto him in the behalfe of Aristobulus, and others also in the name of Hircanus, requiring alliance and confederacie in the behalfe of them both, & offering in eithers respect a tribute of foure hundred talents. But Scaurus preferred Aristobulus promises, both for that hee was a man of mightier substance and greater minde, & withall more moderate in his demand; whereas Hircanus was poore and couetous, & notwithstanding he demanded greater things then his brother did; yet was his promise of lesse assurance: For it was a harder matter to subdue a Citie that was so defended & strong, then to repulse a troupe of runnagate Nabatheans, & they scarcely well animated to prosecute that warre. For these causes therefore he (receiuing his money) leuiued the siege, commanding Aretas to returne; which if he refused, hee declared him an enemy to Rome. This done, Scaurus returned to Damasco, and Aristobulus led forth his army against Aretas and Hircanus, and fighting with them in a place called Papyron he obtained the victorie, and slew about some seuen thousand of his enemies, amongst the number of which was Cephalus Antipaters brother.

CHAP. V.

How Aristobulus and Hircanus debate their titles in the presence of Pompey.

Pompey cometh into Syria, and Aristobulus sendeth a royall present vnto him.

Not long time after this, Pompey came vnto Damasco: & as he traualled thorow Coelosyria, diuers Embassadors resorted vnto him fro all parts of Syria, Egypt & Iudaea. For Aristobulus sent him a present of great valew, namely a golden vine of five hundred talents price. Hereof Strabo the Cappadocian maketh mention in these words: There came an Embassadors out of Egypt, bearing a crowne of foure thousand pieces of gold; and an other from Iewry, with a vine or garden, and the workmanship was called Terpole, that is to say,

The year of the world, 3900, before Christ's birth 64. Antipater for Hircanus, and Nicodemus for Aristobulus, come as embassadors to Pompey. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. A castle destroyed in Apamea. Pompey Mennæus fined at a great summe of money.

The year of the world, 3902, before Christ's birth 62. Aristobulus and Hircanus accused by the Iewes before Pompey.

Aristobulus Apology before Pompey.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6.

A say, recreation: And this vine haue we beheld at this day in the Citie of Rome in the Temple of Jupiter Capitoline, hauing the inscription of Alexander king of the Iewes; and it was esteemed and valued at five hundred talents. It is said that Aristobulus prince of the Iewes sent the same. Straight after this, there came other fresh Embassadors vnto him (Antipater from Hircanus, and Nicodemus, from Aristobulus) who accused those that had taken money, namely Gabinus, for that he first of all had received three hundred talents beside other presents: & secondly Scaurus; who had received foure hundred; alledging that by that meanes they had incensed them against him. He therefore gaue direction, that they should repaire vnto him about the spring, each of them to iustifie and maintaine their seuerall rights: as for himselfe he drew his forces from their wintering places, and marched towards Damasco, destroying in his way a certain forreile which B Antiochus the Cyzicenean had fortified in Apamea. Hee visited also the countrey of Ptolomey Mennæus (who was a peruerse and wicked man, & no waies differed from Dionysius Tripolitane) who was punished with the losse of his head, and was vnited also with him in friendship and affinity; yet acquired of the death hee delerued, by the meanes of a thousand talents raunsome, which Ptolomey distributed amongst his souldiers for their pay. He raised likewise the Castle of Lyfias (wherein a Iewe called Silas tyrannized) and passing by the Cities of Heliopolis and Chalcis, & hauing likewise ascended the mountaine (which is betwene them) he came to Coelosyria; and from Pella repaired to Damasco. In which place he gaue audience to the Iewes, and their princes Hircanus & Aristobulus, who were at odds the one against the other, as touching their particular interests, as al the whole nation against the both; alledging that they would not be gouerned by kings, because their custome was to obey Gods Priests, whom they honored, affirming that these two brethren (who were descended of the race of Priests, sought to draw their nation vnder a different forme of gouernment, to the intent to reduce them vnder seruitude. Hircanus complained, for that being the elder borne, he had bin deprived of his inheritance by Aristobulus, and had onely but a small portion of the countrey allotted him, because Aristobulus had seized the rest by force. He complained likewise of those incurfions, that both by land & sea Aristobulus followers had endamaged the frontiers with. For the people had not reuolted, if he had not been a violent and turbulent man. To this accusation of his, a thousand of the principalst of the Iewes (drawne on by Antipaters perswasion) subscribed, who auerred and iustified the same. But Aristobulus answered, that Hircanus was dispossessed of the kingdom, by reason of his incapacitie and naturall defects; alledging for himselfe, that the gouernment was enforced on him by a necessitie, for feare it should be transported to others: in effect, he protested that he challenged no other title, then that which his father Alexander had had. Hee brought in also for his witnesses certaine arrogant yong men, who were hated for their pompe, purple robes, their curiosity in painting & curling their haire, and bard horse, and other braueries which they presented, not like men that intended to expect iudgement, but as if their pretence had been to make shew of their pompe. After that Pompey had heard them, hee condemned Aristobulus violence, but for that time hee dismissed them (after some fauourable and gracious conference) promising them that he would come into their country, & determine their differents, after he had scene the region of the Nabatheans: commanding them in the meane while to liue in peace. He vsed Aristobulus likewise very kindly, fearing least he should incense the people, and shut vp his passage: which notwithstanding came to passe. For Aristobulus came into the Citie of Delion, and from thence went into Iudaea, without respect of that which Pompey had commanded him.

CHAP. VI.

Pompey maketh himselfe Lord of the Castles by a warlike stratageme.

Pompey hearing this, was sore displeased therewith; and taking with him his army which he had prepared against the Nabatheans (with the supplies he had in Damasco, and the rest of Syria, besides the other Roman companies that he had) hee marched forth against Aristobulus: when as therefore he had left Pella and Scythopolis behind him, hee came to Coreas (which is the entrance into Iudaea) drawing toward the heart of the countrey. There found he a goodly Castle situate vpon the top of a mountaine called Alexandrion, whither Aristobulus was retired. For which cause he sent Embassadors to inuite him to come and parlee with him: who perswaded by the counsaile of many of his inward friends, in no sort to commence warre against

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The year of the
world, 3903, be-
fore Christs birth
61.
Aristobulus
deliuereth the
fortresses to
Pompeies
hands.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 7.
Mithridates
king of Pon-
tus slaine by
his sonne
Pharnaces.

against the Romanes, came downe vnto him, & after he had debated his side with his brother, as touching the kingdome, Pompey permitted him to returne againe into his Castle. And this did he two or three times, alwaies flattering Pompey thorow the hope hee had of the kingdome, & making a shew that he would be obedient vnto him in whatsoever hee would commaund. Meane while he retired himselfe, and fortified the place, and made preparation for the waire, for feare least Pompey should transerre the kingdome to *Hircanus*. But when as Pompey commanded him that he should deliuer vp the fortresses that he held, and had written with his owne hand to the captaines of the garrisons (who otherwise would not haue obeyed him) *Aristobulus* submitted, and in discontent repaired to Ierusalem, with full intent to prepare for waire. Not long after this, when as Pompey marched towards him with his army, certaine messengers comming from *Pompey* certified him of *Mithridates* death, who was slaine by his sonne *Pharnaces*.

CHAP. VII.

They of Ierusalem shut their gates against the Romanes.

When Pompey was encamped neer vnto Iericho (in which place there were a number of Date trees, and where also groweth that balme which is the most precious of all other ointments, distilling from a little shrub, which is opened and slit by a sharpe cutting stone) the next morning he marched towards Ierusalem. At that time *Aristobulus* (being sorry for his misbehaviour) came vnto him, offering him money: and promising him to receiue him into Ierusalem, he besought him, that (dismissing publike enmities & quarrels) he would peaceably doe what him listed hereafter. Whereupon Pompey pardoned him, and condescended to his request, and sent *Gabinus* with his soldiers, both to receiue the money, as also to enter the citie; but his purpose failed him in both: for *Gabinus* returned, because he was excluded out of the citie; neither receiued he any money, for that *Aristobulus* soldiers would not permit that any promise should be performed. Hereupon Pompey waxed wroth; so that after hee had committed *Aristobulus* to prison, he went in person against the citie, which was strongly fortified on euery side, except toward the quarter that extendeth northward, which was easie to be beaten downe: for this side is inuironed with a large and deepe valley, compasing the Temple, which is inclosed with a marueilous strong wall of stone.

CHAP. VIII.

Pompey taketh the Temple, and lower part of the Citie perforce.

Within the city there grew a diuision & faction, by reason of the difference and dissident opinions of those that kept the same; for some thought good to yeeld vp the city into Pompeies hands; other some (that were of *Aristobulus* faction) counselled that the gates should be kept shut, & preparation for war should be made, for that the Romanes detained *Aristobulus* prisoner. These later preuailling more then the rest seized the temple: & breaking downe the bridge which was betwixt it & the citie, addressed themselves to stand on their defence. But the others not only deliuered the citie into Pompeies hands, but the royall palace also: who sent *Piso* his lieutenant thither with his forces to take possession thereof, & to plant his garrisons therein, & to fortify the houses neere adioining the temple, and whatsoever convenient habitation without the walles. First therefore *Piso* offered the besieged certaine conditions of peace: which for that they refused, he fortified and shut them in on euery side, being in all these his endeouours assisted by *Hircanus*. On the outside of the citie, Pompey incamped with his army on the north part of the temple (which was the easiest & meekest side to be assaulted) on this side also there were certaine high towers, and a huge trench, besides a deepe valley that begirt the temple. For towards the citie all waies and passages were so broken vp, that no man could either goe vp or downe, and the bridge was taken away on that side where Pompey was incamp. Each day did the Romanes trauell earnestly to raise a mount, and cutting downe all the timber round about them, & hauing sely applied the same, the trench being filled vp (although very hardly, by reason of the incredible depth thereof) the Rammes and Engines that were brought from Tyre were addressed, with which they enforced & darted stones against the temple: and had not the ordinance of the country commanded to keepe the Sabbath (which was the seventh day of the weeke) holy, and to labour in no sort on that day; the Romanes had neuer bin able to haue raised their bulwarke, if they within the temple had opposed themselves against them. For the law permit-

permitteth to defend themselves against their enemies, at such time as they are assailed and urged to fight, but not assaile them when they intend any other worke. Which when the Romanes vnderstood, they neither gaue assault, nor proffered skirmish on those daies, which we call Sabbaths: but they built their fortifications and towers, and planted their engines; so that the next day they were ready to put them in use against the Iewes. And hereby it is easie to coniecture, how incredible the pietie of our nation is, & how studious and industrious they be in obseruing the diuine lawes. For notwithstanding any present or imminent feare, yet desired they neuer to offer their solemn sacrifices: but twice a day, in the morning, and about the ninth houre, the Priests offered vpon the altar; and notwithstanding any difficulty or danger of the siege that might happen, they omitted not the course of their oblations. For at such time as the temple was taken (in the third

moneth and on a fasting day, in the hundredth teuentie nine Olympiade, in the yeere wherein *Caius Antonius* and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* were Consuls) the enemy entered the temple by force, and slew those that withstood the. Yet notwithstanding all this, the priests ceased not to exercise their accustomed sacrifice: & neither the hazard of their liues, nor the great number of those that were dead, could force them to flie, but that they held it more conuenient for them to endure all things that might happen in attending vpon the Altar, then to transgress or vary one iota from their ordinances. And that this may seeme to be no fable, or praise of their dissembled deuotion, but the exact and perfect truth, all those that write the Histories concerning Pompey and his acts, doe witness no lesse: amongst the number of which, are *Strabo*, *Nicholas*, and *Titus Liuius* the Romane Historiographer the most famous among the rest. The greatest of those towers was battered by

these engines, & fell, bearing a great pane of the wall to the earth with it, which was the cause that the enemies in multitudes brake in by the breach. The first that ascended the wall, was *Cornelius Faustus* the sonne of *Sylla*, with his souldiers. After him mounted the Centurion *Furius*, accompanied with those that followed him, on the other side: and thorow the midst of the breach, did the Centurion *Fabius* enter with a strong squadron. The whole circuit was filled with murders; and some of the Iewes died by the Romanes swords; other some slew one another; the rest cast themselves downe headlong from the steepe places: many likewise set fire on their houses, and consumed themselves therein, for feare they should behold the executions that were performed by their enemies. There died about twelue thousand Iewes, and very few Romanes. *Abalom* also, who was *Aristobulus* father in law, and vncle, was taken prisoner. The religion of the temple

likewise was not a little prophaned. For whereas before that time no prophane man either entered or beheld that which was in the temple: Pompey & diuers others that accompanied him, entered the same, and saw that which was not lawfull to be beheld by any other but the high priests only. But although he found a table of gold, and a sacred candlestick; with diuers other vessels and odoriferous drugs in great quantitie; and whereas besides that, there was about two thousand talents of silver in the sacred treasure in the temple: yet touched hee nothing thereof thorow the reuerence hee had of GOD, and herein hee behaued himselfe answerably to his other vertues. The next day he commaunded those that had the charge of the temple to purge the same, and to offer sacrifices vnto GOD, according to the law; committing the high priesthood to *Hircanus* hands, both for that hee had stood him in great steed in many things, as for that he had hindered

the Iewes, that were of the countrey, from ioyning themselves with *Aristobulus*. After this, he headed the authors of this warre, and honoured *Faustus* and the rest with condigne gifts, who with great courage had first attempted and ascended the wall. As for Ierusalem, he made it tributary to the Romanes, taking away from the Iewes those Cities they had conquered in Coelosyria, and assigning the a proper and peculiar gouernment. After this, he inclosed the nation within certaine limits, whereas before time their dominions were of a large extent. Nor long after this, hee repaired Gadara, that not long before was destroyed: all which he performed in fauour of *Deme-trius* the Gadarenian his late seruant and bondman. And as touching Hippon, Scythopolis, Dion, Samaria, Marissa, Azot, Iamnia, and Arethusa, hee restored them to the ancient inhabitants thereof, all which were situate in the heart of the land: Besides Gaza, Ioppa, Dora, & the tower of Straton (cities situate vpon the sea coast, and ruined before times with diuers warres) he set at libertie, and annexed them vnto the prouince. As for the tower of Straton, it was magnificentie builded by *Herode*, and decked with gates and faire temples, and the name thereof was changed, and called Cæsarea. Thus *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus* thorow their dissensions and ciuill broiles, were the cause of that seruitude and misery that fell vpon the Iewes. For we haue lost our libertie, and haue bene subdued by the Romanes. Besides that; wee haue bene enforced to surrender vp those cities vnto the Syrians, which we before time by force of armes had conquered

The yeere of the
world, 3903, be-
fore Christs birth
61.

The Iewes in-
termitted not
their sacrifice
norwithstan-
ding the siege.
The taking of
the temple.

Twelue thou-
sand Iewes
slaine.

Pompey enter-
ing the tem-
ple, neither
toucheth or
taketh away
any thing.
Alias cap. 9.
Pompey be-
stoweth the
Priesthood on
Hircanus.

Ierusalem tribu-
tary to Rome.

Gadara restor-
ed.
Cities taken
from the Iewes.

Gabinus
comming to
receiue the
money *Aristo-
bulus* had pro-
mised, hath
the city gates
shut against
him.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 8.
Pompey belie-
geth Ierusalem.
The yeare of the
world, 3903, be-
fore Christs birth
61.

Ierusalem
partly betray-
ed, partly be-
sieged by
Pompey.

Pompey mak-
eth prepara-
tion to besiege
the temple.

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The yeere of the
world, 3903. be-
fore Christs birth
61.

Scaurus pref-
ident of Caele-
syria.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

and gotten from them. And that which is to be lamented, the Romans in a litle time haue drawn G from vs more then tenne thousand talents: and the roialtie which before time was an honour re- serued for those that were of the race of the high priests, hath been bestowed on men of obsequie and communie: wherof we will speake in place conuenient. After that Pompey had giuen Caele- syria to Scaurus, from Euphrates as farre as to the frontiers of Egypt, with two legions of the Romans; he went into Cilicia, and from thence drew towards Rome, leading with him *Aristobulus* in bonds, and his children (who were two sonnes, and two daughters) one of which called *Alexander*, escaped by flight; and as touching *Antigonus* (who was the younger) he was led to Rome with his sisters.

CHAP. IX.

Scaurus maketh warre against Aretas.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 9.

SCAURUS led forth his army against Petra a Citie in Arabia, and for that the Citie might ve- ry hardly be besieged, hee spoiled all the countrey round about. When as therefore his army was pressed with famine, *Antipater* by the commaundement of *Hircanus*, furni- shed him with corne, and all other necessities out of Iewry. Who beeing sent Embassador to A- retas from Scaurus, in that hee had sometime sojourned with him, perswaded him to contribute a certaine summe of siluer to warrantize his countrey from pillage; and hee himselfe also became pledge for three hundred talents. This done, Scaurus finished the war, according to his desire, and with no lesse contentment to Aretas and his countrey.

CHAP. X.

Alexander overcome by Gabinus, retireth himselfe into a Castle, wherein he is shut up and besieged.

The yeere of the
world, 3904. be-
fore Christs birth
60.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 10.
al. 11.

Castles forti-
fied.

NOT long after this, *Alexander Aristobulus* sonne, made diuers inroads into Iewry: for which cause *Gabinus* came from Rome into Syria, and (besides other things worthy of memory which hee achieued) he led forth his army against *Alexander*, for that *Hir- canus* had not as yet sufficient power to resist him, beeing otherwise exercised in build- ing the walles of Ierusalem that were beaten downe by Pompey; notwithstanding the Romans K that were in Iewrie hindered him from performing the same. This *Alexander* traouailing thorow the whole countrey, assembled diuers Iewes; so that in short time, hauing gotten together tenne thousand foemen, and fiftene hundred horse with good munition, he fortified the Castle of Alex- andrion neere vnto the Citie of Cores. He fortified Machæron also in the mountaines of Ara- bia. *Gabinus* therefore came forth against him, hauing sent before him *Marcus Antonius* accom- panied with other chieftaines of warre, who armed the Romans of their traine and the Iewes that were vnder their obedience, whose captaines were *Pitholaus* and *Malichus*. They tooke also those allies whom *Antipater* had hired, & in this equipage came they to make head against Alex- ander. *Gabinus* also seconded them with his troups. Hereupon *Alexander* drew more neer with his army towards Ierusalem, where waging battel with the Romans, hee lost about three thousand of his followers, and the like number of his men were led away prisoners. After this *Gabinus* re- paired to Alexandrion, and inuited those that held the same to depart, promising them pardon for the rebellion they had begun. And where as many of his enemies had encamped themselves before the fort, the Romans charged them: in which conflict *Marcus Antonius* was adiuaged to haue behaued himselfe very valiantly, in that he slew diuers of his enemies. *Gabinus* left a part of his armie in that place, to the end that during the siege thereof, he might goe and visit the coun- try of Iudæa: he commaunded therefore all those cities, which in his journey he found either deso- late or destroyed, to be repaired: so that Samaria, Azot, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, Dora, Marissa and Gaza, with diuers others, were new builded: so that thorow the obedience that was giuen to *Gabinus* commaund, it came to passe that the Cities were safely inhabited, which had laine long time before desert.

Gabinus cau-
eth diuers ci-
ties in Iury to
be repaired
that were de-
faced.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 11.
al. 12.
Alexandion
& other ca-
stles builded.

And after *Gabinus* had behaued himselfe in this manner in the countrey, hee returned to Alex- andrion. Whilst therefore he thus insisted about the siege, *Alexander* sent Embassadors vnto him, demanding pardon at his hand for his offences, and restoring into his hands the Castles of Hircania & Machæron, & finally that of Alexandrion; which *Gabinus* leuelled with the ground. And whereas *Alexanders* mother came vnto him (who fauoured the Romane faction, & whole husband

OF THE IEWES. THE XIII. BOOKE.

357
The yeere of the
world 3904. be-
fore Christs birth
60.

Five presidall
sieges in Iury.

A husband and children were kept prisoners in Rome) he obtained all that which he requested at his hands: and after he had carefully and friendly disposed of her affaires, hee led *Hircanus* to Ie- rusalem to take charge of the temple and priesthood. He ordained also fise iudgement seates and places of session, and diuided the prouince into answerable parts: for the one answered in Ierusa- lem; the second at Gadara; the third in Amatha; the fourth at Ierico; and the fift at Saphora; which is a towne of Galilee. By this meanes the Iewes were deliuered of their Monarchie, and li- ued vnder an Aristocracie, or government of the Nobilitie.

CHAP. XI.

Aristobulus escapeth out of prison and flieth from Rome, and is apprehended againe by *Gabinus* in Iudæa, and led backe prisoner to Rome.

B

BUT *Aristobulus* flying from Rome, returned into Iewrie, and determined to reedifie the Castle of Alexandrion, which not long since was ruined. Against him *Gabinus* sent out certaine men of warre with their captaines, namely *Sisenna*, *Antonius* and *Seruilus*, both to keep him from the possession of the place, as to apprehend and surprise him likewise. For many Iewes resorted vnto him, beeing drawne thereunto by the auncient reputation that hee had: who desired likewise to worke innouations. *Pitholaus* also (who was established Lieutenant ge- nerrall in Ierusalem) of his own accord came vnto him, with a thousand men well armed: but the other that were retired within, for the most part were not sufficiently furnished with armes; for

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 12.
al. 13.

Aristobulus returning from Rome, seeketh to reestablish Alexandrion.

Aristobulus making his reckoning to seize Machæron, dismissed those followers of his that were disarmed; and were vnapt for any execution, & retaining onely eight thousand well armed men; hee tooke the field and marched thither. But the Romans pursuing and ouertaking him, fought desperately with him, and quercame both him and his, notwithstanding their valiant resist. Bec- ing therefore forced by the enemies, they were put to flight, & about fise thousand of them were slaine; and the rest disperfed, wandring heere and there, sought for their owne priuate securities: but *Aristobulus* fled to Machæron with more then a thousand followers, and fortified the place. And though his affaires had very slender successe; yet lost he not his hope: but after he had endu- red the siege some two daies, and received many wounds, he was taken prisoner, and with his son

Aristobulus overcome in battell by the Romans.

Aristobulus sent backe a- gaine prisoner to Rome, with his sonne *Antigonus*.

Aristobulus sonnes dis- charged.

Antigonus (who fled from Rome with him) led away captiue by *Gabinus*. Such was the aduen- ture of *Aristobulus*, that hee was sent prisoner backe againe to Rome; and there kept in bonds af- ter he had beene king and high priest three yeeres, and fixe moneths. A man in that dignity both magnificent and magnanimous: yet did the Senate send backe his children (according to the re- nor of *Gabinus* letters) who had promised their deliuey to their mother, at such time as shice

surrendered the Castles into his hands: whereupon they returned into Iewry. But *Gabinus*, in- tending to make warre against the Parthians, and hauing already past Euphrates, changed his re- solution; and determined to returne into Egypt, and reestablished *Ptolomey*, as it is declared in an other place. In this expedition also he was furnished by *Antipaters* meanes, with victuals, money and munition; and by his aduice, those Iewes that inhabite Pelusium (who kept as it were the ve- ry entry into Egypt) were drawne into his societie. When as therefore *Gabinus* returned backe

Antipater re-
lieueth *Gabi-
nius* in his
journey to E-
gypt to install
Ptolomey.
*Alexander A-
ristobulus* son
viurpeth the
Monarchie.
Alexander o-
uercome by
Gabinus.

out of Egypt, he found all Syria full of tumult and rebellion. For *Alexander*, *Aristobulus* sonne, ta- king once more possession of the kingdome, caused diuers Iewes from day to day to revolt; and forraging the countrey with a huge armie, he slew all those Romans whom he met withall, & be- sieged all those that fledde into the mount Garizim. *Gabinus* seeing the affaires of Syria in that e- state, sent *Antipater* before him vnto them to appease these commotions, and to heale the of their frenzie, and if it were possible to reduce them to a better mind: for *Antipater* was a man of good discretion. In effect, he repairing vnto them, moderated diuers of them, and brought them vnder obedience: but it was impossible for him to reconcile *Alexander*, for hee hauing thirtie thou- sand souldiers with him, came forth to meet with *Gabinus*, with whom he fought, and was ouer- come, with the losse of some ten thousand of his men, neere vnto the mount Itabyr.

After that *Gabinus* had ordered all things in Ierusalem by *Antipaters* aduice, he presently set forward against the Nabatheans, whom hee ouercame in battell. Hee sent backe also *Mithridates* & *Orsanes* (men of good reckoning among the Parthians) who had retired themselves vnto him, causing a bruit to be spread, that they were fled with *Gabinus*. Now when *Gabinus* had perform- ed great & maghificent exploits in warre, hee returned to Rome, surrendering the government to *Craffus*, *Nicholas*, *Damascene*, and *Strabo* of Cappadocia (who discreth in nothing from *Ni- cholas*) haue written of these expeditions of Pompey, and *Gabinus* in Iudæa.

The conquest
of the Naba-
theans.
Mithridates &
Orsanes.

CHAP.

Crassus going against the Parthians, passeth by Iudæa, and robbeth the sacred treasure.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 13.
al. 14.

Marcus Cras-
sus in his ex-
pedition a-
gainst the Par-
thians, taketh
the treasure
out of the
temple of Ie-
rusalem.

The years of the
world, 3911. be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity 53.

Crassus break-
eth his oath.
Whence the
temple of Ie-
rusalem grew
so rich.
Strabo of
Cappadocia.



C *Rassus* intending to make warre against the Parthians, came into Iewry and tooke a way with him the sacred money (which *Pompey* had not touched, which amounted to the summe of two thousand talents.) He spoiled the temple al of all the gold that was in the same, to the sum of 8000 talents. Furthermore, hee bare away a wedge of solid gold, to the weight of three hundredth pounds, which pound amongst the Iewes containeth two pounds and a halfe. He that deliuered him this ingot, was a Priest, and the keeper of the sacred treasure, called *Eleazar*, who gaue him the same vpon no malicious intent (for he was a ver- tuous and iust man) but whereas hee had the custodie of the tapestries of the temple, committed to his hands (which both were admirable to behold, by reason of their beautie and esteeme, and withall were in like sort tied and fastned to this beame) and perceiuing that *Crassus* sought all the means that in him lay, to gather all the money he could, he fearing least he should haue seized on all the ornaments of the temple, gaue him this beame for a ranfome to redeeme all the rest: bin- ding him vpon the deliuerie thereof by an oath, that hee should not take any thing away that was in the temple, but should content himselfe with that onely piece of great esteeme & vawew, which he gaue him. This beame was inclosed in another hollow beame of wood; so that no man knew thereof but onely *Eleazar*. *Crassus* therefore tooke this beame, as if he determined to leaue all o- ther things in the temple; yet notwithstanding he falsified his oath, and caried away whatsoever was therein. Neither is it to bee wondred at, that there was so great riches found in our temple, sith all those Iewes that were disperfed thorow the face of the whole earth, and all those that fea- red God (both in Asia and in Europe) for a long time offered their presents in that place. The greatnesse and multitude whereof wanteth no testimonie: neither is it fained in way of offensa- tion, but diuers other Historians make mention thereof: and amongst the rest, *Strabo* of Cappa- docia speaketh after this manner. And *Mithridates* sent men into the Isle of Coos, to fetch from thence the money that queene *Cleopatra* had laid vp there, & eight hundredth talents of the Iewes. But wee haue no publike money, but that which is dedicated vnto God. It is therefore a thing most manifest, that the Iewes that inhabit Asia, transported this money into Coos, for the feare that they had of *Mithridates*: For it is not likely that they, who inhabited Iudæa, and had a Citie so strong, and a temple so well defended, should send their money to Coos. Neither is it credible likewise, that the Iewes remaining in Alexandria should do it, for that they feared not to fall into danger thorow this warre of *Mithridates*. The same *Strabo* also saith in another place, that at such time as *Sylla* passed thorow Greece to make warre against *Mithridates* and *Lucullus*, he sent men to Cyrene, which was troubled by reason of the mutinies of our nation, wherewith the whole world was filled, and saith thus: There were foure sorts of people in the Citie of the Cyrenians: One of the were Citizens; the second were Labourers; the third were Sojourners; & the fourth were Iewes, who at this present are intermingled thorow all Cities; neither is there an inhabited place thorowout the world, neither was there any nation that inhabit the same, wherein these I have not set foote and fortified. For both Egypt and Cyrene (being vnder the subiection of the same princes) and diuers other regions, conformed themselves to their customes, and nourished assemblies of Iewes, and aduanced them, and more and more vsed the Iewish ordinances. It ap- peareth therefore that there was a colony of Iewes in Egypt. Furthermore, in Alexandria a great part of the Citie is assigned to this nation. They haue likewise their peculiar magistrate, who gouerneth the people, endeth, and decideth their differences, and maintaineth their con- tracts and ordinances, as if he gouerned in his owne common-weale. By this meanes, this nation hath fortified and established it selfe in Egypt, for that the Iewes had their originall amongst the Egyptians, and for that Iudæa is neere vnto Egypt, from whence the Iewes are descended: And as touching Cyrene, they haue entred it, in that it confineth that country, which is vnder the obedience of the Egyptians (in like manner as Iudæa doth) or rather for that in times past it ap- pertained to the same kingdom. Thus farre *Strabo*.

Crassus slaine
in Parthia.
Cassius resti-
tuteth the Par-
thians.

After that *Crassus* had disposed all things according to his owne pleasure, hee dislodged and marched forward to make warre against the Parthians, where both he and all his armie were de- stroied (as it is declared in another place.) As for *Cassius*, he retired himselfe into Syria, & rooke possession thereof, to the end he might affront the Parthians; who being proud of their victorie lately

Antipaters
wife and chil-
dren.

A lately obtained, made excursions so farre: & comming to Tyre, he finally arriued in Iudæa, where vpon his first entrance he tooke the Citie of Tarichæa, and led away from thence thirtie thousand prisoners. He put *Pitholaus* also to death, for that he maintained *Aristobulus* faction. All which he did by *Antipaters* procurement and instigation, who was in great credit with him, and who also at that time was highly esteemed amongst the Idumæans: amongst whom hee married his wife, who was descended of one of the most famous families of Arabia, her name was *Cypron*, by who he had these foure sonnes: *Phasaelus*, & *Herode* (who after was made king) *Ioseph* and *Pheroras*, & one daughter called *Salome*. This *Antipater* also made alliance with other Princes, and especially with the Arabian; to whose custodie he committed his children, during the time hee made wara- gainst *Aristobulus*. But *Cassius* gathered another army, & marched towards Euphrates to make head against the Parthians, as it is specified and registred by other Writers.

Pompey retireth himselfe into Epirus, and Scipio commeth into Syria.



Non after this, *Cesar* (being Lord of Rome) after that *Pompey* and the Senate were fled on the other side of the Ionian sea, sette *Aristobulus* at liberty, determining to send him into Syria, with two legions; as being a sufficient man to gouerne the state affaires in that quarter. Naithlesse, *Aristobulus* failed of his hopes and authoritie hee expected at *Cesars* hands: For *Pompeys* partakers preuented and poisoned him, where-through he died; so that hee was buried by thole of *Cesars* faction. His body was kept embalmed with honey for a long time, vntill that *Antonius* sent it into Iury, to be entombed among the kings & Princes. *Scipio*, by *Pompeys* commandement, caused *Alexander Aristobulus* sonnes head to be cut off, charging him with some misdemeanors which he had committed against the Romanes, and after this manner finished he his daies being executed in Antioch. *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Mnna- us*, who gouerned in Chalcis (at the foore of the mount Libanus) rooke his brothers, and sent his sonne *Philippion* to Alcalon to *Aristobulus* wife, commaunding her to send her sonne *Antigonus* and his daughters; one of which, called *Alexandra*, was beloued by *Philippion*, & married by him; but afterwards he being slaine, *Ptolomey Philippions* father married her, and continued the care- full maintenance of his brethren in law.

The years of the
world, 3917. be-
fore Christs birth
47.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 14.
al. 15.

Aristobulus, deliuered out of prison, is poisoned.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 15.
al. 16.

The slaughter of
Aristobulus sonne.

Cæsars voyage into Egypt, wherein he was assisted by the faithfull seruice of the Iewes.

After *Pompeys* death, & that victory which *Cesar* had obtained against him, *Antipater* (go- uernour of Iudæa by the commandement of *Hircanus*) was very profitable vnto *Cesar*. For whereas *Mithridates* the Pergamenian brought him certaine supplies, and could not bring them on, by reason of an arme of Nilus pausing thorow Pelusium; but was constrained to stay at Alcalon: *Antipater* came vnto him, and brought with him three thousand souldiers, and so dealt with the Princes of Arabia to associate them with *Cesar*, that by his meanes, all they of Syria gaue him their assistance, and neuer altered their affection that they bare vnto *Cesar*. These were *Iamblicus* a great Lord, and *Ptolomey* his sonne, & *Tholomeus* the sonne of *Sohemus*, dwell- ing on the mount of Libanus, and welny all the Cities. *Mithridates* beeing departed from Syria, came to Pelusium, where being repulsed and excluded by the Citizens, he besieged the citie. *Antipater* in this war behaued himselfe valiantly, and after hee had beaten downe a pane of the wall, he first of all set forward to enter the Citie. Whilst Pelusium was in this estate, the Iewes that in- habited Egypt in the country of *Onias*, would neither grant passage to *Antipater*, nor *Mithri- dates* that marched towards *Cesar*. But *Antipater*, who was of their nation, perswaded them to take their parts, shewing them the letters of the high priest *Hircanus*, in which he inuited them to be friends vnto *Cesar*, and exhorted them to furnish his army in whatsoeuer they stood in need of; so that seeing that *Antipater* & the high Priest were accorded together, they submitted the- selves. They that dwelt round about Memphis, hearing that they were thus vnited, sent for *Mithridates* also vnto them; who came and receiued them into his fauour.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 16.
al. 17.

Antipater ga-
thereth sould-
iers out of
Syria for Cæ-
sars seruice.

Antipater hel-
peth *Mithri-
dates* to take
Pelusium.

The Iewes of
Onias country,
are confede-
rated with
Cesar.

Memphis in
Egypt.

The conflict
of the Egypti-
ans with Mi-
thridates at
Delta.
Alias cap. 18.

Mithridates
commendeth
Antipaters
service to Cæ-
sar.

Cæsar confir-
meth Hircan-
us in the
priesthood, &
maketh Anti-
pater a citize
of Rome.
Strabo.
Asinius.
Hippocrates.

The year of the
world, 3919. be-
fore Christs birth
45.

Antigonus A-
ristobulus ion
accuseth Hircan-
us & Anti-
pater before
Cæsar.
Antipaters
answers to his
obedience.
Antipater
made gouver-
nour ouer
Iudæa.

NHen hee was come to a place called Delta, hee fought with his enemies in a place, which is called the campe of the Jewes: in which battell *Mithridates* ledde the right wing, and *Antipater* the left. When as therefore they came to handie blowes, *Mithridates* wing retired and fainted, and grew in danger to be wholly discomfited, had not *Antipater* (running with his souldiers along the bank of the riuer) obtained the vpper hand of his enemies, by putting the Egyptians that were conquerers to flight, and restoring *Mithridates*. And so long pursued he them that he got their camp, and called back *Mithridates*, who chased the Egyptians, to take part of the prey with him, that hee had recovered from the fugitiue enemy. In this fight there fell eight hundredth on the enemies side, and fiftie on *Antipaters*. Afterwards, *Mithridates* wrote heereof vnto *Cæsar*, and certified him that *Antipater* was cause of the victorie, and their preservation: so that *Cæsar* from that time forward highly commended him, and in all his warre he made vse of *Antipater* in his most dangerous attempts: VWhereby it came to passe that *Antipater* was grievously wounded in diuers fights.

Now after that the warre was finished, *Cæsar* sailed into Syria, and bestowed great honours as well on *Hircanus* to whom he confirmed the high Priesthood, as on *Antipater*, whom he made a free citizen of Rome, and granted him full exemption of all charges in all places. Diuers men report that *Hircanus* himselfe was an agent in this warre, and that he came into Egypt: vwhereunto accordeth *Strabo* the Cappadocian, (speaking after this manner by the authoritie of *Asinius*; after that *Mithridates* had entered Egypt, with *Hircanus* the high Priest of the Jewes. The same *Strabo* in another place speaketh thus by the authoritie of *Hippocrates*, that *Mithridates* issued alone, & that *Antipater* was sent for into A scalon, where he prepared three thousand souldiers, because hee was gouernour of Iudæa, and encouraged the rest of the gouernours; and *Hircanus* the high Priest also had a part in this warre. Thus saith *Strabo*. At that time came *Antigonus*, *Aristobulus* sonne, to *Cæsar*, lamenting vnto him the inconuenient that had befallen his father, and how hee was slaine by poison in his seruice, and how his brother had his head strooken off by *Scipio*; beseeching him to haue compulsion of him, who was excluded and thrust out of the kingdom. He K accused *Hircanus* and *Antipater* also, for their tyrannicall and violent government ouer their nation, and iniuries offered to himselfe. *Antipater* beeing at that time present, answered for himselfe in those points wherein he was accused; declaring that *Antigonus* and his friends were factious and seditious men, protesting for himselfe how much he had traualled, and how many exploits he had executed, in the late warre, whereof *Cæsar* himselfe was a witnesse. Moreover, hee auowed that *Aristobulus* had bene iustly led twice into captiuitie to Rome, for that he had been alwaies an enemy, and no waies well affectioned towards the Romans. And as for his brother, who was beheaded by *Scipio*, he auerred that he was iustly punished by him, for his Larcinies, & not iniuriously and outragiously as he pretended. After that *Antipater* had spoken to this effect, *Cæsar* declared *Hircanus* high Priest, and gaue *Antipater* any government whatsoeuer best him L liked: who according to his choice, was appointed prefect in Iudæa.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 17.
al. 18.
Hircanus by
Cæsar's per-
mission repai-
reth the walles
of Ierusalem.
The Senates
decree as tou-
ching their
league with
the Jewes.

NOreouer *Cæsar* permitted *Hircanus* to repaire the walles of Ierusalem (according to his humble suit.) For after that *Pompey* had beaten the down, they lay leuelled with the earth; & he commanded the Consuls at Rome, that this decree should be registered in the Capitol. The example of which ordinance of the Senate containeth matter to this effect; *Lucius Valerius* the son of *Lucius* the Pretor, hath related to the Senate (assembled in the temple of Concord the 13 day of December) in the presence of *L. Caponius* the son of *Lucius*, & *Caius Papyrius Quirinus*; the requests made by *Alexander* the son of *Iason*, *Numenius* the son of *Antiochus*, & *Alexander* the son of *Dorotheus*, Embassadors in the behalfe of the Jewes, men of good regard, & our allies, and proposed by them in renewing the ancient fauours they haue receiued from the Romanes: and in testimonie of the confederation; haue brought

As a violl and buckler of gold of fiftie thousand crownes price, requiring our letters might bee giuen them, addressed to the free Cities and the kings our confederates, to grant them passage thorough their countries and ports with all securitie, and without any offence. And wee haue thought good to make friendship and alliance with them and to grant them all that which they require, in accepting the buckler brought by them. This hapned in the time that *Hircanus* was high priest and prince, and in the ninth yeere of his principedome, in the month of Iuly.

Hircanus was in like sort honored by the people of Athens, for many commodities and friendships that they receiued at his hands. They sent him also a decree which they ratified in his behalfe, the tenor whereof ensueth: The yeere wherein *Dionysius* the sonne of *Asclepiades* was gouernour, and priest, in the moneth of Iuly, and on the 20. day this arrest or decree of the Athenians was deliuered to the gouernours by the Pretor *Agathocles*. *Euclestis* the sonne of *Menander* the Alimusiath hath written it the eleuenth of March in the assembly generally, and placed it in the Theater, and the suffrages were gathered by *Dorotheus* the high priest, with the chiefe assistants of the people. *Dionysius* the sonne of *Dionysius* published the same: Since that *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander*, the high priest and prince of the Jewes, continueth his good affection towards all the people, and in especiall towards euery Citizen of Athens, and hath shewed them many friendships, receiuing with all humanitie those Athenians that come vnto him, whether they resort thither as Embassadors, or for any other particular occasion whatsoeuer, & sencerth them backe after they haue provided them of safe conduct, whereof wee haue heretofore had testimonie by the report of *Theodorus*, the sonne of *Theodorus Simens*; who hath made recital vnto the people of his worthinesse, and of the will he hath to doe vs all the good that is possible: VVee haue thought good to honour him by lending him a crowne of gold in testimonie of his curtesies, according to our custome and law; and by erecting a brazen statue vnto him in the temple of Demus, and the Graces: Our will is also that this be proclaimed by a herald in the Theater, during the Bacchanals, and at such time as the new Tragedies are plaid. Likewise in the solemnities Panathean and Eleusynian, and at the publike exercises: wee will also that the gouernours provide, that all that which we haue aduised for the honour, fauour, affection and good will toward this man, as hee hath well deserued, be diligently performed, to the end that thereby it may appeare how our nation reward, & entertain such men as are vertuous; and to the intent, that the honour we impart vnto him, may prouoke others to be the better affected towards vs. It is likewise decreed, that amongst all the Athenians there be certaine Embassadors chosen, who shall beare this Decree vnto him, and exhort him to doe whatsoeuer is profitable for our common good, seeing himselfe so much honoured by vs. Let this suffice to expresse the honours bestowed on *Hircanus* by the people of Rome, and the Citizens of Athens.

After that *Cæsar* had giuen order for the affaires of Syria, hee returned backe by sea. And as soone as *Antipater* had brought *Cæsar* out of Syria, he returned into Iudæa, & sodainly builded vp the walles which were before time defaced by *Pompey*; and in riding circuit about the countrey, he pacified the troubles, not onely by menaces; but by counsailes also, which hee gaue euery one to liue in peace; certifying them that if they submitted themselves to *Hircanus* their prince, they should liue happily, and enioy their possessions without any trouble: and that if they hoped to aduance themselves by any new commotion (supposing by that meanes to profit themselves some way) they should seele that in steed of a gouernor, they had a master; and in steed of a king, they should finde *Hircanus* a tyrant; and in steed of the Romans and *Cæsar* to be their gouernors, they should seele and finde them to be their most hateful enemies, for that they would not suffer, that any thing should be altered that they had established. By these and such like admonitions, hee kept and continued all the countrey in peace.

Antipater committeth the government of Galilee to his sonne Herod, and that of Ierusalem to
Phalaclus his other sonne: and how Sextus Cæsar aduanceth Herod to great
honours and dignities.

Antipater perceiuing that *Hircanus* was slow and idle, he declared and appointed *Phalaclus* his eldest sonne gouernour ouer Ierusalem, and the countrey thereabout: As for Herod (who was verie young, for hee was not at that time about fiftene yeeres old) hee committed Galilee vnto his charge: who although he were young in yeeres, yet did not his tender age any waies preiudice him because hee was of a noble spirit, and found

Hircanus ho-
noured by the
Athenians.

Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 18.
Cæsar depar-
teth out of
Syria.
Antipater paci-
fied all occasi-
ons of commotion
in Iudæa.

The year of the
world, 3921. be-
fore Christs birth
43.

Alias, chap. 20.
Antipater ma-
keth Phalaclus
gouernour in
Ierusalem, and
Herod in Ga-
lilee.

The year of the world, 3921. before Christ's nativity, 43. Herod executed Ezechias and his followers for robberies. Sextus Caesar gouernour of Syria. The forme of Phaelus his gouernment.

Antipater notwithstanding his high authority was always faithful to Hircanus. Antipater winneth the Romans hearts by Hircanus money, and draweth the Iewes into hatred.

The Iewes accuse Antipater and Herod before Hircanus. The year of the world, 3922. before the birth of Christ, 42.

Herod called in question appeareth with a great traine.

Sextus Caesar writeth to Hircanus to discharge Herod.

Sameas one of the Iudges foretelleth Hircanus and his countailers of their imminent death by Herod's means.

out this sodaine occasion to expresse that vertue that was in him. For hauing apprehended *Ezechias*, who was the prince of those theues, who ranged ouer all Syria a long time with a great troupe of outlawes, he put him to death with diuers of his complices. Which act of his got him no little estimation and credit among the Syrians: for by that meanes he rid their countrey of all those robbers, according as they desired. Hee was therefore praised thorow the villages, and Cities for this act, as he that had giuen them peace, and assured possession of their estates. For this cause he was made knowne to *Sextus Caesar*, who was vncle to *Caesar* the great. Furthermore his brother *Phaelus* was incited to follow his noble actions, and enforced himselfe to obtaine no lesse reputation then he had; for which cause he stroue to get the good wil of the common people in Ierusalem, & gouerned the citie with such discretiō, that hee acted all things to each mans content, & abused not his power to any priuat mans iniurie: which was the cause that *Antipater* was honoured by the whole nation, with no lesse respect then if hee had been their only Lord & soueraigne. Yet did not this eminence of estate so farre distrust him, that he forgot the loue and dutie he ought to *Hircanus* (as in such like occasions it oftentimes falleth out) notwithstanding diuers of the greatest amongst the Iewes (seeing *Antipater* and his sonnes to highly aduanced both by the publike fauour of the whole nation, as also by the reuenues, that they drew both out of Iewry, as also by the employment of *Hircanus* money) were grievously incited against them. For *Antipater* had made friendship with the Emperours of Rome, and hauing perswaded *Hircanus* to send them money, he had appropriated the same vnto himselfe, sending it not in *Hircanus* name, but in his owne; which though *Hircanus* knew, yet was he not moued therewith, but rather well contented. But that which most of all terrified the princes of the Iewes was, to behold the violent and audacious nature of *Herod*, who gouerned after a royall and tyrannicall manner: For this cause they addrest themselves to *Hircanus* and accused *Antipater* openly. How long (said they) wil you dissemble and winke at those things that are daily practiced: see you not that *Antipater* and his sons possesse in effect the royall power and authority of the kingdome, & that you haue onely the name? Assure your selfe: you are not out of danger in contemning thus both your life and your kingdome. For *Antipater* and his sonnes are not now your substitutes, neither intend they you. profit, or your countries good (whatsoeuer your opinion is of them) but they openly are known for Lords and Commanders. For *Herod* (*Antipater*'s son) hath already put *Ezechias* and his complices to death, and thereby transgressed our lawes, which forbid to take away any mans life (how wicked soeuer hee be) except hee bee first of all condemned to death by the councell: and notwithstanding this, he hath been so bold, as to doe iustice without your authority. When *Hircanus* heard this, he grew wroth (for their mothers, whom *Herod* had slaine, had incited him by their continuall exclamations in the temple, exhorting the king and people to call *Herod* to account before the councell of that which he had done.) So that *Hircanus* moued by these wordes, called *Herod* to answer vnto those accusations which were objected against him. Who made his appearance, forewarned by his father not to present himselfe after the manner of a priuate person, but wel attended and accompanied to withstand all inconuenients. After therefore he had taken order for the affaires in Galilee (according as hee thought meet in his owne discretiō) and that he himselfe was sufficiently accompanied to make his voyage, with such a guard as neither might terrifie *Hircanus* with number, nor leaue himselfe vnsecured in danger, he resorted to Ierusalem. Furthermore, *Sextus Caesar* gouernour of Syria wrote vnto *Hircanus* to absolue him, adding threats to his perswasions, if so hee should performe the contrarie; which gaue *Hircanus* occasion to deliuer *Herod* in despite of the councell and their intent; the rather also for that he loued him as intirely as his sonne. When as therefore *Herod* presented himselfe before the councell with his retinue, all of them were astonished, and none of those that accused him in his absence, durst open their mouthes to speake one worde, but all of them kept silence, not knowing what to doe. Now whilest they stood vpon these tearmes, a certaine man called *Sameas*, who was of vpriight conuersation, and for this cause was not distracted with feare, arose and spake to this effect. O drad king, and you honourable assistants, I could neuer yet remember, that euer any man which was called in question to defend his cause before vs, hath appeared in this equipage; and I suppose that none of you can say, that the like hath euer happened: but whosoever cometh into this place to receiue iudgement; hee presenteth himselfe with humilitie and feare, with a countenance prepared to implore mercie, hauing his haire long, and his garment blacke: but this gallant *Herod* accused of murder (and for this occasion called before vs) who could imagine that hee should appeare before vs in a purple robe, hauing his haire trimmed, and besides that, a guard of armed men about him? with an intent

The year of the world, 3922. before Christ's Nativity, 42.

Herod honoured Sameas. Herod aduanced himselfe by flight, and appeareth no more in judgement.

Alias chap. 12. Sextus Caesar telleth his presidents place to Herod for ready money. Herod marcheth against Hircanus with a great army, & is diswaied from war by his father Antipater, and his brother Phaelus.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 19. Hircanus embassadours to Caesar.

The Iews much honoured by the kings of Europe and Asia.

Iulius Caesar testified in a brazen pillar that the Iewes were free citizens of Alexandria. Iulius Caesar's decree touching the honors, immunities and priviledges granted to the Iewes.

A that if wee condemne him, according to law, he may put vs to death without lawe, that after hee hath violated all right, he might escape and saue himselfe. But I blame not *Herod* in this action, for that hee hath a more inward regard of his particular profit, then of the law: but I accuse both you and the king, who haue giuen him such assurance. Know therefore, that there is a soueraign God, that will one day punish both you and the king, and him whome you will deliuer by the kings meanes. And so generally fell it out as he had said: For as soone as *Herod* had obtained the kingdome, hee put all those of the councell to death, and *Hircanus* himselfe likewise, onely *Sameas* was exempted: for he held him in great estimation, because of his wisdom and iustice, and because that at such times as the Citie was besieged by *Herod* and *Sosius*, *Sameas* perswaded the people to receiue *Herod*, telling them that by reason of their sins and offences, they might not escape from him; whereof we will speak in place conuenient. *Hircanus*, perceiving that the iudges were inclined to condemne *Herod*, deferred the sentence till the next day, and sent secretly vnto *Herod*, counsailling him to flie out of the Citie, assuring him that there was no other meanes to saue his life. Thus posted he to Damasco (as if hee fled from the kings presence) and presenting himselfe before *Sextus Caesar*, after he had assured his person, he resolved with himselfe that if the councell should call him once more to his answer, hee would not obey them. But after his departure the councell were displeased with *Hircanus*, & laboured to perswade him; that all these things tended to his destruction: which he well perceived, yet knew he not what to doe; he was so negligent and void of foresight.

C When *Sextus* had made *Herod* gouernour of Coelosyria (which estate he sold vnto him for ready money) *Hircanus* was affraid lest *Herod* should make war against him: neither passed there long time before the effect grew answerable to his feare. For *Herod* marched forth against him with a great army, supposing himselfe to be much wronged by the assignation hee had sent him, and in that he was summoned to giue a reason of his actions before the councell. But his father *Antipater*, and his brother *Phaelus* came forth against him to hinder his approche towards Ierusalem, striving to appease his fury, and counsailling him not to attempt any thing by way of action; but that contenting himselfe that hee had threatened and affrighted *Hircanus*, hee should not attempt any further against him, who had raised him to that high degree. They told him also, that it became him not onely to remember that he was cited to answer, but that hee was absolved also, and permitted to depart without danger or any violence. Moreover, that hee ought to thinke, that God gouerneth the ballance of warre, and that the issue of battels is vncertaine, & for that cause he ought not to expect the victorie, if he made warre against the king who was his familiar, and from whom he had received farre more kindeesse, and no displeasure: who though he made some appearance and shadow of seueritie, touching the accusation intended against him, yet notwithstanding it proceeded not so much from him, as from his euill counsellors. *Herod* in some sort pacified by these perswasions, obeyed his father, supposing that it sufficed him in regard of his future hopes, that hee had giuen the people so large a testimonie of his power. This was the estate of the Iewes at that time.

F But *Caesar* arriuing at Rome, prepared himselfe to set saile towards Affricke, with an intent to make warre against *Scipio* and *Cato*. To him *Hircanus* sent Embassadours, beseeching him to confirme the amitie and association that he had with him. But now at this present, I thinke it very conuenient to declare all the prerogatiues, and associations that the Romans and their Emperours haue made with those of our nation, to the end that all other people might knowe, that the kings of Asia and Europe haue bene well affected towards vs, and haue made great account of our valour and fidelitie. And although diuers men lewdly affected towards vs, beleuee not that which the Macedonians and Persians haue writen of vs, because the same matters are not extant in all places, neither set downe in publike writings, but only amongst our selues and some Barbarians; yet is it manifest that they cannot contradict the declarations made by the Romans, which are manifestly affixed in publike places in Cities; as likewise also at this present they are writen in the Capitol in brazen pillars. *Iulius Caesar*, in like manner in a brazen pillar erected by him, hath declared vnto the Iews that inhabited Alexandria, that they were free Citizens therein. And to the intent that these things may more manifestly appeare, I will propose the decrees of the Senate, and of *Iulius Caesar*, made in fauour of *Hircanus* and our nation. *Caius Iulius Caesar* Emperour, high Priest, Dictator the second time, so the gouernours, Senate and people of the Romans: Health. If you are well, we are in health, both our selues and our army. I haue sent you the copy of an inscription, registred in fauour of *Hircanus Alexander* sonne, high priest and prince of the Iewes, to the end it may be placed among your publike monuments, and by

will is, that it be engrauen in a table of brasse, both in Greek and Latin letters; the tenour whereof is this that followeth: Because *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne the Iew, both at this present as also heretofore, as well in peace as in warre, hath expressed his fidelitie towards vs and our estate, as diuers chieftaines of our armies yeeld testimonie of him; and for that in our last Alexandrine warre, hee seconded vs in the battell with fiftene hundred men; and hauing bene sent by vs to *Mithridates*, hath surmounted all those of his company in valour. For these causes my wil is that *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne and his successors, be princes of the Iewes: and further, that they continue alwaies in the high Priesthood, according to the ordinance and custome of their country: & that both he and his children be our associates: and be enrowled likewise amongst our chieft friends: and that all that which appertaineth to the Priesthood, according to the ordinances of the Iewes, be attributed to him and his. And if there happen any different as touching the discipline of the Iewes, our pleasure is, that it be determined by him. And as touching the munitions of winter, and the money to be leuied for the entertainment of souldiers, wee thinke it not meete that they should be charged. The decrees made and granted by *Caius Caesar* being Consul are these.

That the sonnes of *Hircanus* be Princes ouer the nation of the Iewes, and inioye the places granted vnto them. That the high Priest and Prince of the Iewes giue fauour and aide vnto those that are offended. That Embassadours be sent to *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander* high Priest of the Iewes, to intreat of amity & association with vs. That a brassen table be erected in the Capitol: and likewise at Sidon, at Tyre, and at Ascalon in the temples, wherein shall be engrauen the contents hereof in Romane and Greeke letters, to the end that all the treasurers that are in the Cities, and all other Magistrates may by this our decree vnderstand, that they are our friends, and that their Embassadours be entertained with kindnesse and presents, and that these edicts be sent into all places.

Caius Caesar Emperour, Dictator, Consul, for the good of the Senate and people of Rome, hath granted to the honour, vertue, and humanitie of *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander*, that both hee and his children shall be High Priests in Ierusalem, and of the whole Nation, according to the rites and customes, whereby their auncestors haue enioyed the Priesthood.

Caius Caesar, Consul the fift time, hath ordained that they shall inhabite Ierusalem, and build againe the walles of the Citie; and that *Hircanus* (*Alexanders* sonne, the high priest and prince of the Iewes) shall gouerne as best him liketh, and that euery second yeere of their tribute, there be a Chore deducted out of the rent they owe, and that they be exempt from all other impositions, and tributes.

Caius Caesar, twice Emperour, hath ordained, that the Iewes shall contribute euery yeere for their cities, except Ioppe; he acquiteth them also euery seuen th yeere (which they call the yeere of rest) because that therein they neither reape, nor sowe, neither gather the fruites of trees. His further pleasure is, that euery second yeere, they bring their tributes vnto Sidon, which shall be the fourth part of that which shall be sowed; and besides this, that they pay the tenths to *Hircanus* and his sonnes, which they haue paid to their predecessours vnto this day. Commanding that no man whether he be gouernour, captiue, or embassadour, or any other whatsoever hee be, leuie souldiers within the country of Iudaea, or draw any thereof: neither exact any money, whether it be for garrisons in winter, or for any other cause, but that the Iewes be exempt from all troubles in all places, and enioy all that which sithence they haue had, bought, and possessed. It is our pleasure also, that the citie of Ioppe be vnder their gouernment (which they haue euery enioyed since the beginning of their friendship with the Romanes.) We further grant, that *Hircanus Alexanders* sonne and his children, receiue the tribute of that Citie (both by them, that till the land, as by the gates, entries, and issues of merchandizes that are transported vnto Sidon) twentie thousand sixe hundredth, seuentie and siue bushels euery yeere, exempting the seuenth yeere, which is called the yeere of rest, wherein they neither labour nor gather any fruit of the trees. It is the Senates pleasure also, that *Hircanus* and the Iewes haue those villages, which are in the great champain, which he & his predecessours haue possessed, and that with the like interests that they held them before this; and that the same customes continue therein, whereby they held and gouerned them. Their wil is likewise, that the same lawes which haue from the beginning bene respectively obserued betwene the Iewes and their high priests be continued; and what fouer benefits were granted them by the consent of the Senate and people of Rome. Moreover it shall be lawfull for those of Lydda, to vse the same rites and priuiledges also. And as touching the

A the demaies, places, and habitations that haue appertained to the kings of Syria and Phoenicia, by the gift made vnto them at such time as they were allied to the Romanes: the Senate I say ordaineth, that *Hircanus* the high priest & prince of the Iewes possesse the same. It is lawfull also for *Hircanus* and his sonnes, and their Embassadours sent by them, to behold the iusts and combats, and to sit among the Senators, and that at all and euery time or times wherein they shall require to be brought into the Senate by the Dictator, or by the master of the horse, they may haue free entrance; and that within ten daies at the most they receiue their answers, if there be any decree ratified by the Senate.

Caius Caesar, Emperour, the fourth time Consul, & the fift time Dictator for terme of life, hath ratified these things, as touching *Hircanus* the sonne of *Alexander*, the high priest and prince of the Iewes: Because that the generals my predecessours haue testified as well in the provinces, as before the Senate and people of Rome, both of the good desert of *Hircanus* high priest and prince of the Iewes, and that nation also towards vs and our state; and whereas both the Senate and people of Rome haue gratified them for the same: we thinke it conuenient also to haue the same in memorie, and to giue order that *Hircanus* and his sonnes may be remunerated by the Senate and people of Rome, according to the measure of their loyalties and good deserts.

Iulius Caius Caesar Romane Consul, to the gouernours, Senate and people of Patras: Health. The Iewes are come vnto vs to Delos, with some of the colonies of their countie in the presence of your Embassadours, and certifie vs of a decree made by you, whereby you forbid them the practise and auncient vse of their sacrifices and oblations: I thinke it not meete that you make any such decrees against our friends, and associates; neither that you forbid them to liue according to their fashions and customes, or to employ their parties together in furnishing their feasts and sacrifices; since in Rome it selfe they are not interdicted or forbidden to performe the same. For at such time as *Caius Caesar* Consul had prohibited by Edict, that in celebrating the Bacchicals, no one should dance about the Citie: yet were the Iewes alone exempted from this inhibition; and neither haue they bene prohibited to contribute, neither to banquet together. My selfe also in like case in the defence I haue made to forbid all other sodalities, haue excepted the Iewes therein, and haue giuen them leaue and licence to assemblable and demean themselves, according to the customes, ceremonies, and ordinances of their country. If therefore you haue made any such decrees against our friends & associates, you shall do well to disannull them, by reason of the vertue of the Iewes, and the forwardnes they haue protested in performance of our seruice.

After *Caius Caesars* death, the Consuls *Marcus Antonius* and *Publius Dolabella* assembled the Senate, and hauing brought in *Hircanus* Embassadours, they declared their requests, & contracted amitie with them: the Senate likewise ordained, that each thing should be granted them that they required. And *Dolabella* hauing receiued *Hircanus* letters, sent them thorow al Asia, and to Ephesus (which is the Metropolitane citie of Asia) in these tearmes. The generall *Dolabella* to the Princes, Senate, and people of Ephesus: Health. *Alexander* the sonne of *Theodore* Embassadour to *Hircanus* the high priest and prince of the Iewes, hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that his subiects cannot go on warfare, because it is not lawfull for them to beare armes, nor to traueil on the Sabbath day; as also for that they may not seeke for their victuals and other necessities (on that day) according to the custome of their country: for this cause I grant them exemption from the warre in like maner as my predecessours haue done; permitting them to vse the ceremonies and rites of their country assembling themselves to make their oblations and sacrifices, as their lawes and customes require, in contributing to the offering of the sacrifices in the temple. And my wil is, that you write to this effect to euery citie of the province. See here how *Dolabella* honoured *Hircanus* at such time as he sent his Embassadours vnto him.

Lucius Lentulus Consul pronounceth that the Iewes (that are citizens of Rome) and that obserue and offer the sacrifices of the Iewes in Ephesus before the tribunall, bee exempt from warfare, by reason of their religion. Giuen the nineteenth of October. There are besides these many other Edicts and ordinances made to the like effect, by the same generals, and by the Romane Senate in fauour of *Hircanus* and our nation, and some other cities. In like sort there were diuers decrees and writs sent vnto the gouernours & rulers of the provinces touching our priuiledges: all which may be easily beleued by those that shall read our Historie, with no preiudicate opinion, if they consider those that we haue here inserted. For wee haue shewed more expresse and liuely testimonies of the friendship that wee haue had with the Romanes, and such as at this day

M. Antonius
and *P. Dolabella* bring
Hircanus embassadours into
the Senate.
Dol. bellus
letters to the
Ephesians.

Lucius Lentulus
in the
French, *Lentulus*
in the
Latine, being
Consul maketh
an edict in
behalle of the
Iewes.
Talaphus
conclusion
concerning
these edicts.

are affixed to pillars, and engrauen in tables of bras in the Capitoll; and that heereafter shall remaine affixed for euer: For which cause, I haue thought it to be a frivolous and vaneccary matter to insert all in this place; and I thinke that there is not any man of so sinister iudgement, that will not beleue how much we haue been esteemed by the Romans, as they haue given testimonies by diuers decrees published in our behalfe; neither may any man suppose that we lie, considering the truth of that which we publish.

Cælius Bassus
murdereth
Sextus Cæsar.

Marcus suc-
ceedeth Sextus
in Syria.
Cæsar slaine
by Cassius and
Brutus.

Thus haue we sufficiently declared the amitie and association, that in times past wee haue had with the Romans. About this time it came to passe, that the estate of Syria was sore troubled vpon the occasion that ensueth. *Cælius Bassus* one of *Pompeies* partakers, laid an ambush for *Sextus Cæsar* and slew him, and seizing vpon his army, vsurped the gouernment: whereby there arose great warre nigh Apamea. For *Cæsars* captaines marched out against *Cælius*, with great force both of foote and horsemen, to whome *Antipater* sent his sonnes with a power to second them (in remembrance of the benefite he had receiued at *Cæsars* hands) supposing it to be an act of iustice, that the murtherer should be punished for his so hainous offence. Now whereas this warre continued a long time, *Marcus* came and succeeded *Sextus*. Meane while *Cæsar* was slaine by *Cassius* and *Brutus* in the midst of the Senate, after hee had commanded three yeeres and six months, as it is expresse in an other place.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cassius afflicteth the Iewes, and exacteth about eight hundredth talents at their hands.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 20.
Cassius com-
meth into Sy-
ria, & exacteth
more then 700.
talents of siluer
from the Iewes.
Herod winneth
Cassius heart
by the money
he leueth in
Galilee.

After *Cæsars* death, the brand of ciuill war began to flame, and the greatest men of Rome traualled the one this way, the other that way to gather men of warre. But *Cassius* came into Syria, with an intent to take the army that was neere to Apamea: and hauing leuied the siege he drew both *Bassus* and *Marcus* to be of his faction; and traualling from Citie to Citie, he gathered a number of souldiers, and much furniture, and imposed huge tributes: but especially he afflicted Iewry, and exacted of that countrey more then leuen hundredth talents of siluer. *Antipater* seeing the state in so great feare and trouble, committed the exaction of the two parts of this money to his sonnes; the other hee commanded to be assigned to *Malichus*, who was his enemy, and the other part vnto another. *Herode* first of all gathered that which was commanded him in the countrey of Galilee, and for this cause was greatly beloued by *Cassius*: for hee being prudent and discreet, thought it no small policie at that time to win the Romans good will by other mens expence. Vnder the other gouernours the Cities were let to sale, together with their inhabitants: and amongst them these foure were the chiefest, namely, Gophna, Emaus, Lydda, and Thamna: for *Cassius* sold the people thereof to them that would give most. Furthermore, *Cassius* was so much transported with choler, that hee had slaine *Malichus* (so much was he moued against him) if *Hircanus* had not restrained his furie, by sending him one hundredth talents of his owne money by *Antipater*. But as soone as *Cassius* was departed out of the countrey of Iudæa, he practised *Antipaters* death, supposing that his cutting off would assure *Hircanus* state the more strongly. But *Antipater* was not ignorant of this his resolution; for hauing an inkling L thereof, he got himselfe on the other side of Iordan, and assembled an armie of souldiers both Iewes and Arabians. Hereupon, *Malichus* (who was a politike and subtil fellow) denied stoutly that he had intended any treason, purging himselfe with an oath before *Antipater* and his children, that he had neuer any such intent, especially for that he saw that *Phasaelus* held Ierusalem, and *Herode* had an army at command. And in the end, perceiuing the difficulty wherein he was, he reconciled himselfe to *Antipater*, & they agreed at that time that *Marcus* gouerned Syria: who perceiuing that *Malichus* began to raise troubles in Iewry, resorted thither, and there wanted little but that he had slaine him, had not *Antipater* by earnest request obtained his life.

CHAP. XIX.

Malichus poysoneth Antipater.

Cassius and
Marcus make
Herode gou-
nour of Coe-
lo Syria.

Vt imprudent *Antipater* saued *Malichus* to his owne mischief: For when *Cassius* and *Marcus* had assembled their army, they committed all the charge into *Herodes* hands, and made him gouernour of Coelosyria, and deliuered him great forces both of foot and horse, and ships by sea: They promised him likewise the kingdome of Iudæa, after they had finished

A shed the war, that was at that time betwixt them and *Anthony* and *Cæsar* the younger. Whereupon *Malichus* mightily fearing *Antipaters* power determined to make him away; and hauing corrupted *Hircanus* butler with money (with whome both of them celebrated a feast) hee made him away by poyson, and afterwards assembling many men of warre about him, hee made himselfe maister of the Citie. When *Herode* and *Phasaelus* vnderstood of the traitorous conspiracy attempted against their father, they were grievously incensed against *Malichus*. But hee denied all, and in especiall abiured the intent or practise of the murder. Thus died *Antipater* a iust and vertuous man, and such a one as deerely loued his countrey. But *Herode*, who was his younger sonne, incontinently resolved to reuenge his fathers death, and came forth with an army against *Malichus*: But *Phasaelus*, who was the elder, determined to circumuent him by policie, for feare B least he should raise a ciuill warre. He therefore accepted of *Malichus* iustificacions, and made a shew that he supposed that he had in no such sort sought *Antipaters* death, and only intended his fathers monument and funerals. Meane while, *Herode* resorting to Samaria, and finding it in desperate estate, restored the same, and pacified the dissensions that were amongst the inhabitants. Not long after (by reason of a feast) hee came to Ierusalem with his men of warre. Whereupon *Malichus* being afraid of this his access, periwaded *Hircanus* that hee should not permit him to enter into the Citie: whereunto *Hircanus* condescended, alleading for pretext of his defence, that amongst the holy people it was not lawfull to intermix a troupe of polluted men. But *Herode* made small reckoning of them that brought him this newes, and notwithstanding this command entred the Citie by night: whereat *Malichus* was much amazed. Whereupon, according to his wonted dissimulations, he openly wept and bewailed the death of *Antipater* as his especiall friend; but vnder hand he prepared a guard for his owne safetie. Notwithstanding it was thought meet by *Herodes* friends, to take no notice of this his dissimulation; but to make a shew for their parts that they were wel affected towards *Malichus*.

CHAP. XX.

Herode, at the commaund of Cassius, killeth Malichus by policie.

Hereupon *Herode* certified *Cassius* of *Antipater* his fathers death, who knowing very well D of what conuersation *Malichus* was, wrote backe vnto *Herode* that hee should reuenge the death of his father: besides, hee sent secret letters to the captiues that were in Tyre, commanding them to aide and assist *Herode* in that so iust execution which hee intended. After therefore that *Cassius* had taken Laodicea and the inhabitants of the countrey came together, bringing with them crownes and siluer to present him, *Herode* expected that *Malichus* in that place should receiue his punishment: but he entring into suspicion of some like practise, at such time as they drewe neere vnto Tyre in Phoenicia, attempted farre greater things. For whereas his sonne was an hostage in Tyre, hee entred the Citie with intent to draw him thence, and afterwards to returne into Iudæa. After this, vsurping vpon that opportunitie which hee had by reason of *Cassius* troubles (who hastily marched forward to meet with *Anthony*) he determined E to draw the people to an insurrection, and to make himselfe Lord of the countrey: but God disappointed his vniust purposes. For *Herode* being a man of ripe iudgement, incontinently discovered his pretence, and sent one of his seruants before, as if vnder purpose to prepare a banquet, because he had told him before time that hee would entertaine all his followers: but in effect, he sent him to the captiues to command them to issue out with their daggers, and to meet *Malichus*; who marching forth and meeting him neere vnto the shore of the Citie vpon the sea coast, stabbed him in that place with their daggers. Which act did so much astonish *Hircanus*, that thorow amaze he waxed speechlesse: and finally being much moued, hee demanded of *Herodes* men, what accident had happened, and who it was that had slaine *Malichus*? Whereof F when they certified him, and how nothing was done without *Cassius* commaund: hee answered that all things were well done, for that *Malichus* was a wretched man and a traytour to his countrey. See heere how *Malichus* was iustly punished for the wickednesse hee committed against *Antipater*.

When *Cassius* was departed out of Syria, there arose a new tumult in Iudæa: for *Felix*, who was left in Ierusalem with an army, marched forth against *Phasaelus*, and all the people were in armes. For which cause *Herode* speedily repaired to *Fabius*, gouernour of Damasco, and intending to succour his brother, was preuented by a sickness: so that *Phasaelus* obtaining the victory by

The year of the
world, 3924.
before Christ's
birth, 40.
Felix assailed
Phaelus in
Jerusalem, and
is overcome
by him.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

by his owne forces against Felix, enclosed him vp in a tower, whence afterwards hee dismissed G him vnder composition. Whereupon hee presently and gricuously rebuked Hircanus, for that being forgetfull of diuers benefites which he had receiued by him, hee had giuen aide vnto his enemies. For Malichus brother being at that time reuoked, planted garrisons in diuers fortresses, and namely in Masada, which was the strongest of them all. As soone as Herode therefore had recovered his health, he drew forth his forces against him, and dispossessed him of diuers places that he held, and after suffered him to depart with his life and goods.

CHAP. XXI.

Herode discomfitteth Antigonus the sonne of Aristobulus, and driueth him out of Iudæa, seeking H to recouer his fathers kingdome by the aide of the prince of Tyre.

Ptolomey Mennus
ad. ptech
Antigonus, A-
ristobulus son.

Ptolomey Mennus drew vnto him by force of his money Aristobulus, sonne the young Antigonus, who had gathered a power, and hired Fabius, and was likewise drawne by Ptolomey, vnder titles of consanguinitie and adoption. With him ioyned Marion (whom Cassius had made Gouvernour in Tyre:) For this man hauing occupied Syria by tyrannie kept garrison therein: Marion also invaded Galilee, which confined his countrey; and hauing seized three strong fortresses therein, hee kept garrisons in the same. Herode also marching forth against him, dispossessed him of them all; and graciously dismissed those Tyrians that had the keeping thereof, bestowing benefites on some of them for the loue hee bare vnto their citie. And that he done, he came and encountered with Antigonus, and fought with him, and ouercame him before he had scarcely entred on the marches of Iudæa, and draue him from thence. When he was come to Ierusalem, Hircanus and all the people honoured him with crownes: for already was hee inserted into Hircanus family, for that by promise hee was his sonne in lawe; by which meanes, he had more willingly undertaken his defence, for that hee was to marry Alexander the sonne of Aristobulus daughter, who was Hircanus neece: on whome hee begat three sonnes and two daughters. Before her also had he married a wife of his own nation, who was called Doris, on whom he begat Antipater his eldest sonne.

CHAP. XXII.

Herode meeting with Antonius in Bithynia, giueth him a great summe of money, to the ende he should not giue eare to those that would accuse him.



Antonius and Cesar hauing overcome Cassius neere vnto the Citie of Philippi; Cesar went from thence into France, and Antonius into Asia. And being in Bithynia, Embassadors resorted vnto him from all parts: Thither also repaired certaine principall men among the Iewes to accuse Phaelus & Herod, saying, that Hircanus had onely the name, but he the authoritie of the kingdom. But Antonius greatly honored Herod, who came vnto him to answer those accusatiōs that they had imposed on him: for which cause they that were his opposites could obtaine no audience: for Herod had bought that priuiledge from them with his money. As soone as Antonius was arrived in Ephesus, Hircanus the high priest and all our nation presently sent an Embassage vnto him, with a crowne of golde; requiring him that hee would write vnto the provinces, that the Iewes whome Cassius had taken prisoners (contrary to the lawe of armes) might be set at libertie, and that their countrey (which was taken from them in Cassius time) might be restored. Antonius supposing that the demaunds which the Iewes had propoed, were reasonable, wrote backe presently to the high priest Hircanus and the Iewes; and sent an edict also to the Tyrians to this effect.

Marcus Antonius Emperour, to Hircanus high Priest and Prince of the Iewes; Health. If you are well, all goeth well. I and mine armie are in perfect estate. Lysimachus the sonne of Pausanias and Ioseph the sonne of Mennus, and Alexander the son of Theodore your Embassadors, came vnto me to Ephesus and haue renewed the same Embassage which they heretofore brought to Rome, and at this present likewise they haue duely and faithfully acquitted themselves of the Embassage which they present in the behalte of you, and your nation, by giuing vs to vnderstand what affection you beare towards vs: In that I esteeme you for our friend, sith I am giuen to vnderstand how friendly you haue behaued your selfe towards vs both in words and deeds, since we haue

The Iudge
corrupted with
money.
Hircanus em-
bassadors
present Antio-
nus of a
crown of gold
& requeste
ca, the Iewes
liberty told by
Cassius.

Antonius writ-
eth to Hircanus
touching
Prisoners & Cal-
lulatione
and death.

OF THE IEWES. THE XIII. BOOKE.

The year of the
world, 3924. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 40.

A haue had any knowledge of your good and honest conuersation and pietie. For at such time as our aduersaries and enemies of the Roman nation spoiled all the countrey of Asia, and without regard of their othes spared neither cities nor temples; we haue opposed our selues against them, not onely for our priuate respect, but in the quarrell of the common weale, to the intent to punish the authors of such offences committed against men, and of such impieties perpetrated against God: for which wee suppose that the sunne hath in a manner obscured himselfe, by beholding with vnwilling eyes what an hainous offence was committed against Cesar. But wee haue gotten the vpper hand of these impious enterprises, which are fallen vpon Macedonia; as on the countrey and ayre, from whence proceede such detestable and vngracious desleignes: and wee haue likewise cut off the course of their desperate resolution, which made them encounter vs neere to Philippi a citie of Macedonia, where wee seized their places fortified by nature, and enclosed with mountaines as if it were with wals, as far as the sea, in such manner as the passage was barred vp, as it were with a gate, had not the gods giuen vs way by resisting their vniust exploits, & furthering ours. Brutus likewise compelled to fly to Philippi, where being inclosed by vs, he suffered the like ruine with his confort Cassius; and since they haue been punished as they deserved, me seemeth that we are seized of peace, and that Asia hath had repose from warre, and all the bodie thereof is relieved from a grievous maladie, by the meanes of our victory. For which cause remembering vs of you and your nation, to the end to increase your good fortunes, we wil bethinke vs of that which shall be commodious for you: and we haue already sent letters from city to city, to the intent that if any one among you, eyther captiue or free man, haue been sold to the vtmost by Caius Cassius, or any of that army, they may be set at libertie. And our will is, that you make vse of the bountie which we bestow vpon you, both in our selfe as in Dolabella's right, forbidding the Tyrians to molest you and commanding them to restore all that which they haue taken from the Iewes in goods or possessions. As for the crowne which you sent me, I accept the same.

Marcus Antonius Emperour, to the gouernors, Senate and people of Tyre: Health. I haue bene informed in Ephesus by Hircanus embassadors (who is high priest and prince of the Iewes) that you haue seized their countrey, & spoiled the same; at such time as our aduersaries held that province. But in as much as we haue undertaken the warre for the Empire, and that in defence of right and pietie, we haue punished these ingratefull, disloyall and perfidious persons; our wil is, that you suffer our allies to liue in peace: and as touching that which you haue obtained by our aduersaries, our pleasure is, that you restore the same to those that are dispossessed. For no one of them hath obtained either province or army by the consent of the Senate; but haue rauished them by force, and afterwards bestowed them on those who haue been ministers of their impieties and iniustice. But since they haue been punished according to their deserts, we requite that our allies may enioy their owne, without any impeachment: and if you holde any places at this present, which belong to Hircanus prince of the Iewes (that were seized since the time that Caius Cassius by vniust warre invaded our provinces) restore them vnto him, without offer of any violence, to hinder him from the possession of his owne. And if you haue or pretend to haue any right in them; at such time as I shall repaire to those places, it shall be lawfull for you to debate your right, and we wil so iudge as that our allies shall receiue no wrong.

Marcus Antonius Emperour, to the gouernors, Senate, and people of Tyre: Health. I haue sent you my edict, which my pleasure is that you carefully looke vnto, and that you register it amongst your publike records in Romane and Greeke letters, and set it vp in writing in an open place, to the end that it may be read by all men.

Marcus Antonius Emperour and Triumuir, in the presence of the Tyrians assembled for their publike affaires, hath declared, that Caius Cassius during the troubles, by the assistance of his soldiers, hath rauished another mans province; and hath in like sort spoiled our allies, and hath ransacked the nation of the Iewes, who are friends to the people of Rome; and for that by our valour we haue repressed his insolence, by our edicts and iudgements we will correct his offences: to the end that all things may be restored to our allies, and that all what foules hath been sold & appertained to the Iewes (whether they be prisoners or possessions) be restored to their masters, to the end that each man may be at libertie as he was before; and that each mans possession may be restored to his first owner. And my pleasure is, that whosoever disobaieth this ordinance, he may be punished. And he that shall be convicted to haue disobaied the same, he shall be punished according to his desert. He wrote to the like effect to the Sidonians, Ammonians, and Arabians, all which we will insert in a convenient place, to the end that account the Romans made of our nation:

CHAP.

Antonius arriving in the prouince of Syria, maketh Herod and Phasaclus Tetrarchs.

Hedio & Rufinus, cha. 21.
Cleopatra cometh into Cilicia to Antonius.
Herod accused by one hundred Iewes before Antonius.

Antonius maketh Phasaclus and Herode Tetrarchs.

A thousand Iewes repaire to Tyre to accuse Herode, who are partly flaine, partly wounded, and partly put to flight.

The year of the world, 3925, before Christ's birth 39.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 22.
Antigonus promiseth the Parthians a great summe of money to instill him in the kingdom.
Pacorus (scilicet) hermen to Antonius in Iudæa.
The Iewes inhabiting about mount Carmel toyne themselves with Antigonus.

After this, *Antonius* retired himselfe into Syria, and *Cleopatra* came forth to meete him neere vnto Cilicia, and entangled him in her loues. At that time also, one hundredth of the chiefeft reckoning among the Iewes came once againe in embassade to him to accuse *Herode*, and his adherents: who to this ende had chosen out the most esteemed Orator that might be found. *Messala* like wife vnderooke the defence of the young men that were accused, and made them answer. *Hircanus* also was there in person, who was already by marriage allied vnto them. After that *Antonius* had heard both the one and the other in the Citie of Daphen, hee demaunded of *Hircanus*, which of both the parties gouerned the common-weale best: who returned him answer, that they, who were on *Herods* side were most studious of the weale publike. *Antonius* (who long since had borne good affection towards them, by reason of the ancient hospitalitie that hee had receiued with their father, during the time that *Gabinus* was in Iudæa) established them both for *Tetrarchs*, committing to their hands the affaires in Iudæa: And to this effect wrote he his letters and committed fourtene of their enemies to prison; whom had not *Herode* belought for their liues, hee had condemned them to death. This notwithstanding, as soone as they returned from their Embassade, they could not containe themselves in quiet, but returned once more vnto *Antonius* to the number of one thousand, to the citie of Tyre where *Antonius* sojourned. But *Antonius* (already corrupted by store of money by *Herode* and his brother, who commaunded in that place) ordained that the Embassadours of the Iewes should be punished, for that they had attempted and affected some innovation; where contrariwise hee confirmed *Herodes* gouernment. At that time *Herod*, who walked by the sea side, came vnto them, aduising both them and *Hircanus* (who at that present was with them) to giue ouer their appeale, for feare least some grieuous misfortune should befall them. Whereunto since they gaue no regard, certaine Iewes and inhabitants of that citie, all at once ranne vpon them, who slue some of them, and hurt other some, and the rest taking their flight towards their countrey, euer afterwarde contained themselves and liued in quiet, thorow the feare they had conceiued. But when the people ceased not to exclaime and protest against *Herode*, *Antonius* was in such sort displeased, that he commaunded all those whom hee held prisoners, should be flaine.

The yeere after, *Pacorus* the kings sonne, and *Barzapharnes* a prince among the Parthians, invaded and seized Syria. And about this time died *Ptolomey* the sonne of *Mennæus*; and his sonne *Lysanias* raigned in his steed, who plighted friendship with *Antigonus* the sonne of *Aristobulus*; who obtained this fauour at his hands by the counsaile and sollicitation of a certaine prince of great authoritie and credit with him.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Parthians make war in Syria to restore Antigonus son of Aristobulus to his kingdom.

After this, *Antigonus* promised the Parthians to giue them one thousand talents of silver, and five hundredth women, if so bee they would depriue *Hircanus* of the kingdom, and restore it vnto him, and withall put *Herode* and his friends to death. Yet did he not deliuer them that he promised, notwithstanding the Parthians led their armie into Iury to restore *Antigonus*, to wit, *Pacorus* by the sea coast, and *Barzapharnes* to the landward. The Tyrians locked their gates against *Pacorus*, but the Sidonians and Ptolemaidans receiued him into their citie. He sent a troupe of horsemen into Iury to discover the estate of the countrey, and to giue succours to *Antigonus*. The chiefe of these horsemen was the kings butler, who in like sort was called *Pacorus*. But for that certaine Iewes (inhabiting about the mount Carmel) toyed themselves with *Antigonus*, & were prepared with him to invade his enemies, hee conceiued some hope that he might by their meanes reduce a certaine part of the region vnder his gouernment, which is called *Drymar*; and certaine of his wel-willers meeting him in the way, perswaded him to presse forward as farre as Ierusalem; where being seconded by others (and his followers already much increased in number) they addresse themselves to assault the kings palace. And whereas those of the faction of the brethren brought present supplies, and the skirmish was main-
tained

The year of the world, 3925, before Christ's Natiuitie, 39.
Pentecost.
Herod fighteth with his enemies in the suburbs.
Pacorus chiefe of the Parthians entering the citie perswadeth Phasaclus to go embassadour to Barzapharnes.

Atained in the market place, the young men repulsed the enemie, and draue him into the temple. Which done, they sent certaine armed men into the houses neere adioyning, to guard them: but the people rushing in vpon them and seeing they were destitute of aide, burned both them and the houses wherein they were. But this iniquitie of theirs was presently reuenged by *Herod*, who in a skirmish that he had with them, slew a great number of them. And whereas there were daily assaults betwene both parties, the enemies expected vntill such time as the people (assembled from all parts of the countrey) should repaire to Ierusalem to celebrate the feast of Pentecost. Which being come, many thousands of men assembled about the temple, both armed and vnarmed, who seized both the temple and the Citie; except the kings house onely, which *Herode* made good with a few men of war. The wall thereof did *Phasaclus* his brother keepe. But *Herod* with a companie of his followers sallied out vpon the enemie, who were planted in the suburbs, and fighting valiantly against them, hee put diuers thousands of them to flight, wherof some retired themselves into the Citie; other some into the temple; the rest into a certaine bulwarke neere at hand. In this battell also *Phasaclus* shewed no little valour.

But *Pacorus* conductor of the Parthians came into the Citie with some few horsemen at *Antigonus* request, making shew that he came to appeale the sedition; but the effect and scope of his coming was, to obtaine the Soueraigntie for *Antigonus*. Furthermore, after that *Phasaclus* was come out to meete with him, and had curteously entertained him in his house, *Pacorus* perswaded him to go Embassadour with him to *Barzapharnes*, laying a baite vnder this pretence to surprise him. Hee suspecting no treacheries, was easily perswaded, notwithstanding that *Herod* misliked the course; who knowing the perfidious maner of the Barbarians, exhorted him rather to assaile *Pacorus*, and to assault and oppresse his forces, when they were come vnto him. Naithelesse *Hircanus* and *Phasaclus* vnderooke this Embassade, and *Pacorus* (leaving with *Herod* two hundredth horsemen, and ten of those whom they call free men) conducted the Embassadours. Now as soone as they came into Galilee, the gouernours of the Cities in that countrey, came forth armed to meete them: *Barzapharnes* also at the first gaue them friendly entertainment, and honoured them with presents; but anon after, hee began to practise treacherie. For *Phasaclus* & his attendants were conducted to a lodging that adioyned the sea; where hearing tidings that *Antigonus* had promised one thousand talents, and five hundredth virgins to the Parthians, hee began already to suspect the Barbarians. For a certaine friend of his had given him an inkling.

The Parthians comploie treacheries against Phasaclus.

That there were treasons intended against him that verie night, and that his lodging was priuily beset with a guard. And surely they had bene surprised, had they not expected that the Parthians (who were round about Ierusalem) should bee seized of *Herode*, fearing least hee hauing an inkling of their disaster, should betake himselfe to flight. And that this was true, they incontinently gathered by the guard that was set about them: For which cause there were certaine of *Phasaclus* friends, who counsailed him, that without any more delay, he should betake him to his horse and flie from thence: and amongst the rest *Osilius* was most earnest, who had wrought out of *Saramalla* a rich Syrian (who offered them his ships that roade hard by to further their flight) at that which they pretended. But *Phasaclus* would neither forsake *Hircanus*, nor leave his brother *Herod* in danger, but repainging to *Barzapharnes* he told him, that hee did him wrong to vse these sinister practises against them. For that if hee had need of money, he was more likely to receiue it at his hands, then from *Antigonus*; and howsoeuer he wrought, it was an intolerable iniurie to put Embassadours to death, who came vnto him vnder pledge of his honour, and had no wayes offended him. But the Barbarian hearing these things, protested by an oth, that no one point of that which he had suspected, was true; but that he was onely troubled with false surmise: whereupon he presently departed to *Pacorus*.

CHAP. XXV.

The Parthians lead away Hircanus and Phasaclus into captiuitie.

As soone as he was departed, certaine of the Parthians tooke *Hircanus* and *Phasaclus* prisoners, who mightily detested their perjuries. But the Eunuch that was sent vnto *Herod*, & who had commandement given him to entice and traine him without the Citie walles, and afterwards to apprehend him. But *Herod* was forewarped of this treacherie, by certaine messengers (who were sent by *Phasaclus* to giue him notice thereof) who being intercepted by the enemie in the way, and *Herod* getting notice thereof, he addressed himselfe to *Pacorus* (and those

Hircanus and *Phasaclus* surprised by the Parthians.

The year of the world, 3825, before Christ's nativity, 39. The Parthians lay a plot to surprise Herod: hee discovered it, and prevented them by flight.

IOSEPHVS OF THE ANTIQVITIES

in greatest authoritie among the Parthians) as to them that were the masters : who subtilly dissembled, notwithstanding they knew how all things went, telling him that hee should doe well to repaire with them without the wall to go and meete those messengers, who brought him letters; who had not as yet bene seized by their aduersaries, but came to certifie him of *Phaëlas* good estate. But *Herode* gaue them no credit, because hee was already other wayes aduertized of his brothers suprilall, and had also farre greater suspition of the Parthians by the solicitation of *Hircanus* daughter, whom hee had married. And although the rest made no account of her aduertisements, yet *Herod* gaue credit vnto her for that shee was a most wise woman. Now whilest the Parthians were in deliberation what were best to be done (in that it was held no policie to make open assault vpon such a man) they deferred the whole matter vntill the next morning. Whilest thus they were debating of their differents, *Herod* came vnto them, who rather giuing credit to that which he had heard as concerning his brother (and touching the treasons intended against him by the Parthians) then to his aduersaries, as soone as it was night concluded to make vie of the time, and to make away, without staying any longer amongst those vncertaine dangers, which his enemies intended against him. For which cause hee fled with those men of warre which hee had with him: and mounting his mother, his sister & his betrothed, whom he was to marry (who was *Alexanders* daughter, the neece of *Aristobulus*) & her mother (who was *Hircanus* daughter) and her younger brother, with all their family and traine, he departed into Idumæa without suspition or suspicion of the enemy. Amongst whom there was not one so hard or yron-hearted, who seeing such a pitifull spectacle could not be moued to compassion, beholding the mothers drag away their little children, and abandon their country with tears & complaints : and that which I was worse, to leaue their friends in bondage, without any hope of comfort or rediess.

Herode commeth his friends in their flight.

Herod seeing his mothers chariot ouerturned is ready to murder himselfe.

Herod retiring towards Massada is assailed by the Parthians.

The Parthians spoile the citizens of Ierusalem, and destroy Masada.

But *Herod* mastered these mistortunes by his inuincible courage, and for that hee was a constant man in all fortunes, he exhorted euery one of them whom he met in the way to be of good courage; and not abandon themselves to immeasurable sorrowe, for that by such meanes they might hinder his retreat, on which their sole and securest conseruation depended: whereupon they for their parts induoured themselves to digest their griefes, according to *Herodes* exhortation. Meane while he hardly refrained from laying violent hands on himselfe, by reason of the chariot wherein his mother rode, which ouerturned and had almost slaine her; yea so much did this casuallie terrifie him (for feare least the enemy in pursuit should surprize him during these delays) as that he drew and prepared his sword to kill himselfe, had not some assistants and followers stept in to him and stayed the stroke, beseeching him instantly not to forsake them & leaue them subiect to the enemies violence: assuring him that it was not the part of a valiant man to respect his owne priuate interest, and neglect his friends perill. By these perswasions hee was induced to hold his hands, both by reason of the apprehension of these wordes, which were spoken vnto him, as also for that he was ouertured by the multitude of those, who would not permit his hand to execute his will: so that taking vp his mother, and doing her all the seruice that the time permitted, he followed on his way; and with the speediest and neerest meanes he could, he retired toward the Castle of Massada; where in the way, hee oftentimes fought against the Parthians that charged and pursued him, and returned alwayes with victorie from them. The Iewes also were not in peace with him during this his flight; for scarcely had hee trauielled sixtie foulds out of the Citie, but that they assailed him in the high way: but he put them to flight and obtained the victorie, not like a desperate man enforced thereunto thorowe necessitie, but like a discreet, well furnished and valiant souldier. So that in the verie place where hee obtained that victorie against the Iewes (after such time as he was made king) he builded a most sumptuous palace, and neere vnto the same a citie which he called Herodium. Whilest hee remained at Bessa (a borough of Idumæa) *Ioseph* his brother came forth to meete him, and to consult with him as touching their whole estate, and to know of him what should become of that great multitude that followed them, considering that they had no souldiers in pay, and the Castle of Massada (whether he pretended to flie) was too little to hold all the people: for which cause hee sent away many to the number of nine thousand, willing them to disperse themselves here and there in the countrey of Idumæa; and for the better dispatch of their iourney, he furnished them with victuals. As for himselfe hee tooke with him his most able souldiers and inward friends, and repaired to the Castle of Massada, in which place he left the women and their traine, to the number of eight hundred or thereabouts: and furnishing the place with corne, water and other provisions necessarie, he went vnto Petra the chiefest Citie of Arabia. As soone as it was day the Parthians lacked all that which appertained to the Citizens of Ierusalem; and amongst other things they spoiled

OF THE IEWES. THE XIII. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 3825, before Christ's birth, 39. Antigonus restored to the kingdom by the Parthians cutteth off Hircanus eares to prevent his reinstalment in the priesthood.

Phaëlas dasheth out his owne braines. Antigonus putteth poison into Phaëlas wounds in stead of curing him.

Herod fleeth to Malchus king of Arabians to borrow money.

Herod is commanded out of Arabia, and flyeth into Egypt: from thence after some stormes he repaireth to Rome, where he certifieth Antonius of the which had betaken him.

A spoiled the palace; notwithstanding they meddled not with *Hircanus* money, which amounted to some three hundred talents. They left diuers other things behind them also that appertained to *Herode*, and especially that which had been transported into Idumæa by his mature providence. Neither were the Parthians content with the spoile of the City, but they foraged all the countrey round about, and rased Masada a very rich City. Thus *Antigonus*, brought backe into his countrey by the king of the Parthians, receiued *Hircanus* and *Phaëlas* that were prisoners: yet was he vehemently displeased, because the women had escaped, whom according to his promise he intended to haue deliuered with the money: and fearing least *Hircanus* thorow the fauour of the people should be reestablished in his kingdom (who was then prisoner in the custody of the Parthians) he cut off both his eares, depriviing him by that meanes from enjoying the priesthood. B any more, by reason of that maiime, because the law commandeth that they who are in that dignitie, should be found in all their members. But *Phaëlas* is to bee admired for his great courage at this time: for understanding that hee must needly die, hee was no waies dismayed with death, but that which he held most miserable and dishonourable was, that he must needs dy by the hands of his enemy. Seeing therefore that he could not dispatch himselfe by other meanes, (because he was bound and chayned) he knockt out his owne braines against a stone, and so ended his life (with as great honour as may be imagined in such a desperate estate) depriviing his enemy of that power which he intended to practice in tyrannizing over him at his pleasure. It is said that the wound beeing very deepe, *Antigonus* sent priuily surgeons to cure him; and that vnder colour of healing him, they should put poison into the same, where through he might die. C But before *Phaëlas* gaue vp the ghost, he vnderstood by a certain woman that his brother *Herod* had escaped from his enemies: for which cause he ended his death with farre greater cheerfulness and constancy, seeing that he left behind him such a man, as would reuenge his death, and punish his enemies. But *Herode* was no waies discomforted with the greatnesse of those aduersities which enuironed him round about, but was the more whetted on to finde out new inuentions, and to aduenture dangerous attempts. For he went vnto *Malchus* king of the Arabians (to whome before time hee had shewed much curtesie) hoping to receiue the like of him in this time of his great necessity, and to draw some money from him either by loane or gift, according as he had often and very bountifully pleased him. For being ignorant of his brothers death, hee endeouored him selfe to raunsome him speedily from his enemies, by paying his raunsome D (which amounted to three hundred talents) and for that cause he led with him the sonne of *Phaëlas*, who was onely seauen yeeres olde, to leaue him in pledge amongst the Arabians for the summe that was demanded. But certaine messengers came to him from *Malchus*, who charged him in the kings behalfe to retire back againe, for that the Parthians had enioyned him that he should neither receiue nor retaine *Herod*. And this colourable pretence vied hee, because hee would not pay his debts: and hereunto was he perswaded by the aduice of the greatest in authority among the Arabians, who pretended thereby to make themselves masters of that treasure that *Antipater* had committed to their custodie. *Herode* answered them, that hee repaired not into their countrey to giue them cause of any trouble, but onely to consult with him about certaine matters of great importance touching his owne estate, and that after wards he was resolved to depart, and withdraw himselfe into Egypt as secretly as might be possible. Hee returned therefore to a certain temple, where hee had left diuers of his followers; and the next day hee came to Rhinocura in which place he heard tydings of his brothers death. But afterwards *Malchus* repented himselfe of his ingratitude, and speedily sent after *Herode*, but he could not ouertake him: for he had gotten farre onwarde of his waie, and was already arrived in post neere to Pelusium: where being denied his passage to Alexandria in those ships that were there, he addressed himselfe to the magistrates of the place, who highly respected and honoured him, and sent him to the Citie where *Cleopatra* was; who entertained him kindly: yet notwithstanding could she not perswade him to remaine with her. Whereupon he repaired towards Rome (notwithstanding the winter and those greuous troubles that at the very same time afflicted Italie, as it was reported.) Embarking himselfe therefore to saile into Pamphilia, he was tossed with a most cruell storme; so that with great danger at last he arrived in Rhodes, having been inforced in the tempest to cast into the sea a good part of his substance. There met hee with *Sapphus* and *Ptolemy* two of his indeared friends. Hee found also that the City of Rhodes had suffered much miserie by *Cassius* warres: and although his means were very scant, yet profited he them in what he might, and caused their walles to be repaired, notwithstanding that by so doing, he greatly hindred himselfe. After that, he caused a little frigote to bee built, and embarked himselfe with

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The year of the
world, 3925, be-
fore Christs birth
39.

his friends to repaire into Italy, and arriued at Brundisium, and from thence went to Rome. The first to whom he discovered his misfortunes, was *Marcus Antonius*: to whom he reported all the occurrences in Iudæa, and how his brother *Phasaelus* was taken by the Parthians and slaine; and how *Hircanus* was imprisoned with him. The manner also how they had established *Antigonus* king, vnder promise to giue them one thousand talents, and fūe hundred of the fairest women, whom he intended to choofe out of his owne race. Lastly, how he stole away by night, and rescued them; and escaping his enemies hands, had afterwarde endured many paines and miseries. Furthermore, that his friends were in great danger, and left besieged; for which cause hee had sailed by winter, and despised all dangers, onely to seeke for assistance at his hands, on whom depended his hope, and last refuge.

CHAP. XXVI.

Herode is made King of Iury by the Romane Senate.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 23. al. 25.
Antonius loved Herod, & hated Antigonus.
Cæsar Augustus Herods friend.



Antonius hearing all those alterations that had befallen *Herode*, had compassion of his misery (bethinking himselfe of the estate and condition of great men, who are likewise subiect to no lesse casualties) and the rather was hee induced to doe him good, both in remembrance of the friendship hee had with *Antipater* his father, as also by reason of *Herods* promises of certaine summes of money, if so be hee were made King by his meanes, as he had beene before time declared Tetrarch. But that which most moued him hereto, was the hatred which hee bare to *Antigonus*, whom hee accounted to be a mutinous man, I and an enemy to the Romane fortune. On the other side *Cæsar* was well inclined to succour him, both in regard of those armies which *Antipater* had brought into Ægypt in his fathers seruice, as also because of the good hospitality and kindnes that he had shewed him in all things; as in especiall to gratifie *Antonius*, who was well affected towards *Herode*. Whereupon the Senate being assembled, *Messala* and *Atratinus* brought forth *Herode*, and after they had prayed him, and recited the benefits which the Romane had received by his father, and the great affection and good will which he bare to the people of Rome; they accused and declared *Antigonus* for the Romane enemy, not onely for his ancient crimes, but also for that in contempt of the Romane he had received the kingdome from the Parthians. Whilest the Senate was sore displeased at the report of these things, *Antonius* arose, and declared openly before them all, that in furtherance of the Parthian war, it were not amisse that *Herode* should be made King: which opinion of his was generally allowed, and finally ratified. The principall demonstration of the loue and affection which *Antonius* bare vnto *Herod*, was, that hee not onely obtained him the kingdome, beyond all hope: for neuer thought he that the Romane would grant that dignity vnto him, who were wont to refuse that honour to those of the kings blood; and therefore hee intended to haue demanded it for his wiues brother *Alexander*, and nephew to *Aristobulus* by the fathers side, and to *Hircanus* by the mother (which *Alexander Herode* afterwarde put to death, as it shall be declared in place conuenient) but also for that within the terme of seauen dayes, he sent him out of Italy with the vnexpected titles of his felicitie.

As soone as the Senate was risen, *Antonius* and *Cæsar* issued forth, leading *Herode* betweene them, and being accompanied by the Consuls and other magistrates went vp into the capitol to do sacrifice, and to place there this deciee the Senate had made as touching this matter. The first day of *Herods* raigne *Antonius* feasted him; and after this sort was he established King in the hundred eighty and fourth Olympiade, in the yeare wherein *C. Domitius Caluinus* twice Consul, and *Caius Asinius Pollio* were Consuls. Meane while *Antigonus* besieged those that were in the castle of Massada, who were plentifully furnished with all things necessary (except it were water) for which cause *Ioseph Herods* brother that was within, and two hundred of his friends, had concluded to flie vnto the Arabians: for that they understood that *Malechus* had repented himselfe of the fault he had committed against *Herode*. But whilest they stood vpon these tearmes, God powred downe a huge raine on a certaine night, that in short time filled their cisternes in such sort, as that they had no more necessity to flie; and from that time forward they waxed confident: and for that this abundance of water betell them by Gods providence, they made a solemn vow to their enemies, in which they charged *Antigonus* soldiers after such a manner, sometime in open field, sometime by covert assault, that they slue a great number of them. At that time *Ventidius* a Romane captaine was sent into Syria to driue the Parthians from thence, & after their departure he arriued in Iury, making shew that he would assist *Ioseph*: but in effect al his pretence was to draw

draw money from Antigonus. Being therefore encamped nere vnto Ierusalem, and hauing drawn sufficient money from *Antigonus*, he retired himself with the greater part of his forces: and to the intent his deceitfull dealing might not be discovered, he left *Silo* with a companie of his soldiers: who likewise was honoured by *Antigonus*, for feare least he should be cause of some new trouble before such time as the Parthians, whose coming he expected, should yeld him aide.

CHAP. XXVII.

Herod returneth from Rome by sea, and fighteth against Antigonus.

Herode that *Herode* was come from Italy by sea to Ptolemais, and that he had assembled no small number of souldiers both strangers and his own countymen, he marched forward against *Antigonus*, and passed thorow Galilee. *Silo* and *Ventidius* also gaue him assistance in this action, hauing received direction by *Gellius* from *Antonius*, that they should assist *Herod* to recouer his country. But *Ventidius* was employed in appeasing the troubles that were raised in the Cities by the Parthians: and as touching *Silo* hee kept in Iudæa, hauing beene corrupted by *Antigonus*. But the further that *Herod* daily marched into the country, the more & more increased his forces; and all Galilee (except a very few) submitted themselues vnto him. Whilest therefore hee marched forward towards Massada, (being urged thereunto in that hee was to relieue his parents that were besieged therein) the Citie of Ioppe would not graunt him passage: for the Citizens thereof were his enemies: so that it behoued him first of all to ruinate the same, to the end he might leaue no retreat or place of rescous for his enemy on his backe; if so be he made towards Ierusalem. Vpon which occasion *Silo* laying holde, & slodged his armie and made thitherwarde: whom when the Iewes did pursue, *Herode* sallied out with a small company, and put them to flight, and saued *Silo*, notwithstanding he fought very coldly and cowardly. Afterwarde being seized of Ioppe, he hastened onwards to deliuer his friends that were besieged in Massada; but part of the inhabitants submitted themselues vnto him for the friendship they had borne vnto his father; an other sort of them, for the honour that they bare vnto him: the rest admitted his gouernment in acknowledgement of those benefits they had received from them both. But the greatest part was thereunto moued by the hope they had conceiued of their new elected king, and the confirmation of his gouernment. Thus by these meanes was his army mightily increased.

Whilest thus he marched forward, *Antigonus* seized those places that were fittest to lay ambushes in, or to fight at aduantages by the way (notwithstanding that by those meanes and stratagems he did but small or no hurt at all to his enemy: so that *Herode* raised the siege, & discharged his friends out of the Castle of Massada: and after he had taken the fort of Refsa he approached Ierusalem being attended by *Siloes* army, and by diuers Citizens of the Citie, who were afraid of his power. And when as he had pitched his camp to the westward of the Citie, those that kept the warch and guard on that side, shot their arrowes and cast stones against him: diuers likewise trouped forth and fought hand to hand against those that were planted there: For which cause first of all *Herode* caused proclamation to be made round about the walles, signifying vnto them that he resorted thither for the common profit of the people, and for the conseruation of the city, without intent of reuenge or memory of any wrongs that his priuate enemies had offered him, promising his most free pardon to all those whoeuer had hainously offended him. Hereunto *Antigonus* made this answer (turning his speeche to *Silo* and the Roman soldiers) that contrary to all iustice they gaue the kingdome to *Herode*, who was a priuate man, and an Idumean (that is to say, a halfe Iewe) whereas it hath beene a custome to bestowe the same on them that are of the line of the Priests. For albeit at that present they were displeased with him, for that hee was seized of the kingdome by the meanes of the Parthians, and had reloued with themselves to dispossesse him; yet that there were diuers others of that royall race, who might be made kings according to the law, who haue now waies misdeemed the themselves towards the Romane; and moreover there are Priests, who should not be iustly and vprightly dealt withall: If they should be deprived of that honour which appertaineth vnto them. Whilest they debated the matter after this manner betweene them, and grew to hot and iniurious taunts the one against the other, *Antigonus* commaunded his men to assaile those that were nere vnto the wall: who shooting manie arrowes with great courage against them, draue them easly from the tower they kept.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 24. al. 16.
Herode returning backe out of Italy, lea-
deth forth his
army against
Antigonus.
Herod assaul-
teth Ioppe, &
taketh it.

Many submit
themselues to
Herode.

Refsa taken, &
Massada deli-
uered from the
siege, after
which Herod
marcheth
towards
Ierusalem.
Herod procla-
meth about the
walles of Ieru-
salem that he re-
paired thither
for the good of
the people,
and the
commonweal:
Antigonus
vprideth
Herod that he
is but halfe a
Iewe, and of a
kingly race.
The enemy
repulse
Herods power
from the wall.

The yeare of the world, 3927, he foretold his birth 37. Silon subor- with some of his souldiers to take an occasi- on to depart from Ierusalem. Herod procured and furnished the army with victualls and abundant munition.

Antigonus sendeth out souldiers to supply Herodes with victualls.

The Romans sent to their garrisons to winter.

Robbers.

Herod fighteth with his enemies in Galilee, and overcometh them, & bringeth all Galilee vnder his subiection.

Antigonus refuseth to victualle the Roman army.

Ventidius sendeth Silon to warre against the Parthians.

At that time *Silon* gaue manifest prooffe that he had been corrupted by money: for he subor- G ned diuers of his souldiers, who cried out that they had want of victualls, and demanded greater pay for their maintenance, and requested that they might be placed in some convenient gar- risons to winter in, for that the places round about the Citie were desolate; because all necessaries for maintenance of life had been taken away and wasted by *Antigonus* souldiers. Thus was the whole army troubled; so that each of them prepared themselves to dislodge. But *Herode* importuned and cried out vpon the Caprains and Souldiers that were vnder *Silons* charge, telling them that it concerned them not to abandon him whom *Cæsar*, *Anthony* and the Senat of Rome had fed thither: That for his owne part hee would giue order that they should haue abundance and foison of whatsoeuer they demanded: and incontinently departing from them (after he had presented them with this request) he deprived *Silon* of all colour and pretext of flight: for hee H caused an incredible quantitie of victualls to be brought them; and commanded his friends that inhabited the confines of Samaria, to bring them come, wine, oile, carrell, and all other such prouision from Iericho, to the end that from that time forward the souldiers might want nothing. *Antigonus* was not ignorant thereof; so that he incontinently sent men thorowout the countrey, who might intercept and surprize the purueiours and victualers. Who following *Antigonus* commandement, assembled a great number of souldiers neere vnto Iericho, and encamp in the mountaines, elyped and watched those that brought the victualls. Meane while *Herode* laie not still, but tooke with him tenne companies, five of Roman souldiers, and five of Iewes, with whom he intermixed some forraigne souldiers, with some fewe horsemen, and came to Iericho; where being arriued hee seized the towne, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, of whome I five hundred with their wiues and children were retired into the tops of the mountaines, whom hee tooke, and afterwards set at libertie: but the Roman souldiers, entring into their houles, & finding them full of all sorts of moueables, they spoiled the same. And the king hauing left a gar- rison in Iericho, returned to his owne place, dismissing the Roman army to goe and winter in the countreies lately surrendred vnto him; namely, in Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria. *Antigonus* also purchased this fauour at *Silons* hands by store of bribes, that part of his army was lodged in Lydda, all which he did to currie fauour with *Anthony*.

Whilest thus the Romans liued in all abundance and bare no armes; *Herode* would not bee still, but sent his brother *Ioseph* into Idumæa, with one thousand footmen, and foure hundred horse; and him selfe resorted to Samaria, where his mother and his other parents kept, who be- K fore time were departed out of Massada. After this hee went into Galilee to surprize certaine castles which were held by *Antigonus* garrisons, & being arriued at Sephoris (during a great snow) after that *Antigonus* garrisons were departed out of the foresaid castles, hee found great abundance of all sorts of necessarie munition. And there hauing notice of certaine theeuës, who inhabited in caues, he sent a troupe of horsemen, with three companies of footmen, against them: whom he commanded to doe iustice on those robbers (now the place where they kept, was not farre from a borough called Arbela:) and forty daies after, hee him selfe with all his army resorted thither. Now whereas the enemy issued out against him with a hardy resolution; the left wing of his Squadron retired and fainted; but hee comming on with his maine battell put them to flight, who were already almost masters of the field, and made thole of his followers that fled, L to turne their faces; and to pursue their enemies as farre east as the flood Iordan: who fled some of them by one way, some by another; so that hee drew all Galilee vnder his subiection, except those that inhabited and held the caues. Hee distributed money also amongst his souldiers, and gaue each souldier a hundred and fiftie drachmes, and farre more vnto their chieftaines; and afterwards sent them to winter in garrisons neere at hand.

About this time *Silon* and his captaines, who had passed the winter in the said garrisons, came vnto him for that *Antigonus* would no more furnish them with victualls: for he gaue them main- tenance for no more time then a moneth, commanding thole that dwelt round about them to spoile the countrey, and afterwards to retire themselves into the mountaines, to the end that the Romans might be destitute of necessary maintenance, and by that means might bee consumed M with famine. *Herode* gaue *Pharorus* his youngest brother the charge of that prouision, commanding him to inclose the fort of Alexandria with a wall, who speedily brought a passe, that the souldiers had all sorts of necessaries at commandement: hee redified also the fort of Alexandria on which had beene laide desolate. About this time *Anthony* loorned in Athens, and *Ventidius* was in Syria, who hauing sent for *Silon* to accompany him against the Parthians, did put all charge him to assist *Herode* in that warre: and afterwards to excite the prouinciall confederates

The yeare of the world, 3927, he foretold his birth 37. Herod & Rufinus, cha. 15. Herod leadeth his souldiers against those theeuës that held the caues: Herod leueth downe his souldiers from the top of the mountaine in cofers.

A certaine old man killeth his wife and teauen of his sons, and at last casteth him selfe headlong from the rocke.

Herod retireth toward Samaria to fight with Antigonus.

Herod punisheth the rebels in Galilee. Ventidius overcometh Pacorus and the Parthians in battell.

Macharas killeth many Iewes.

Herod resoluing to depart to Antonius, and to accuse Macharas is reconciled by him, and lea- ueth his brother to Ioseph with an armie behind him.

A to further his war. But *Herod* dismissing *Silon* and his company to follow their destinated wars with *Ventidius*, did in his owne person lead out his souldiers against those theeuës that liued in dens. Now these caues were situate in the most highest and inaccessible mountaines, impregnable thorow narrow pathes, enuironed with sharp rocks, wherein the robbers inhabited secretly, with all their families. King *Herod* caused a certaine number of cofers to be made, fastned to yron chaines, which he caused to be let downe by an engine from the top of the mountaine (because it was neither possible by reason of the steepnesse of the hill to ascend the same from beneath, neither from above to creepe downward against them.) These chests were filled with souldiers, armed with great hookes to draw these theeuës vnto them, and to break their necks headlong from the height to the bottom. But the vse of these cofers was dangerous, for it was necessary to let them downe an infinite depth into the caues, especially for that the theeuës had necessary munition among them: notwithstanding where they had gotten down, none of the theeuës durst peepe out of the mouthes of their caues, but feare constrained them to hold themselves quiet. But a certaine souldier, hauing girt his sword by his side, and taken hold of the chaine with both his hands whereto the coffer was fastened, slidde downe as farre as the entry of the caue: & being displeased that no one issued out, hee shot diuers arrowes at those that were within, and wounded them; and after that, with his hooke he drew those vnto him who resisted him, and tumbled them downe headlong from the steepy rocke: which done, hee rushed in vpon those that were within the caue, and slew many of them, and afterwards returned and rested him selfe in his cofer. Diuers hearing the grones of those that were wounded, were surprized with teare C and despaire of their life: but the nights approach was the cause that the matter was not fully achieved, and many of them (receiuing notice of the kings free pardon by a herald) submitted themselves. The next day they renewed and continued the same manner of fight, and diuers issued out of their cofers to fight vpon the outward entrances of the caues, into which they cast fire, which (for that there was great quantity of wood in the caues) did quickly burne. Within these caues there was a certaine olde man apprehended, with his wife and seauen sonnes: who being required by them that he would suffer them to go & submit themselves to their enemies, took vp the entry of the caue, and as his sons advanced themselves to issue out, hee slew them, vntill such time as he had massacred them all, and after them his wife; and finally, when he had cast their dead bodies downe the rockes, he threw him selfe downe headlong after them, preferring death D before seruitude. Yet before his death, he reuiled *Herod* in bitter words, and vbraided him of his obscurity and ignoble race: and although *Herode* (who sawe all that which had happened) stretched out his hand vnto him and promised him pardon; yet would he not respect him; and by this meanes were all these caues entered, and the theeuës therein taken.

Now when the king had established *Ptolomey* captaine ouer the souldiers in that region, hee retired him selfe into Samaria, with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen, with a resolution to fight with *Antigonus*, and to end their quarrel. But *Ptolomey* had but very slender successe in his gouernment: for they that before time had troubled the countrey of Galilee sallied out vpon him, and ouerthrew him. After which execution they fled into the Marishes and vnaccessible places, where they robbed and spoyle all the countrey. But *Herode* returning and E setting vpon them punished them: for he slew some of them, and the rest were constrained to fly into strong places, where he besieging them and entring their fortresses perforce, slew the men, and destroyed their fortifications: and hauing brought this rebellion to an end, hee condemned the Cities to pay him the summe of one hundred talents. Meane while, *Pacorus* was slaine in warre, and the Parthians were discomfited with him; which was the cause that *Ventidius* sent *Macharas* to succor *Herode* with two legions and 1000. horse, and that by the commandement of *Antonius*. But *Macharas* was drawn by *Antigonus*, who corrupted him with money: and notwithstanding *Herods* contradiction & disuasion, yet resorted he vnto him, alleging that he did it to looke into his actions. But *Antigonus* suspecting his sodaine approach, entertained him not; but caused him to be darted at and driuen thence, giuing him to vnderstand by his entertainmēt, F what opinion he had of him, and how he was affected towards him: who at that time perceiued plainly that *Herode* had giuen him good counsaile; and that him selfe had misdone in misbeleeuing his aduice: for which cause he returned to the City Emaus, and slew all those Iewes whom he met withall in the way, whether friends or enemies: so highly displeased was he at that which had hapned. *Herode* fore moued hereat, came to Samaria resoluing with him selfe to poste vnto *Antonius* to complaine of these aggressiues; considering that he had no need of such associates, who did him more harme then his enemies; whereas of him selfe he was able to make good

The yeare of the world, 3927, before Christs birth, 37.
Herode repaired to Antonius at the siege of Samosata, and in the way killeth many Barbarians.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Herod was honorably entertained by Antonius and his host.

The yeare of the world, 3928, before Christs birth, 36.
Sossus hath the army committed to his charge by Antonius who departed into Aegypt.
Ioseph Herods brother is slain by Antigonus.

The Galileans revolt from Herode.
Machabes fortified Geth.
Herode departeth from Daphne a suburb of Antioch, into Galilee.
Herode fighteth with the Galileans, and overcometh them, and driueth them into a castle.

his warre against *Antigonus*. But *Machabes* halted after him, requiring him to stay, and to travel no further on that journey; or if he might not be diuerted, he prayed him to leaue his brother *Ioseph* behind him, who might with them make warre against *Antigonus*. By these perswasions and instant intreaties of *Machabes*, he was somewhat appeased: so that he left his brother *Ioseph* behinde him, with an army; charging him no way to hazard his fortune, or to fall at oddes with *Machabes*. As for himselfe he halted toward *Anthony*, who at that time besieged *Samosata* (a Citie situate neere vnto *Euphrates*) hauing with him an army of his associates both horsemen, and footmen. When *Herod* was arrived in *Antioch*, he found diuers men assembled there, who were desirous to go & seek out *Anthony*: but they durst not set forward on the way, for fear least certaine Barbarians should set vpon them, and kill them in their journey: these did *Herod* assure, and offered himselfe to be their guide vpon the way. Now when they came to their second baire, some two dayes journey off of *Samosata*, the Barbarians laid an ambush for them, and had barred vp the way with hurdles, and had likewise hidden certaine horsemen thereabouts, who should lie in couert vntill such time as the passengers had recovered the *Plaine*. Now when the foremost were past, the ambush consisting of about some five hundred horsemen, suddenly charged *Herod* who was in the reeward; when as therfore they had broken the former ranks whom they had met, *Herod* with his troupe that was about him incontinently repulsed them; and after he had encouraged his followers and whetted them on to the fight, hee wrought so much, that he made those that fled to turne their faces, and to fight; so that the Barbarians were put to the sword on all sides. The king also pursued them so long, vntill at last hee recovered that which had been taken by them, which was a certaine number of sumpter horses and slaues. But being charged afresh by others, and they in greater number then those who encountered him at first, he likewise (rallying his forces together) charged and ouercame them; and killing diuers of them, he secured the way to those that folowed after, who al of them acknowledged him for their preseruer and guide.

When he drew neere vnto *Samosata*; *Anthony* sent out his army in goodlie array to meete and honour him, and withall to succour him, in that he had heard that the Barbarians had assailed him. As soone as he came to *Anthons* presence, he entertained him kindly; and after hee had heard that which had befallen him in the way, he embraced him in admiration of his vertue, and did him great honor, as to him whom a little before he had raysted to a royall dignity. Not long after this, *Antiochus* surrendered the fort of *Samosata* to *Anthony*, and vpon this occasion the warre was ended. Whereupon *Anthony* committed the prouince with the army to *Sossus*; and after he had commanded him to succour *Herode*, he departed into *Aegypt*. *Sossus* therefore sent two legions of souldiers before into *Iudaea* to succour *Herod*, and afterwards hee followed with the rest of his army.

In the mean while *Ioseph* died in *Iewry* on this occasion that ensueth: For forgetting his brother *Herodes* commandement, which hee gaue him at such time as he repaired to *Anthony*, hee tooke to him five companies of souldiers which *Machabes* had left him; and marching towards *Iericho* to gather in the fruits of the field, he pitched his tents vpon the mountains: And for that the *Roman* troups were but newly leuied, & consisted of those men who were vntained in the warres, and for the most part were gathered out of the countrey of *Coelosyria*: the enemies hauing aduertisement hereof, assayed and surprised him in certaine places of disaduantage, where there was a hot skirmish betwene them, in which *Ioseph* died, fighting valiantly; and all his army was discomfited: for sixe companies of them were slaine. After that the dead bodies were at *Antigonus* command, he cut off *Iosephs* head, which *Phaeroras* his brother ranfomed for the price of fifty talents. Which done, the *Galileans* revoluing from their gouernours, drowned *Herods* partakers in the lake; so that diuers commotions and troubles were raised in *Iewry*. *Machabes* he fortified the Castle of *Geth*. This misfortune of *Iosephs* was reported to the king, in a certain suburb of *Antioch* called *Daphne*, who before the tidings, had already conceived some suspicion and feare, grounded vpon certaine dreames, which gaue him certaine intelligence of his brothers death. Departing therefore from thence with all expedition; hee arrived neere to the mount *Libanus*, where hee tooke about 800. men with him, and a *Roman* legion which he had, and from thence came to *Ptolemais*; from whence he departed with his army by night, & crossed *Galilee* with them. Whereupon the enemies came forth against him, and were ouercom by him, and shut vp in a fort, from whence they were departed but the day before; where *Herod* assayed them by breake of day: But being vnable to offer them any preiudice, by reason of the indisposition of the weather, he led his men into the villages neer adioyning. But when *Antoni*

second

OF THE IEWES. THE XIII. BOOKE.

The yeare of the world, 3928, before Christs birth, 36.

The house wherein Herod solemnized his feast, fell down, when the guests were gone, without any mans detriment.

Herod wounded by his enemies Antigonus killeth Pappus to Samaria.

Fight in the houses.

The yeare of the world, 3929, before Christs Nativity, 35.

Herode being alone and naked in his house escaped unhurt amongst many armed enemies.

Herod sendeth Pappus head to his brother Phaeroras.
Herod besiegeth Ierusalem.
Herod repairth to Samaria to marrye Alexander daughter.

A second legion was come, and annexed to his forces; they that were within the fort were dismayed, and forooke the same by night. So that *Herod* marched with all diligence to *Iericho*, with an intent to reuenge his brothers death; and being encamped neere vnto the same, he banqueted and entertained the chieftaines of his army; and after the feast was ended, and he had dismissed his company, he withdrew himselfe into his lodging. In which place it appeared, how much God loued the king: for the roofof the house where he had solemnized his feast fel down without hurt to any one whomsoever: for no man was left within it. Whence it came to passe, that each one perswaded himselfe that *Herod* was beloued by God; considering he had auoyded so great and v unexpected a perill.

The next day, sixe thousand of his enemies came downe from the toppes of the mountaines to fight with him, who affrighted the *Romans*, and their forelorne hope chased *Herods* souldiers with darts, and stones, who was himselfe also hurt in the thigh with an arrow. *Antigonus* sent a captain to *Samaria*, whose name was *Pappus*, with some souldiers, intending thereby to signifie vnto his enemies, that he had more men of warre then he needed. *Pappus* drew neer to *Machabes* the *Roman* captain: and as touching *Herod* he tooke five cities by force, and put some two thousand of them that were in garrison to the sword; and afterwards (hauing set the houses on fire) he went out to encounter *Pappus*; who was encamped in a borough called *Isanas*. Diuers that came from *Iericho* & *Iury*, submitted themselves to *Herode*, who drawing neere the enemy (who marched forward with great hardinesse) fought with him and ouercame him, and being inflamed with a great desire he had to reuenge his brothers death, he pursued them that fledde and shut them euen within their borough. The houses were incontinently filled with men of war, and diuers fled and hid themselves vpon the tops thereof, who were at last taken; for the roofes of the houses were beaten down, and he saw that all was filled with souldiers, whereby diuers were slaine by stones that were darted at them from aboue, and afterwarde cast and kild them by heapes: which was the most grieuous spectacle of all those that had hapned in those warres, to see an infinite number of bodies hidden one vnder another amidst the rounes of the houses.

This exploit of *Herode* did very much abate the courage of his enemy, who hereafter expected farre more worse fortune at his hands: For a man might haue seene them flie awaie in heapes; and had not a sodaine and forcible tempest fallen vpon them, the triumphant army of *Herode* had incontinently entered *Ierusalem* with assurance of victorie, which had made a final end of all that warre. For, *Antigonus* each day bethought him how to fly away, and to forsake the city. But for that it was already growen darke, *Herod* commaunded his souldiers to refresh themselves; and for that he himselfe was wearie, hee entred into his lodging to bathe himselfe: in which place he ouerwent a mighty misfortune, from which hee escaped by Gods prouidence. For (whereas he was naked and accompanied with one only seruant to attend him) at such time as he bathed, there were a certaine number of armed enemies hidden in that lodging, who were fled thither for the feare they had: and during the time that *Herod* bathed, the first amongst them issued with his naked sword and got the doore; and after him the second; and the third no lesse armed, without offending the king, for the feare that they had of his presence: and content to escape in their owne persons, without the preiudice of other men. The next day he sent *Pappus* head to his brother *Phaeroras*, who was slaine by his owne sword in reuenge of the iniury offered to *Ioseph*. When the tempest was done, he departed from thence, and approched neere to *Ierusalem*, and encamped neere vnto the Citie. This was about the third yeere since he was created king at *Rome*: and encamping himselfe in the place which was (as he thought) fittest for battery; he addressed himselfe towards the temple side, resolving to batter and make breach in that place in like manner as *Pompey* had done before him. Hauing therefore erected three bulwarks in three places, he builded towers thereon by the assistance of many workemen; and by meanes of a great quantity of wood, which he caused to be cut down round about the place; and hauing pointed such men as were of ripe iudgement to ouersee these works, he left his army well prouided, and resorted to *Samaria*, to marry with the daughter of *Alexander*, who was *Aristobulus* sonne to whom he was betrothed, according as I haue heretofore declared.

CHAP.

Antigonus is discomfited by Sosius and Herode.

Helio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 26.
al. 27.
Sosius and He-
rode lead a might
ty army against
Ierusalem.

Herod preuen-
teth the dearth.

The Iewes with-
out leaue refit
those that
besieged them.

The outward
part of the tem-
ple, & the low-
er city taken.

The Iewes fle
to the vpper
cite and the
temple.

Ierusalem ken.

After this marriage was solemnized, *Sosius* repaired thither thorow the country of Phoenicia, & hauing first of all sent his army thorow the continent, he himself also resorted thither with many aswell footmen as horsemen: thither also repaired the king from Samaria, with no small army, to annexe himselfe with the olde bands: for hee had about thirtie thousand men. All these assembled themselves together neere vnto the walles of Ierusalem, and planted their siege nigh vnto the wall of the city that extendeth towards the northward. The army contained eleuen legions of footmen, with sixe thousand horsemen: besides the succours that came fro Syria. Of this army there were two generals, namely *Sosius*, who was sent by *Antonius* to succour *Herod*: and *Herod* himselfe, who made war for himselfe, with an intent that hauing dispossessed *Antigonus* (who he had proclaimed enemy to Rome) he himself might be king in his place, according to the Senates decree. Those Iewes that were within the enclosure of the walles (that is to say, almost all the nation) resisted the Herodians with great courage and affection, vaunting and boasting much of the temple of the Lord, and wishing all good happe and successe to the people, namely, that God would deliuer them from all dangers: and spoiling all prouision without the city, that was either behooeful for the vse of man or beast, by their secret thefts and excursions also they made the very besiegers destitute of relief and victualls. Which inconuenience *Herode* so well preuented, that he forestalled their meanes of theft, and laide ambushes in place conuenient to cut them off. As for victualls he sent his footmen to fetch his prouision from farre; so that within a very little space they had abundance of all that which was necessary in the campe. He erected also with no lesse carefullnes three bulwarks, by the diligent labour of a great number of workmen: for it was sommer time, and neither was the aire incomodious, or negligence of the workmen such, but that they presently furnished and finished them. Afterwards hauing raised their engines vpon them, they battered the wall, vvith as much violence and diligence as was possible: notwithstanding all this, they did no waies amate those that were within; who for their parts vsed al the cunning that might be possible to defend themselves, and by diuers sallies set fire vpon the enemies engines; and burnt not onely those that were halfe made, but those that were wholly perfected: and when necessity draue them to handle strokes, they shewed no lesse valour then the Romans courage; but they were inferior vnto them in skill and martiall discipline. And when as the first wall was beaten downe, they builded vp a new, and countermined against those mines that were made by the enemy; so that they fought vnder ground hand to hand. Thus vsing despaire rather then courage, they sustained the war to the vttermost; yea notwithstanding they were besieged by a great army, and pressed by famine and want of victualls: for the yeere wherein the siege was continued, was the seauenth, in which the earth was vnnanured, which by vs is called the yeare of rest. But finally twenty chosen souldiers first of all mounted vpon the wall; and after them one of *Sosius* Centurions: for the first wall was taken in the fortieth day after the siege, and the second on the fiftieth, and some galleries were burned, which were neere vnto the temple: which (as *Herod* said) were burned by *Antigonus*, to bring him into more hatred among the Iewes. When the outward part of the temple, and the lower part of the city were taken, the Iewes fled into the temple, and into the higher towne, for feare they had least the Romans should hinder them from offering their daily and ordinary sacrifices vnto God: and they sent embassadours to their enemies, to require that it might be lawfull for them only to bring in certain beasts to offer them for sacrifices. Which *Herod* their king granted the, hoping by this means that they would submit themselves & yeeld vp the places. But perceiving that his opiniõ failed him herein, & that they obstinately resisted him, to continue the soueraignie in *Antigonus*, he gaue the assault, and tooke the City by force: where all things were incontinently filled with murders, in that the Romans were displeased because they had so long time continued the siege; and the Iewes that were on *Herodes* side enforced themselves vtterly to exterminate all those that were of the contrary party: so that continual slaughters ranged & raigned euery where, both in porches, & in the houses whereinto they entered: Neither did the religious reuerence of the temple saue those suppliants that resorted thither for safety, but that without all compassion both olde and young were slaughtered: Neither did their murdering hand spare or refraine from women; nay not so much as from young infants. And although the king besought and requested them to forbear them, yet no man gaue ouer, but all sorts of per-

A persons were murdered by them, without respect either of sex or age. *Antigonus* inconfid-
ence of that estate wherein hee had beene, or the fortune and disaster that at that present atten-
ded him, came downe from the tower and humbled himselfe on his knees before *Sosius* seate;
who hauing no compassion of the change of that estate wherein he sawe him, outragiously scor-
ned him, calling him *Madame Antigonus*: yet left hee him not without guard after the man-
ner of a Woman, but fast bound for his further assurance. But *Herode* was busied in deuising
how he might moderate his associates and straglers, after hee had had the vpper hand ouer his
enemies: For the strangers swarmed into the Citie by heapes, and got onely into the Tem-
ple, but also into the Sanctuarie. Hee therefore exhorted some, and threatned other some,
and restrained the rest by force of armes; and hee was more troubled at that present in be-
gging a Conquerour, then if he had beene conquered: for that those things that were not lawe-
full to be seene were beheld by prophane men. He preuented likewise the spoile of the Citie,
as much as in him laie: Beseeching *Sosius* most instantly, to preserve it to the vtmost, asking
him if the Romans would leaue him king of a desert, after they had voided the Citie of men
and goods? Allredging furthermore, that hee esteemed the gouernment of the whole world of
no valew in regarde of the life of one of his Citizens. *Sosius* answered, that it was reason that
the pillage should bee giuen to the Souldier, who had borne the hazard of the siege: wherun-
to *Herod* answered, that hee would satisfie euery man out of his owne treasure: and by this
meanes, hee ranfomed the rest of the Citie by fulfilling those his promises: For hee gaue ma-
nie mightie giftes vnto euery one of the Souldiers, and by proportion vnto the Captaines; but
C aboute all thee royally rewarded *Sosius*; so that euery one of them departed verie rich in siluer.

This calamitie hapned in the Citie of Ierusalem, in the yeere wherein *Marcus Agrippa* and
and *Canidius Gallus* were Consuls, which was in the hundreth, fourescore and sitt Olympiade
in the third moneth, on the dayes wherein the solemne fast was celebrated; as if this affliction
had iumpt together in one issue and instant with that of *Pompeius*: for on the same day had the
same Citie been taken twenty and seauen yeeres before. *Sosius* offered a crowne of golde vnto
God, and afterwards departed from Ierusalem, leading *Antigonus* prisoner with him vnto *Anthony*.
But *Herod* fearing least if *Antigonus* should be kept by *Anthony*, and sent to Rome, hee
should debate his title with him before the Senate by protest that hee was descended of the roy-
all line; whereas *Herode* was but a Plebeian and common person: and that although he had of-
D fended the Romans, and thereby might not deserue to bee King; yet at least his children, who
were of the princely line, were not to bee denied their title: *Herode* I say, fearing these things,
wrought so much by force of his money with *Anthony*, that he cauled him to put *Antigonus* to
death; so that at that time *Herod* was truly deliuered from all feare. Thus ended the estate of the
Asmoneans, after 120. and sixe yeeres. This family was famous both for their nobilitie, and also
by reason of their Sacerdottall dignitie, and for the noble actions and exploitcs, which their an-
cestors had achieved for our nation; but they lost their authoritie thorow their mutual factions;
which soueraignie was deriued to *Herod Antipaters* sonne, who was ignoble by birth, and of
meane friends; who were subiects and vassals to kings. See here what we haue receiued from our
ancestors, as touching the end of the race of the Asmoneans.

Herod bribeth
Antonius with
money to make
away Antigo-
nus.
The end of the
Asmonean fa-
mily, and the
extinction of
their priest-
hood.

THE





THE FIFTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 15. Booke.

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- 2 *How Hircanus being dismissed by the Parthians returneth to Herode.*
- 3 *Herod after he had made Aristobulus (his wife Mariammes brother) high priest, practiseth and worketh his death.*
- 4 *Cleopatra thirsting after the kingdome of Iewry and Arabia, laboureth to beg a part of them at Anthonies hands.*
- 5 *The arrivall of Queene Cleopatra in Iudaea.*
- 6 *Herod maketh warre against Aretas, at such time as Anthony was overthrowne by Cæsar in the Actiac warre.*
- 7 *Of the earthquake in Iewry.*
- 8 *Herods oration to his army.*
- 9 *Herod intending to repaire unto Cæsar doth of necessity kill Hircanus.*
- 10 *How Herod obtained the continuance of his kingdome of Iudaea at Cæsar's hands.*
- 11 *Herod maketh away Mariamme thorow false calumniationes of her enemies.*
- 12 *Of the famine that afflicted the land of Iewry.*
- 13 *The building of Cæsarea.*
- 14 *Herod buildeth a new temple in Ierusalem.*

CHAP. I.

Ierusalem being taken by Sosius and Herod, Antigonus is healed by Anthonies commandement. Herod maketh away all his chiefe friends.

The birth of the world, 3930 before Christs birth

Herod preferreth his favourites, & killeth his enemies. The Pharisees honoured by him. Pollio his reprover of Herods tyranny.



IN the former booke I have declared how *Sosius* and *Herode* tooke the Citie of Ierusalem by force, & with it *Antigonus* prisoner: now will we also declare that which hath subseqently followed: for after that *Herode* had obtained the absolute government over the whole land of Iudaea, he advanced all those among the common people, who favoured his proceedings: as for those who were opposed against him, there passed not a day wherein some one or other of them suffered not punishment. But amongst the rest, *Pollio* the Pharisee, and *Sameas* his Disciple, were highly honoured by him: For during the time of the siege of Ierusalem, they counselled the inhabitants to receive and entertaine *Herod*: for which cause he respected them accordingly. This *Pollio* in times past (when *Herode* was found guilty of death) foretolde *Hircanus* and the rest of the Iudges in way of exprobration, that being absolved by them he should one day justifie punishment on them all. Which prediction God in proceesse of time approved by the event: no sooner therefore became he master of Ierusalem, but hee gathered together all the rich household stuffe that was in the palace; and furthermore having spoiled the rich men of their goods, and by this meanes levied a great sum of golde and silver, he sent great presents to *Anthony* and his friends. Moreover he condemned five and thirtie of *Antigonus* principall and noblest favourites to death, setting straight watch about their doores, that none of them might be carried out vnder colour of being dead. The dead bodies likewise were troden vnder foote: and all the gold, silver, or jewels that was to be found amongst them, was carried to the king, and converted to his vse, so that there was no end of these miseries. For the covetousnesse of the conquerour (whole greedy and thirsting desire could hardly be quenched) laid hold on

A on whatsoeuer was theirs. And for that it was the seventh year, it necessarily came to passe that the land was left vnmanured: for wee are forbidden to sowe in this yeare. *Anthony* having taken *Antigonus* prisoner, resolved to keepe him in prison vntill the time of his triumph: But after he had received tidings that the nation of the Iewes were ready to innouate and rebel, and continued their good affection toward *Antigonus*, in regard of the hatred they conceived against *Herode*, he concluded with himself to take his head from him at Antioch: For the Iewes could scarcely containe themselves. *Strabo* of Cappadocia testifieth no lesse in these words. *Anthony* having brought *Antigonus* the Iewes to Antioch, caused his head to be cut off; and was the first among the Romans that hath caused a King to bee beheaded in this manner: supposing that the Iewes might neuer otherwise be induced to change their opinions, and receive *Herode*: yet this opinion of his was not answerable to equitie. For notwithstanding whatsoeuer impulsion he might devise, yet could they not be induced to call him King: in so high estimate and account he'd they their former king. But *Anthony* supposed that that infamy would obscure his renown, and lessen the generall hate that they bare to *Herod*. See here what *Strabo* writeth.

As soone as the high Priest *Hircanus* (who was prisoner among the Parthians) heard that *Herode* had taken possession of the kingdome, hee returned backe vnto him, being deliuered after this manner following. *Barzaphanes*, and *Pacorus* princes of the Parthians had taken *Hircanus*, who was first high priest, and afterwards king, and with him *Phasaelus* *Herodes* brother, and led them away prisoners with them into their owne country: *Phasaelus* not able to endure the dishonour of imprisonment, and preferring an honourable death before a reprocheful & ignominious life, murdered himselfe, as I have heretofore declared.

CHAP. II.

How Hircanus dismissed by the Parthians, returned unto Herod.

Hirantes king of Parthia, vnderstanding how nobly *Hircanus* was descended, who was brought prisoner vnto him, entertained him graciously: and for this cause drew him out of prison, permitting him to conuerse in Babylon, in which place there were a great number of Iewes, who honoured *Hircanus* very much; and no lesse then their high Priest and King. The like also did all they of that nation inhabiting as farr as Euphrates, which did not a little content *Hircanus*. But after that hee was aduertised that *Herode* was possessed of the kingdome, hee transferred his hopes another way, beeing of his owne nature tenderly affected towards his friends, expecting that one day *Herode* would requite him for that hee had deliuered him from death wherunto he was condemned, and in danger likewise of the penalty and punishment. Hee began therefore to consult with the Iewes as touching his iourney; who in waite of duetie and loue came to visite him, and who besought him, and importuned him to abide with them, offering him all seruice and honour: assuring him that he should in no lesse manner be respected among them, then their high Priest and King; yea in farre higher regard then hee might any waies be in his owne country, by reason of the maime hee had in his body thorow *Antigonus* tyranny: alleading that kings do not ordinarily call to their remembrance those pleasures that they haue received in their infant fortunes, because that with their estates they change both their manners and inclinations. But notwithstanding all these or such like allegations, yet could not *Hircanus* be withdrawne from the desire he had to repaire homeward. *Herode* also wrote vnto him, that he should requite *Phraates* and the Iewes that inhabited his kingdome, in no sort to enuie his felicity, in that he should partake with him both in dignitie and royaltie, alleading that the time was now come wherein he might acknowledge the benefites he had received, by being heretofore nourished and preferred by him. With these letters he sent *Samaralla* likewise on an embassage to *Phraates* furnished with great & rich presents, endeavouring by that meanes to winne him, that hee in no sort should hinder his gratulation and good intent towards one that had so highly deserved at his hands; yet were not his protestations answerable to his pretence. For inasmuch as he gouerned not with that vprightnesse, which became a iust king, he feared least some alteration might befall him, according to his demerites: for which cause he sought to get *Hircanus* vnder his power, or at leastwise to dispatch him out of his life, which he afterwards performed. When as therefore *Herod* had perswaded the Parthian to dismisse *Hircanus*, and the Iewes to furnish him with money sufficient to beare his expence in his iourney, he received him with all honour. In common assemblies he gaue him alwaies the highest place, and in the time of

Herod his high honour, as Hircanus.

The name of the
wile, 390. be-
cause Cleopatra
was
Herod's sister
the high priest-
hood to An-
nel.

Alexandra fo-
lietich Anto-
nius by Cleo-
patras medi-
on for the
high priest-
hood for her
sonne.

Antonius re-
queth Aristob-
ulus at Herod's hands.

The euntes
wily Aristobu-
lus was not
sent.

Herod in neigh-
eth against
Alexandra for
pretending to
steale the
kingdome.

Alexandra ex-
cused her selfe,
the king pro-
mised to
the king for
her sonnes
recovered to
Herod.

of festiuals, he made him alwaies sit downe before him; and the more closely to deceiue him, he called him brother, endeavouring himselfe by all means wholly to extinguish in him all colour & cause of suspicion of treachery: neither intermitted he any other stratagems, whereby in his opinion he might any waies further or promote his cause, and yet by these meanes occasioned he no small sedition in his owne family. For carefully providing least any one among the nobilitie should be established high Priest, he sent to Babylon for a certaine man of base condition called *Ananel*, and gaue him the Priesthood. For which cause *Alexandra* grew sodainly displeased, not being able to endure that outrage. This woman was *Hircanus* daughter, and *Alexanders* wife, who was king *Aristobulus* son, who had two children by her husband, the one wondrous beautiful who was called *Aristobulus*; the other was *Mariamme*, who was likewise faire, and married to *Herode*. Shee was sore moued and highly displeased to see her sonne so much indignified, for that during his life another was called to the honour of high Priesthood: for which cause she wrote vnto *Cleopatra* by the means of a certaine Mufition, beseeching her to beg the high Priesthood at *Antonius* hands for hir sonne. But for that *Antonius* made little reckoning of those suites, a certain friend of his called *Gellius*, who was come into Iury about certaine of his affairs, & who had seene *Aristobulus*, fell in loue with him by reason of his beautie: and being abashed likewise at his great and goodly stature, and allured by *Mariammes* admirable beautie, hee openly protested that he accounted *Alexandra* a happie mother in her children: and desiring to this effect with her, he perswaded her to send the pictures of her two children to *Antonius*, for that if hee should but behold them, he would refuse him in nothing, wherein he should request his friendship. *Alexandra* perswaded by these words, sent their pictures vnto *Antonius*. *Gellius* also made the matter more wonderful, telling him that the children seemed rather to be ingendered of no mortal fraine, but by some diuine power, labouring as much as in him lay that *Antonius* might be allured to affection them. Who supposing it to be a matter ill becomming him to send for *Mariamme*, who was married to *Herode*, and desirous likewise to auoid *Cleopatras* suspicions, wrote vnto *Herod* that vnder some honest pretext he should send *Alexandras* sonne vnto him (with this addition, if it might not seeme troublesome vnto him.) Which matter when *Herod* vnderstood, he thought it no waies incident to his security to send *Aristobulus*, (who was a faire young man, and little more at that time then sixteen yeeres old, and so nobly borne: considering that *Antonius* was at that present in such authority, that no one in Rome was in greater credit then he; and who besides that, was very much addicted to his pleasures, which he openly hunted after without feare of punishment in regard of his greatnesse and power. He therefore wrote him this answer, that if the young man should but onely depart out of the countrey, all the land would incontinently be filled with warre and troubles, for that the Iewes pretended alteration in government, and sought to inuocate by preferring a new king. When as therefore he had in this sort excused himselfe vnto *Antonius*, he resolved to entertaine both the younger *Aristobulus* and his mother *Alexandra*, with more respect. Moreover his wife *Mariamme* did continually importune him to giue the priesthood to her brother, alleging that by that honour he might preuent the occasion of his trauell. For which cause assembling his friends together in counsell, he greuously accused *Alexandra* before them, protesting that she secretly conspired against the kingdom: and that by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, shee laboured to dispossesse him of the foueraignty, to the intent that her sonnes by *Antonius* means might gouerne in his stead. Which practice of hers was so much the more vniust, because shee deprived her owne daughter of that honour wherein she was intreated, and raised vp troubles likewise in that kingdom which hee had conquered with great trauel, and extreme danger: Yet notwithstanding that he willingly forgot that which was past, and forgave those wrongs the had vraged against him, and was ready notwithstanding to shew all kindness & courtesie both to her and hers. Furthermore, he gaue the high priesthood to young *Aristobulus*, alleging that heretofore he had established *Ananel* in that place for no other respect, then for that *Aristobulus* was vnder yeeres.

After that he had thus seriously and consideratly discoursed in the presence of the Ladies, and the consistorie of his friends; *Alexandra* almost beside her selfe, not only throw the ioy she had conceiued by this unexpected good fortune, but also for the feare she had to be suspected, began to defend her self with teares & protestations, saying that all whatsoever shee had either practised or done, was to prefer her son vnto the priesthood whom the law dishonored; but as touching the kingdom that shee had neuer pretended, neither would (if so be she should be presented therewith) receive the same, thinking her selfe for the present sufficiently honoured both for that the law *Aristobulus* in that estate, for the assurance that all her progeny should receiue, in that he was lifted

The name of the
wile, 390. be-
cause Cleopatra
was
Herod's sister
the high priest-
hood to An-
nel.

red vp in dignitie about the rest. Being therefore overcome by those merits, shee accepted willingly the honour for her sonne, and shewed her selfe obedient in all things, requesting him that if shee had committed any thing rashly and thorow inconsideration of passion, either in respect of her children, or in vnbridled cariage of her tongue, hee would be pleased to pardon her. After these debates and interchangeable discourses on either side, they shooke hands the one with the other, in token of a more fixed and vnfaigned friendship then was before, burying (as they then pretended) all euill suspicion or cause of vnkindnes.

CHAP. III.

B Herode preferreth Aristobulus, his wife Mariammes brother, to the Priesthood; and afterwards putteth him to death.

Ereupon *Herode* took away the Priesthood instantly from *Ananel*, who was not that countriman borne (as wee haue heretofore declared) but was borne amongst those Iewes that inhabite & were planted beyond Euphrates by the Assyrians. For diuers thousand Iewes inhabite the countrey of Babylon, & from thence rooke he his originall also, being otherwise of the race of the Priests, & intirely affected toward *Herode* for a long time before, with whom he had familiar acquaintance. Hee had preferred him to this honour at such time, as he was made king; & degraded him likewise to appeale the troubles of his familie, demeaning himselfe herein contrary to the law of the countrey: for whereas any one hath once been installed in that degree, he is neuer to be displaced. The first that transgressed this ordinance was *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who dispossessed *Iosuah*, and preferred his brother *Onias* to his place. The second was *Aristobulus*, who took it away from his brother *Hircanus*, & vsurped it himselfe. *Herode* was the third, who gaue the priesthood to *Aristobulus* establishing him in *Ananels* place before he was dead: and by this meanes supposing that he had found out a remedie to appeale the discords of his family, hee notwithstanding all this liued not without suspicion what euent would follow after this reconciliation: for he feared *Alexandra*, least demeaning her selfe in such sort as before time shee had done, shee should seeke occasion hereafter to raise new troubles. He commanded her therefore to containe her selfe within the royall palace, and to doe nothing of her owne authoritie. Besides that he had appointed certaine intelligencers, who should diligently obserue that nothing should be done without his knowledge, no not concerning her particular expences and table. All which things exasperated her hate and encreased the same against *Herode*; for being full of feminine pride, hee disdained to see her selfe thus wrongfully suspected, desiring rather to suffer any thing, then to be deprived of the liberty of free speech; and vnder colour to be honoured, to liue continually in seruitude and feare. Whereupon shee sent certaine of her trustie friends to *Cleopatra* to complaine, & lament vnto her the importable miseries of her present estate; requiring her, according to her power, to giue readie and speedy reliefe. Whereupon *Cleopatra* lent her worde, that both shee and her sonne should resort vnto her into Egypt, with as great secrecy as might be possible. Vpon which aduice and the allowance thereof, shee practised this policie. Shee caused two coffins to be made, such as men were wont to bury the dead in, in which shee hid both her selfe and her sonne, commanding those seruants of hers that were priuie to her deliberation to carry them out in the night time, and to bend their course directly towards the sea, where there was a barge in readines prepared to shape their course, & convey them into Egypt. But *Elop* one of her household seruants declared this enterprise of hers to *Sabbion* one of *Alexandras* friends, supposing that he had beene made priuie thereto: who had no looser thinking thereof, but (for that before times he was *Herodes* enemy, by reason he was suspected to haue beene one of those that sought to poison *Antipater*) he determined by discovery of this secret flight, to conuert *Herodes* here into assured friendship: and presently discovered *Alexandras* secret enterprise to the king. Who dissembeling the matter vntil it was vpon the point of execution, surprised her at such time as she thought to fly, and yet notwithstanding he pardoned her that fault (in which she durst not decree any punishment against her, though hee could haue found in his heart to haue vied seueritie) for that *Cleopatra* would not haue contained her selfe, had shee but had such an occasion offered her to expresse her hatred against *Herode*. For which cause vnder the colour of a high and magnanimous spirit, hee made shew to pardon her of his meere clemencie: yet inwardly resolved hee to make yong *Aristobulus* away: yet not rashly vpon the instant, least the act should grow apparant and palpable.

Hedio & Rufinus chap. 3.
Herode taketh the Priest-
hood from
Ananel.

The Priest-
hood taken
from thence.

Alexandra suspected by
Herode, is
spied and watched, and her
actions obserued.

Alexandra
pretending to
fly into Egypt
is betrayed by
her seruant.

Herode con-
triueth Aristob-
ulus death.

N ii.

Now

The year of the
world, 3931. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tivity, 33.

Aristobulus
is drowned by
Herodes direc-
tion, Ananell
restored to the
priesthood.

The lamenta-
tion for Ari-
stobulus death

Herods coun-
terfeit sorrow.

Now the feast of Tabernacles was at hand, which was one of those that was ceremoniously and solemnly celebrated among vs; for which cause he concealed his intents during the festiual daies, intending both in himselfe and in the presence and company of the people, to follow all kinde of pleasure and delight; yet did his enuie incite him to hasten the execution of his will. *Aristobulus* was at that time some seuentene yeere olde, who at such time as he approached the altar to offer sacrifices, according to the lawe, apparelled in the high priests ornaments to performe the ceremonies, he (who for amiable countenance and goodly stature surpassed the yongnes and tendernes of his yeeres) expressing in his countenance the dignitie and nobilitie of his race, drew the eyes and good affection of all the people vnto him; so that they openly called to remembrance the noble actions of *Aristobulus* his grandfather. All the people therefore being furred by those their affections, and at that present time being all of them troubled with the ioy they conceived, they brake out by little and little into happie acclamations, mixed with wishes and prayers: so that the good will the people bare to *Aristobulus* discovered it selfe openly, and they manifestly (although too hastily in such a kingdome) declared what evils they generally endured: For all which causes *Herode* concluded to execute that which he had heretofore comploted, & conceived against *Aristobulus*. As soone therefore as the feast was ouerpast, he sojourned in Iericho, where *Alexandra* entertained him. In that place he vsed *Aristobulus* with all kindnes, to the end to draw him vnto some place, where he feared nothing, playing also with him, and counterfaising to sport, after the fashion of the youngmen, to gratifie him. Now, for that the place where they disported themselves was by nature too hot, they quickly wearied, left their sport, & went out together to take fresh ayre, and recouering a pleasant shade vnder certaine arbors, and I neere certaine fishpooles which were largely spread round about, they beheld certaine of their seruants and friends that swomme therein, with whom not long after *Aristobulus* began to swim, being perswaded thereunto by *Herode*. Whereupon *Herods* confederates (who were deputed to execute the murder) laid hands of him and thrust him vnder the water, pretending to duck him in sport, and neuer gaue him ouer vntill such time as they had stifled him in the water. This hapned about the evening, and after this manner died *Aristobulus*, after hee had liued in all for the space of eightene yeeres, and administered the priesthood one whole yeere: & after this, *Ananell* presently recouered his former dignitie.

Now when this accident was reported to the women, all of them were sodainly deuoured in teares, and transported with strange lamentations, which they spent ouer the dead body. All the citie also was marueilously amated, neither was there any private family that thought not it selfe touched by this inconuenient, but imagined the losse in particular to concerne himselfe, and no other. But aboute all, when *Alexandra* had notice of this wicked deede, she was more passionate and perplexed then any other, being so much the more discomforted, for that shee knew how all things had hapned. But the feare of a farre greater mischiefe constrained her to repress her passion, in such sort, that diuers times she was ready to bereaue her of her owne life; & dispatch her selfe out of misery with her owne hands. But shee contained her selfe, to the end, that suruiuing (and liuing after her sonne, who was so traiterously and fraudulently slaine, and prolonging her owne life without giuing any suspicion or shadow, that she supposed her sonne to be thus cursedly murdered) shee might with more opportunity expect the occasion to reuenge her selfe: For which cause, shee dissembled all things, gouerned her griefe, and made shew that shee knew nothing of that which was either intended, or had hapned. As for *Herod*, he laboured by all meanes to perswade the strangers, that this death had befallen *Aristobulus* without his knowledge; and did not only prepare that which was requisite for the funerall, but vext himselfe likewise, & made shew of a man truly deuoured in his sorrow: and it may be that in remembrance of *Aristobulus* beauty and flourishing young yeeres, he was truly touched with compassion, notwithstanding that he imagined that this death of his should be a means of his intire security, demeaning himselfe in all things very circumspectly, with intent to purge himselfe of that crime. But especially he shewed his great magnificence in the interring of his body, both in the furnishing and preparation of the herse, as in the perfumes and other things thereunto belonging, in such sort as the griefe which the Ladies had conceived, was pacified after this maner of consolation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Cleopatra thisling after the kingdome of Arabia and Iewry, labourerth to beg a part of them at Anthonies hands.

BUt none of all these things could either moue or mollifie *Alexandra*, but that daily more and more she increased her sorrow, and in the heart of her teares kindled her wrath and hate with a desire of reuenge. She therefore certified *Cleopatra* by her private letters of *Herodes* treasons, and her sonnes most miserable and vntimely death. *Cleopatra* long before that time desirous to assit her, and hauing compassion of her

Alexandra
certified
Cleopatra of
Herods tre-
asones and
her sonnes
traietous
murder.

B miserie, vnderooke the matter, and ceased not to incite *Anthony* to reuenge *Aristobulus* death, telling him that it was an unpardonable error, that *Herode* being created king in such a state, whereunto he had no right, should be suffered to practise such conspiracies against the true & lawfull kings. *Anthony* perswaded by these her words (as soone as hee came vnto Laodicea) sent for *Herode*, to the end that making his appearance, he might answer that which might be objected against him, as touching *Aristobulus* death: for he disliked the act, notwithstanding that *Herode* himselfe had attempted it. But although *Herode* was affraid of this accusation, and did not a little suspect *Cleopatras* displeasure (for that shee ceased not continually to prouoke *Anthony* against him) yet obeyed he this commandement, and transported himselfe thither (the rather for that he durst not otherwise doe) notwithstanding hee left his vnle *Ioseph* behind him, committing the gouernment both of the kingdome & his private estate vnto him, giuing him secret instructions to kill *Mariamme*, if so bee that *Anthony* should happen to doe him any mischiefe. For hee loosed her so extremely by reason of her beauty, that he supposed himselfe iniured, if after his deceale she should be beloued by any other; and he openly declared that all that misery which befel him, proceeded from *Anthonies* passion and intire affection, and admiration of her beauty, whereof he had before time heard some report. As soone therefore as hee had in this sort disposed his affaires, notwithstanding he had little hope of good hap, yet repaired he to *Anthony*.

Herod ready
to reuenge
Anthony,
commandeth
Ioseph, to
whole charge
he committed
the kingdome,
to kill his wife.

But *Ioseph* gouerning that kingdome that was committed to his hands, conuersed diuers times vpon this occasion with *Mariamme*, and communicated oftentimes with her, not onely for publique profit sake, but also to doe her that honour which so great a princeesse deserved. At such time therefore as hee secretly deuised with her, as touching the friendship and ardent affection which *Herode* bare vnto her, his speeches were iested at after the maner of Ladies, but especially flouted at by *Alexandra*. For which cause *Ioseph*, being ouer-forward to expresse the kings good will towards her, proceeded so farre that he discovered the commandement that was giuen him; thereby to make manifest, that it was not possible for *Herode* to liue without her, and that if any inconuenient should happen vnto him, he would not in death also be disioyned from her. This discourse of *Iosephs* was not interpreted by the Ladies, as a demonstration of his good will, but rather as a manifestation of *Herodes* malignitie; who dying, desired also that they should perish, and interpreted that which he had spoken, as the testimonie of his tyrannous & malicious hart. At that time there was a rumour spread in the citie of Ierusalem, by *Herodes* maligners, that *Anthony* had in such sort tormented him, that he was dead. Whereupon all those of the kings house were troubled, and in especiall the Ladies; so that *Alexandra* incited *Ioseph* to forsake the place, and take the Ladies, and to retire himselfe vnder the ensignes of the Roman legion, who at that time were about the citie for the securitie of the kingdome, vnder the conduct of the Tribune *Iulius*, to the end first of all, that if any trouble should happen in the kings house, they might bee by this meanes in securitie, hauing the Romans to friend; and afterwards, for that they hoped that if *Anthony* should see *Mariamme*, shee might obaine all things at his hands whatsoeuer shee desired, assuring him that he would restore the kingdome vnto her, and depriue her of nothing that concerned, or was answerable to her royall estate.

A foolish rumour
of
Herodes death.

But whilst they were distracted with these deliberations, there came letters from *Herode*, contrary to some few mens report, and all mens expectation. For as soone as he came vnto *Anthony*, he compassed his ioy by his many presents, which he had brought with him to that intent from Ierusalem, and sodainly debating the matter with him, hee appeared him in such sort, as he was no more displeased against him; and from that time forward, *Cleopatras* speeches were but coldly conceited of in regard of his so ample satisfaction. For *Anthony* said, that there was no reason that a king should be any wretched for that which he had done in his kingdome; for that in so doing, he should no more be king: but that when the honour is once giuen him, hee hath the

*Herod appea-
reth A. to
by presents
certified his
friends by let-
ters of his
health.*

Nn z

authoritie

The year of the
world 3921. be-
fore Christi birth
32.

authoritie likewise left him, to vse his regall power. Vrging further, that it concerned *Cleopatra* G likewise her selfe, not to search too curiously into the affaires and gouernment of kingdomes. *Herode* certified all this by his letters, and signified further, what other honours hee had receiued at *Antonies* hands in assemblies and feasts, to which he inuited him alwaies, notwithstanding that *Cleopatra* seemed to be displeased therewith, detraacting him; and being desirous to get the king-
dome of Iewry into her hands, stroue by all meanes possible to put him to death: but that he had found *Anthony* alwaies an vpright man, and feared not henceforward that any euil should befall him: and returning presently vpon this, he brought with him a more ample testimony of *Anto-
nies* most assured affection, both in respect of his owne kingdome, as of his particular affaires. And as touching *Cleopatra*, she pretended not to seeke any further then that which she had, be-
cause that *Anthony* had giuen her *Cœlofryia* in steed of that which shee had demanded, forbear-
ing thence forward to mention Iewry any more, because *Anthony* wholly reiecteth those
suites.

After these letters came vnto their hands, the trouble and disturbance wherein they were, and
their desire to retire vnto the Romans, as if *Herode* had been dead, was wholly extinguished. Yet
was not this their resolution hidden from the king; but that *Herode* after he had brought *Anthony*
on his way (who at that time fer forward in his warres against the Parthians) hee returned into
Iewry. Vpon his arriuall, his sister *Salome*, and his mother certified him exactly of *Alexan-
dras* intent, and the determination of her friends. *Salome* likewise spake against *Ioseph* her hus-
band, and slandered him, obiecting against him that he had had *Mariammes* company. All which
she spake thorow the malice shee had long time conceiued against him, for that in a certaine de-
bate *Mariamme* had in her rage despitefully hit them in the teeth with their obscure birth. *Herode*
(who was alwaies inflamed with the earnest affection which hee bare vnto his wife *Mariamme*)
was sodainly troubled herat: and although iaculousie pressed him forward, yet loue restrained
him and kept him from doing any thing rashly, thorow passion or affection: for which cause hee
called *Mariamme* aside, and demanded of her in secret, what familiar company she had kept with
Ioseph? Shee by solemne oathes and by all possible allegations in her owne defence appealed the
king by little and little, and pacified his choler. For in such sort was he transported with the loue
that he bare vnto his wife, that he beleueed shee had sufficiently purged her selfe of those slanders,
that had been inforced against her; yeelding her most hartie thanks for her honest affection to-
wards him, and declaring vnto her openly the great esteeme and loue that he bare vnto her. Fi-
nally (as it often falleth out amongst louers) they fell to teares, and embraced each other with
great affection: and for that she gaue him no credit, he endeouored the more to draw her to be-
liefe. Whereupon *Mariamme* said vnto him: It is not the act of a louer to haue giuen comman-
dement, that if any thing should befall thee otherwise then well with *Anthony*, I should present-
ly be done to death with thee; and notwithstanding I haue no waies offended thee. No sooner were
these words out of her mouth, but the king entred into a strange passion, and giuing ouer his
embraces he cried out with a loud voice and tore his haire, saying, that hee had a most euident
proofe that *Ioseph* had committed adulterie with her: for that he would not haue discovered those
things which had been spoken to him in secret, except they had greatly trusted the one the other:
and in this emotion or rage of iaculousie hardly contained he himselfe from killing his wife. But
the force of loue ouercame him so much, that he bridled his rage notwithstanding it were irre-
uerent and grievous vnto him. Yet gaue he order that *Ioseph* should be slaine without either au-
dience or iustification of his innocencie: and as touching *Alexandra*, who was the cause of all these
troubles, he kept her prisoner.

About the same time there grew certaine troubles & alterations in Syria: for that *Cleopatra*
continually solicited and importuned *Anthony*, and whetted on his displeasure against all, per-
suading him to remooue all from their gouernments, and to bestow the same on her selfe. And
for that *Anthony* loued her extremely, shee was in great estimation and credit with him: and be-
ing in her owne nature inclined to couetousnesse, shee abstained from no kinde of corrupt
dealing and wickednesse. For knowing that the kingdome should descend vnto her brother, she
caused him to be poisoned, when as hee was but fifteene yeeres olde: as for her sister *Asinœ*, she
caused her to be slaine by *Antonies* meanes at such time, as shee made her prayers in the temple
of *Diana* in Ephesus. Moreouer, in what place soeuer shee vnderstood that there was any hope
to get money, whether it were in robbing of temples, or in breaking open sepulchers, she would
be possessed thereof: neither was there any religious place so sacred, from whence shee tooke not
away the ornaments. Furthermore, there was not any thing so prophane and interdicted, which
shee

Ioseph and
Mariamme
accused be-
fore Herode.

Mariamme
excuseth and
purgeth hir
selfe before
the king, and
is reconciled.

Herode com-
mandeth that
Ioseph should
bee slaine, and
imprisoneth
Alexandra.

Medio & Rus-
sinus, chap. 4.
Cleopatra ve-
rie couetous:
Cleopatra
murdereth
her brother
and sister.

The year of the
world 3922. be-
fore Christi Na-
tinitie, 32.

A she laid her hands on to satisfie her vnbridled auiditie: Neither was the whole world sufficient
enough to content this magnificent lady, who was made slave to her owne desires, and her dis-
ordinate appetite was such, that all the riches in the world were not able to satiate & fill the same.
For this cause she incessantly importuned *Antonius* to take from others, to be himselfe towards her:
and therefore entering into Syria with him, shee presently beehought her selfe how she might get it
into her possession. For shee caused *Zysanias* *Protomechus* sonne to be put to death, obiecting against
him that he had priuie intelligence with the Parthians. She begged Iury also at *Antonius* hands, &
required him besides that, to dispose of the kings of Arabia. He was in such sort possessed by this
woman that he seemed not onely to be bewitched with her words, but also enchanted by her poi-
sons, to obey her in whatsoever she thought meet: yet was he ashamed to commit so manifest an
iniquitie, for feare lest being so farre ouer-ruled by her, he should happen to offend in matters of
more consequence. Least therefore either by denying her, he should draw her to discontent; or
by condiscending to her demands, he should seeme to be the wickedest man aliae, he deducted
a leuerall portion of both their dominions, and presented her with the same. He gaue her likewise
those cities that are situate betwene the floud *Eleutherius* and Egypt, except *Tyre* and *Sidon*,
which he knew to be free cities of long continuance: although by earnest solicitation she sought
to be seized of the same.

Cleopatra
continuethe
ty-
fanius death.

Antonius gi-
ueth *Cleopa-
tra* a portion
deducted out
of Iurie and
Arabia.

CHAP. V.

Cleopatras progresse in Iudea.

C After that *Cleopatra* had obtained all these things, and had accompanied *Antonius* as far
as Euphrates, who at that time went to make war in Armenia: she returned back againe,
and by the way visited Apamea and Damasco, and at last rooke her progresse into Iurie:
Where King *Herode* met with her, and assured that portion which had beene giuen vnto her in
Arabia, with all the reuenewes of Iericho, vnto her. This country bringeth forth that balme,
which of all other ointments is the most precious, and onely groweth in that place, and no other,
to the bignes of great Dates. Being arrived in that place, & grown inwardly familiar with *He-
rode*, she sought to allure and draw him to her lust, being of her selfe naturally addicted to such
pleasures and intemperance; and happily also being somewhat touched with loue, or rather (as it
seemeth most likely) shee in this sort laid the foundation to intrap him vnder colour to reuenge
her selfe of some outrage by that meanes. But in effect she generally manifested, that shee was
ouercome by her desire and sensuall lust. But *Herode* was not ouer kindly bent towards *Cleopatra*,
knowing of long time how badly she was inclined towards all men; and at that time hee concei-
ued the greater hatred against her, because by that intemperance of hers she pretended to destroy
him: & although that from the beginning he had reiecteth her solicitations, yet determined he to
reuenge himselfe on her, if so be by these her subtil underminings she should prosecute & continue
her subtil policies to betray him. He asked counsaile also of his friends, whether hauing her in
his possession, he should put her to death. For in so doing all those should be deliuered from diuers
euils, whom either in time past she had molested, or hereafter should bring in trouble. Moreover
that it should be profitable for *Antonius* also, whom without all doubt she would forsake, if any
occasion or necessitie should enforce him to make triall of her friendship. But whilest he debated
E and discoursed vpon this resolution, his friends restrained and dissuaded him, assuring him that
it was a great indignitie for him, who was a Prince of high thoughts and haughty resolutions, to
cast himselfe into manifest perill, beseeching him to attempt nothing rashly: For that *Antonius*
would not endure the same, notwithstanding it might be approved that it stood with his profit:
nay rather that by this meanes hee should increaseth his desire, for that by force and subtiltie hee
might seeme to haue lost her. Further, that no one colour of excuse should be left him, in that she
was the woman of greatest note and nobilitie of that time; and that what soeuer profit might re-
dound vnto him by her death, should be annexed with *Antonius* iniury. Whereby it most eu-
idently appeared, how great and remediless damages would befall both to the kingdome & the
kings family also; whereas nothing lered him by repulsing her vnlawfull demand to dispose all
F things for the present state with great discretion. By these and such like reasons & probable con-
iectures, they deterred and dissuaded him from aduenturing vpon his apparant danger, and at-
tempting so hainous an act: so that contrariwise they induced him to offer *Cleopatra* many rich
presents, and to conduct her onward on her way towards Egypt.

Cleopatra
commeth to
Herode who
enstateth her
in that part
of Arabia
& these reue-
newes of Ieri-
cho that were
giuen her.
An intempe-
rate woman
giuen to lust.

Herode goeth
about to put
Cleopatra to
death, and is
dissuaded by
his friends.

Antonius
conquereth
Armenia.

Herode brin-
geth *Cleopa-
tra* onward on
her way to-
wards Egypt.

As soone therefore as *Antonius* was seized of Armenia, he sent *Artabazes*, *Tigranes* sonne,
with all his children, who were great princes, prisoners into Egypt, and presented them to *Cleopa-
tra*, with all those precious Iewels likewise, which were taken by him or found in the kingdome.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5.

But *Artaxias* his elder sonne (who at that time had saued himselfe by flight) raigned in *Armenia*; whom *Archelaus* & *Nero* the Emperour drave out of his kingdome, and placed his younger brother *Tigranes* in his roome, as it shall be declared hereafter. As for the tributes of the countie which *Herod* was bound to pay vnto *Cleopatra*, for the lands bestowed on her by *Antonius*, hee without deceit iustly paid them, supposing it to be very incident to his glory, to continue himselfe in her good fauour. As for the Arabians, they seeing that *Herod* had the leuying of such tribute, paid him for some little time two hundredth talents a yeere; but afterwards they grew slow and negligent in their payments, and scarcely satisfied the halfe, and that also very negligently.

CHAP. VI.

Herode maketh warre with Aretas at the same time that Antonius is overthrowne by Augustus Caesar in his Actian warre.

Herode leueth an army to assaile Antonius against Cleopatra. Herode is incited by letters to the Arabian warre.

Herodes battels and conquests.

The yeare of the world, 3934. before Christs birth, 30.

Cleopatras chieftaine ouerthroweth Herode.

The Arabians returning to the battell kill those that flee, and take the campe.

Aretas demeaning himselfe thus vngratefully, and refusing to doe that which in right hee ought to performe; *Herode* made a shew to take armes against him, but deferred his reuenge in regard of the contentions amongst the Romans. For at that time nought else was expected then the Actian warre (which fell in the hundredth, eighty and seuenth Olympiade) in which *Augustus Caesar* determined to trie his title with *Antonius* for the Monarchie. In the meane while *Herod*, who had already for many yeeres bene master of a peaceable and fruitfull countrey, fro whence he drew rich reuenues & many forces, gathered diuers companies of men, I with the greatest expedition that he might, to succour *Antonius*. But he by letters signified vnto him, that he had no need of his assistance: notwithstanding hee commanded him to make a road vpon the Arabian, whose perfidious dealing *Antonius* had not only vnderstood by *Herod* himselfe, but also by *Cleopatras* aduertisements. For shee verie cunningly conceiued, that it would redound vnto her profit, if one of these two should ouerthrow the other. *Herode* according to these instructions from *Antonius*, returned backe into his countrey, and retained his armie alwaies readie about him, and incontinently with the same invaded Arabia, and with his forces both horsemen and footmen came directly to *Diospolis*, where the Arabians (hauing notice of his intended warre against them) came out to meete him. In this place fought they a most cruell battell, wherein at the last the Iewes had the vpper hand. After this, a great armie of Arabians assembled themselves at *Cana*, a certaine place in *Coelesyria*. Whereof when *Herode* was fore-aduertised, he marched forth against them, accompanied with the greater part of his forces. As soone as hee drew neere to *Cana*, he determined to incampe in that place, and after he had well fortified and entrenched his forces, to set on the enemy vpon the first opportunity: but whilest hee employed himselfe in the execution hereof, all the armie of the Iewes cried out, requiring him without delay, to lead them forward against the Arabians. And thus highly were they encouraged, both in respect of the confidence they had in the good administration and ordering of their army, as in regard of their forwardnes, who had been actors in the former warre, and partakers of the victorie; so that they scarce gaue their enemy leasure to settle themselves to their weapons. When as therefore *Herode* perceived that the heat and forwardnes of the soldier could hardly be appeased; hee thought good to make vse of the readines of his army, & arming himselfe he marched formost, being seconded by his souldiers in battell ray, with a soldier-like march. This sodaine approach of his wonderfully abashed the Arabians: For although for a while they made head against them; yet perceiving their enemies full of heart, and themselves vnable to resist them, diuers of them retreated and betooke themselves to flight; so that all of them had bene verily defeated, had not *Athenio* endamaged *Herode*, and the Iewes. For hee hauing the command of that army which *Cleopatra* had in that place; and besides that, bearing a priuy grudge towards *Herode*, disposed his army in a readines, and expecting the cue of the battell, resolved with himselfe to containe his forces, if the Arabians ouercame the Iewes; and if so be they had the worst (as indeed it came to passe) to set vpon the Iewes, who should be spent by that time; and surprising them at vnawares euen in the height of their hope of good happe, to massacre and slaughter them with his fresh supplies. When as therefore the Iewes had spent all their strength against their professed enemies, and expected nothing lesse then the assurance of the victorie, he charged and ouercame them who had retreated into certaine rough and difficult places (whereunto their enemies were better accustomed then themselves) where being grievously wounded and ill intreated by the Arabians, who returned backe and set vpon them,

OF THE IEWES. THE XV. BOOKE.

A diuers of them that fledde were slaine, and died sundry kinds of deaths; and of those that escaped, few of them recovered the campe. *Herod* losing the hope of this battell, posted on horsebacke as fast as he might, to bring on fresh supplies: but notwithstanding all his expedition and diligence, yet could hee not recover the place in due time, but that the campe of the Iewes was taken and sacked, and the Arabians obtained no small good happe beyond their expectation, becoming Lords of that victorie, which was wholly unexpected by them, and wherein they slew a great number of their enemies. From that time forth, *Herod* began to make certaine incursions and roades into Arabia, preying the countrey, and flooding therein much mischief: hee incamped himselfe likewise vpon the mountains, forbearing to draw his whole forces into the field; notwithstanding by his diligence & industry in trauch, his labors were not fruitlesse; but that prevailing in some exploits, hee fought out all meanes to abolish & put away the ignominie of his former discomfiture.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Earthquake that hapned in Iewrie.

At such times as *Cesar* and *Anthony* made triall of their titles in the Actian warre, and in the seventh yeere of the raigne of king *Herod*, there hapned such an earthquake in the countrey of Iudaea, that neuer the like was scene in any other place: so that diuers beasts were slaine thereby, & many men were ouerwhelmed with the ruines of their houses, and perished to the number of tenne thousand. Onely the men of warre received no damage, because they encamped in the open field. The Arabians hearing tidings hereof (which were farre greater by report, then they were in effect, by such, who in fauour of the Arabians & hate of the Iewes, reported the same) waxed proud: yea so much was their courage increased hereby, as if all the Cities of Iewrie had bene already ouerthrowne, and the men thereof extinguished; and as if they had no aduersaries remaining alieue to contradict them. For which cause laying hold of those Embassadours of the Iewes, who came vnto them to intreat of peace in their desperate estates, they slew them, and afterwards in the heate of their spleen, fell vpon their enemies campe. But the Iewes not daring to expect or preuent their assault, for that their present miseries had delected their minds, seemed to neglect their common-weale, and in a manner to despaire of their safetie. These thus affected did the king encourage, and called vnto him their captiues, and (as much as in him lay) awaking and reuiuing their drouping spirits; and when he had restored those of better hope, to more successful good hap, at length he attempted to speake vnto all the armie, who in the former ouerthrowes, wold yeeld no respect or allowance to perswasion. These did he both comfort and exhort in such manner, as followeth.

CHAP. VIII.

Herodes Oration to his armie.

Friends and fellow souldiers, there is not one of you but knoweth at this time, there are so many present and impendent misfortunes attending our estates, as are able to vvarie and amaze those men, that are of the greatest resolution. But sith wee must needly fight, and that all those things that haue befallen vs vnto this present, are of that kind, that by your own vertue and magnanimitie they may be recovered; I haue resolved to informe, and confirme you in those meanes, whereby you may retaine & continue your accustomed valour and noble courage. First of all therefore I will approue vnto you (as touching our vvarre) that it consisteth on iust grounds, for that wee are informed thereunto thorow the outrage of our enemies: the knowledge whereof should chiefly make you recover your courage. Secondly, I will apparently approue vnto you, that our estates are not so desperate, but that we haue great and assured hopes to obtaine the victorie. First of all therefore, I will discourse of that which formerly I proposed, & will make your selues Iudges of those things which I will discourse vpon. For you your selues are priue to the Arabians vnjustice, and how perfidious they are to their friends, and impious & barbarous towards all men; but in especiall, they haue alwaies troubled vs, prouoking vs thorow their extreme auarice and malignant enuie, with perpetuall iniuries. And yet to let slip all other our benefits to that nation, who is hee that deliuered them from their imminent perill, and thraldome, that was hazarded by *Cleopatras* meanes, but our selues? For the friendshippe I had with *Anthony*, and his benouolence towards me; was the cause that their burthen of miserie

The yeare of the world, 3923. before Christ's Nativity, 31.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5.

Herode leueth an army to assist Antonius against Octavian. Herode is incited by letters to the Arabian warre.

Herodes battels and conquells.

The yeare of the world, 3934. before Christ's birth 30.

Cleopatras chieftaine ouerthroweth Herode.

The Arabians returning to the battell kill those that flee, and take the campe.

But *Artaxias* his elder sonne (who at that time had saued himselfe by flight) reigned in Armenia, whom *Archelaus* & *Nero* the Emperour drave out of his kingdom, and placed his younger brother *Tigranes* in his roome, as it shall be declared hereafter. As for the tributes of the countries which *Herod* was bound to pay vnto *Cleopatra*, for the lands bestowed on her by *Antony*, hee without deceit iustly paid them, supposing it to be very incident to his security, to continue himselfe in her good fauour. As for the Arabians, they seeing that *Herod* had the leuying of such a tribute, paid him for some little time two hundredth talents a yeere; but afterwards they grew slow and negligent in their payments, and scarcely satisfied the halfe, and that also very negligently.

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CHAP. VII.

Of the Earthquake that hapned in Iewrie.

At such time as *Caesar* and *Anthony* made triall of their titles in the Actian warre, and in the seuenth yeere of the raigne of king *Herod*, there hapned such an earthquake in the country of Iudaea, that neuer the like was seene in any other place: so that diuers beasts were slaine thereby, & many men were ouerwhelmed with the ruines of their houses, and perished to the number of tenne thousand. Onely the men of warre recciued no damage, because they encamped in the open field. The Arabians hearing tidings hereof (which were farre greater by report, then they were in effect, by such, who in fauour of the Arabians & hate of the Iewes, reported the same) waxed proud: yea so much was their courage increased hereby, as if all the Cities of Iewrie had bene already ouerthrowne, and the men thereof extinguished, and as if they had no aduersaries remaining alieue to contradict them. For which cause laying hold of those Embassadours of the Iewes, who came vnto them to intreat of peace in their desperate estates, they slew them, and afterwards in the heate of their spleen, set vpon their enemies campe. But the Iewes not daring to expect or preuent their assault, for that their present miseries had delected their minds, seemed to neglect their common-weale, and in a manner to despair of their safetie. These thus affected did the king incourage, and called vnto him their capitaines, and (as much as in him lay) awaking and reuiuing their drooping spirits; and when he had restored those of better hope, to more successful good hap, at length he attempted to speake vnto all the armie, who in the former ouerthrowes, wold yeeld no respect or allowance to perswasion. These did he both comfort and exhort in such manner, as followeth.

CHAP. VIII.

Herodes Oration to his armie.

Friends and fellow souldiers, there is not one of you but knoweth at this time, there are so many present and impendent misfortunes attending our estates, as are able to vvarre and amaze those men, that are of the greatest resolution. But sith wee must needly fight, and that all those things that haue befallen vs vnto this present, are of that kind, that by your own vertue and magnanimitie they may be recovered; I haue resolved to informe, and confirme you in those meanes, whereby you may retaine & continue your accustomed valour and noble courage. First of all therefore I will approue vnto you (as touching our vvarre) that it consisteth on iust grounds, for that wee are enforced thereunto thorow the outrage of our enemies: the knowledge whereof should chiefly make you recover your courage. Secondly, I will apparently approue vnto you, that our estates are not so desperate, but that we haue great and assured hopes to obtaine the victorie. First of all therefore, I will discourse of that which formerly I proposed, & will make your selues Iudges of those things which I will discourse vpon. For you your selues are priuie to the Arabians vnjustice, and how perfidious they are to their friends, and impious and barbarous towards all men; but in especiall, they haue alwaies troubled vs, prouoking vs thorow their extreame auarice and malignant enuie, with perpetuall iniuries. And yet to let slip all other our benefits to that nation, who is hee that deliuered them from their imminent perill and thraldome, that was hazarded by *Cleopatras* meanes, but our selues? For the friendshippe I had with *Anthony*, and his benouolence towards me; was the cause that their burthen of miserie

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was so lightned; for that *Anthony* forbore to commit any thing that might draw vs to sedition.

Besides, after shee had wrought him by her solicitations to cut off certaine portions of the two kingdoms to be giuen vnto her, the matter was handled by me, that by diuers presents particu-
larly bestowed vpon him by my hands, I haue obtained security for vs both; and by disbursing
two hundred talents of mine owne, and giuing my word for two hundred more for others, for
the reuenues of that very land which in times past was ours, & these now possesse and enioy. Nor
withstanding, reason it was in my opinion, that wee charitie Iewes should not be tributaries, or
giue any portion of our countrey to any man; and if we most heedly doe it, it will become vs
to pay it for these, who enioy their liues by our meanes. I should not be reasonable for the Ara-
bians, who after they had consented with many plausible propositions and thankgiuings, that
they enioy their libertie by our benefit, to haue deprived and thrust vs from our own, & to haue
vnjustly dealt with vs; yea euen with vs, I say, who were not their enemies, but rather on the co-
trarie side their chiefest friends in the time of peace. And if fidelitie should be respected euen a-
mongst those that are our most hated enemies, much more necessarily ought it to be obserued by
those that are friends. But these men set light thereby, who think nothing honest, but that which
is annexed with Lucre; and thinke no wrong vnexcusable, nor unpunishable iniurie that hath but a
shew of profit. Is there any question then, whether wee should chastise these vnjust men by a iust
warre? sith both God commandeth no lesse, and enioyneth vs alwaies to hate outrage, & reuenge
iniustice, especially in that warre, which is not onely iust, but necessarie. For that which both in
the confession of the Græcians, and opinion of the Barbarians is most hateful and hainous, this
haue they perpetrated in murdering our Embassadors. For the Greeks say, that Embassadors
are sacred and inuiolable, and wee our selues haue receiued our most wholesome and holiest pre-
cepts of the law of God by Angels, that is, from his Heralds and messengers: for this name can
both bring God to mans knowledge, and reconcile enemy to enemy.

What impietie therefore is more unpardonable, then to put those Embassadors to death,
who bring tidings of right and iustice? or what prosperity can they expect either in their warres,
or felicitie in their whole liues, after so hainous a crime? Truly I cannot imagine any. But per-
haps some man will say, that right and equitie is on our side; but that the greater number of men
and meanes are with them: but this their speech is vnworthy of my followers. For with those,
with whom iustice is, with those also is God: and where God is, there neither wanteth multitude
nor fortitude. But let vs wade further, & weigh our owne forces by themselves. In the first bat-
tell we had the victorie: in the second, vpon the first charge we put them to flight, & found them
vnable to make their partie good against vs. Afterwards, when the victorie was ours; behold
thenio, not by lawfull war, but by subtil treacherie assaulted vs. But shall this be called their for-
titude, or rather their fraud and second iniurie? why therefore should we haue lesse courage, who
ought to haue the greater confidence? or why should we feare them, who are alwaies inferiours,
if they fight openly, and without fraude; and when they seeme to ouercome, they doe it by vn-
iustice?

Moreover, if any man suppose them to be valiant, this should the rather incite them more
and more vnto vertue; for it is no honour for a generous and noble mind to overcome his inferi-
our, but to haue meanes and might to conquer his superiour. And if any one be terrified by our
domestick and homebred miseries, & by our late earthquake, first of all let him thinke vvith him-
selfe, that he erreth in that which deceiueth the Arabians, by supposing the same to be more grie-
uous and terrible then indeed it was. And afterwards let him think, that it becommeth them not
to draw matter of feare from thence, whence the other tooke occasion of courage. For as tou-
ching themselves, they conceiue not any hope thorow any good that is in themselves, but onely
in the trust they haue that wee are already delected by our calamities. But when they shall see vs
march forth against them, their courage will be weakned, and our confidence by this means shall
be awakened, for that wee are not at this time to encounter with desperate men: For neither are
wee ouermuch afflicted; neither (as some thinke) hath this miserie befallen vs thorow Gods dis-
pleasure, but these are the casualties of fortune. And if by the will of GOD these things are come
to passe, it is marvell if by the same will our calamitie cease not; and that our punishment should
not satisfie his displeasure. But that this present war is approved by him for iust, he himselfe hath
euidently declared. For whereas diuers thorow the whole region, haue beene oppressed by the
earthquake, none of you that beare armes haue incurred any mischiefe; but all of you haue been
preserued, which is a manifest token of the will of God: and if your children and wiues had ge-
nerally followed the warres as you doe, none of you should haue been wanting. When as there-
fore

A fore you shall haue bethought your selues of these things, and moreouer in regard that God hath
at all times an especiall care ouer you; faile not to pursue this iniurious nation with a iust war, that
neither respecteth the lawes of friendship, nor keepeth the league of couenant; valiant in mur-
dering sacred Embassadors; and abieft and villanous, where things are to be attempted by val-
our.

These perswasions of his did not a little encourage the Iewes to the battell, & made them more
forward then before. As for *Herode*, after he had offered sacrifice, according to the custome, he
drew his army forth, and led them with great confidence against the Arabians, and passing Ior-
dane he encamped neere vnto the enemy, with an intent to surpris a fort situate betwene them
both: making this account that it would further him much, either if vpon the present hee should
be drawne forth to fight, or if it concerned him to march onward, for that this place would serue
him to encampe in with more securitie. The same resolution also had the Arabians, for which
cause they fell to skirmish in that place, wherein the first on both sides that gaue the charge, & af-
terwards some other followers were slaine: so that those of the Arabians side beeing ouercome,
betooke them to retreat. This successe of theirs bred no little hope in the Iewes, who seeing the
enemies army addrested to attempt any thing rather then to fight, waxed the more hardie to as-
saile the Arabian in his trenches, and beate him from his campe. They beeing forced by these as-
saits, drew forward to their defence in great disorder, bringing neither courage nor hope of victo-
rie with them: yet notwithstanding they defended themselves, both in regard of their great
number, as also in respect of that necessitie wherunto they were enforced by the Iewes. The skir-
mish on both sides was hot, and diuers on either party were put to the sword: but in the end, the
Arabians beeing put to the worst, turned their backs. The slaughter was so great, that they not
onely perished by their enemies swords, but they themselves also murdered one another in the
preile, and disorderly flight, in which they were troden vnder foote, & lay slaughtered in a man-
ner by their owne weapons. So that in that discomfiture there died some five thousand: the rest
hastily fled on the other side of the rampire: but being ouerpressed with want of victuals, and in
especiall with lack of water, they had not any ground or assurance to escape. After them posted
the Iewes, and beeing vnable to recouer the fortresse with the, they begirt the camp with a siege,
and shut vp all the passages that no succour could come vnto them, and tooke from them all op-
portunity to escape, although they should affect flight.

D When as therefore they saw themselves reduced into such extremitie, they sent Embassadors
vnto *Herode*, first of all to demaund a truce: and afterwards for that they were oppressed vvith
thirst, to craue some remedy for their present necessities. But hee neither respected the Embas-
sadors, neither the proffered raunsome for the captiues, nor any other whatsoever reasonable de-
maund, desiring earnestly to reuenge himselfe of those iniurious treacheries they had practised a-
gainst his Embassadors. Being therefore enforced by thirst (which amongst other plagues most
griuously afflicted them) many of them forooke their trenches, and offered themselves to bonds,
and to be led away captiues; so that within five daies space foure thousand of the yielded them-
selves prisoners. On the sixth day, all the rest determined to sally out, and assaile the enemy; ra-
ther making choice of assured death, then thus lingeringly & ignominiously to pine away. When
as therefore they had all concluded hereupon, they incontinently brake out of their trenches, but
like vnapt souldiers for a skirmish, decayed not onely in body but in mind; reputed their death
for an aduantage, to escape thereby their extreame misfortunes. For which cause vpon the first
onsset, about some seauen thousand of them were slaine, and thus the fiercenesse of this nation be-
ing alaid by this overthrow, they submitted themselves to *Herode*, whom to their owne sorrow
they had approved to be a valiant souldier.

CHAP. IX.

Herode constrained to repaire vnto Augustus Cæsar, putteth Hircanus to death.

Herod passed vp with his successful good fortune, returned back into his own country, *Herod*
hauing obtained great estimation & reputation by his valour and vertue. But at such
time as he supposed his state to be most assured, he grew in danger both to lose his dig-
nity & life, by reason of that victory that *Cæsar* obtained against *Anthony* in the Asian
war. For at that time hee not only supposed himselfe to be utterly overthrow, but both his friends
and enemies that were round about him lost their hopes, for that it was vnkely that hee should
escape

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The Arabians
are ouercome
by *Herode*.

The Arabians
enforced by
thirst, require
truce at *He-
rodes* hands.

Herod & *Ruf-
sinus*. chap. 7.
Herode dis-
maied at *An-
tonies* over-
throw.

Lerates inui-
olable.

With whom
greater iustice
is, there is
God also.

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Herode determined to make away Hircanus.

escape unpunished, who had been so inwardly vnited in friendship with *Anthony*. Whereby it came to passe, that his friends in no sort concealed their despair, and his enemies vnder their colourable and dissembled griefes, couered their ioy, promising themselves thereafter a better and more pleasing administration of the common-weale. Hereupon *Herode* perceiving, that except *Hircanus*, there was not any one of the blood roiall aliue, determined to cut him off, resolving with himselfe, that if he hapned to escape the danger, that a man who at that time was more worthier the kingdome then himselfe, should not entermeddle amongst his affaires: and if any misfortune should befall him in regard of *Cæsar*, he desired to dispossesse *Hircanus* of the kingdome, in regard of the enuy which he bare him, for that hee was the onely man who deserved to be advanced to that dignitie. Whilst thus hee was tormented and trauelled in his thoughts, hee had an occasion offered him by *Hircanus* owne followers to execute his intencion. For *Hircanus* being of a mild and gentle nature, during all his life time forbore to entermeddle with state affaires, committing all things to fortune, and contenting himselfe with whatdoeuer condition it pleased her to allot him.

But *Alexandra* being an ambitious woman, and vnable to conceale with modestie the hope shee conceived of change, solicited her father that hee should not any longer endure the subjection of *Herode*, who was the very scourge of their familie, but rather that he should stand vpon his owne guard, and reserve himselfe to his better hoped fortunes. She furthermore gaue him counsaile to write vnto *Malchus*, who had the gouernment of Arabia, requesting him to grant him both protection and entertainment; for that if *Herode* should chance to be cut off by *Cæsars* displeasure, doubtlesse the kingdome would returne vnto him, both in regard of his nobilitie, as also of the peoples fauour. These persuasions of hers *Hircanus* at the first repulled, but afterwards being overcome by the importunitie of the woman, who ceased not day and night to sing the same song of future hope, and of *Herods* treasons, he gaue certaine letters to a friend of his, written to the Arabian, wherein hee required him to send him certaine horsemen, who might conduct him to the Alphacine lake, which lieth distant from the coelines of Ierusalem some three hundred furlongs. And therefore especially committed he these letters to *Dositheus* trust, both for that hee fauoured *Hircanus* and his daughter, and seemed likely for diuers causes to hate *Herod*: for he was *Iosephs* kin man, who was slaine by *Herod*; & not long before, certaine of his brothers were slaine amongst others at Tirc by *Anthones* command: yet for none of these occasions continued hee faithful to *Hircanus*. For he letting more by the present fauour of the king that then raigned, then the rest, discovered the letter vnto the king: who first of all giuing him thanks, required one office of friendship more at his hands; which was, that folding vp the letter, and sealing it, hee should conueigh and deliver the same to *Malchus*, and returne his answer, for that it meerey concerned him, if he knew his resolution. Which when *Dositheus* had diligently performed, the Arabian returned this answer, that he was ready to entertaine both himselfe and his whole family; and all those Iewes likewise which were of his faction, promising to send him a band of souldiers, who should be able to conduct him safely thither, & should be obedient to his command in all things. Now as soone as *Herod* was teized of these letters, he called for *Hircanus*, and demanded of him whether he had any confederacie with *Malchus*: who denied the same. But *Herod* protesting & bringing forth his letter in an open assembly, commaunded him afterwards to bee put to death. These are these matters registred in *Herods* commentaries: for by some are they deliuered otherwise, namely, that hee was executed, not for this crime which hee had committed, but for some treasons against the king. For they write to this effect, that *Herod* at a certaine banquet (dissembling his suspicion) demaunded of *Hircanus*, whether he had receiued any letters from *Malchus*; and that he answered, that he had receiued letters, but such as contained nothing else but officious salutations. Further, that another asked him, whether hee had receiued any present therewithall: and when he had answered, that hee had receiued nothing but foure courtiers for his saddle, the King wrested this to a capitall offence of corruption and treason: and commanded him presently to be led to death. Now that he died guiltlesse, they allege this for a most approved argument, namely, his gentle disposition, who euén in his youthfull yeeres neuer gaue signe or appearance of rathnesse, or pride, or signification of audaciousnesse, nor not even then when hee had the whole government in his hands, but in that freedom of authoritie, disposed the most things by his fathers aduise. But at that time he was more then fourescore yeeres old, and knew that *Herode* was secured: and passing Euphrates also, and liuing on the other side of the river, hee felt such as held him in great honour, and returned home into his owne country, to the end hee might liue vnder *Herods* government. Whereby it is lesse likely, that he would attempt any alteration

Alexandra solicited her father to require assistance from *Malchus* hands.

Three hundred furlongs containe nine Germane miles.

Hircanus by *Herods* command is put to death.

Hircanus dieth guiltlesse. *Hircanus* liue.

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As so farre different from his nature; so that all these things seeme to be fained by *Herod*. Thus ended *Hircanus* his life, after his variable and aduerse fortune, where-with during all his life time he was afflicted. For at such time as his mother *Alexandra* liued, hee was created high priest of the Iewes, and obtained that honour for the space of nine yeeres: and after his mothers death, hee had scarcely gouerned the kingdome for the space of three moneths, but that hee was expelled by his brother *Aristobulus*; and afterwards restored by *Pompeys* assistance, and receiuing all his former honours, hee liued in full possession of them for the space of fortie yeeres. After this, he was once more dislaid by *Antigonus*; and being maimed in his body, liued certaine yeeres in captiuitie among the Parthians: from whence not long after hee returned home; and though he had many things promised him by *Herode*, yet after so many alterations of fortune, he obtained nothing at his hands, and that which amongst all the rest is most of all to be lamented, as we haue said, he was vnjustly put to death an innocent, and in his old age. For he was a louer of justice, and an obseruer of perpetuall modestie: and gouerned his kingdome for the most part by other mens direction, being onely guilty in himselfe of ignorance & the loue of idlenesse. Truly, *Antipater* and *Herod* by this mans goodnesse obtained their so great riches: for which defects of his, against all law, and right, he was cruelly put to death.

But *Herod* after *Hircanus* death addressed himselfe to performe his journey towards *Cæsar*: and hauing little hope of any good fortune, in regard of his friendship with *Antonius*, hee grew desperately ialous of *Alexandra*, for feare least the taking opportunitee of the time, should incite the people to rebell, and fill the kingdome with domesticall fedition: for which cause, committing the gouernment of the estate to his brother *Pheroras*, he left his mother *Cypros*, his sister, & all his kinned in the Castle of Malida, and commaunded his brother, that if any misfortune should befall him, he should retaine the kingdome in his owne hands and maintaine it. As for his wife *Mariamme*, for that by reason of certaine dislikes betwixt her, his mother, and sister, they might not liue together, he left her with her mother *Alexandra* in the Castle of Alexandrian, and committed them to the custodie of his Treasurer *Ioseph*, and *Sohemus* the Iturian, and with her the keeping of his Castles, both which had alwaies beene his faithfull friends, and to whom in way of honour, he committed the custody of these princely Ladies. But he gaue the also this commaundement, that if they should be certified that any sinister mishappe had befallen him, they should presently kill them both, and to the utmost of their power, continue the kingdome in his children, and his brother *Pheroras*.

Herods disposition of his affaires before he repaired to *Cæsar*.

CHAP. X.

How Herode obtained the kingdome of Iudæa at Cæsars hands.

After hee had in this sort giuen order for all his affaires, hee withdrew himselfe vnto Rhodes, intending there to meet with *Cæsar*. And as soone as hee arrived in that city, hee tooke the Diademe from his head and laid it apart, but as for his other princelie ornaments, hee changed them in no sort; and being admitted to *Cæsars* presence, hee at that time gaue a more ample testimony of the greatnesse of his magnanimitie and courage: for neither addressed he his speech to intreat his fauour (according to the custome of suppliants) neither presented he any request, as if he had in any sort offended him, but gaue account of all that which he had done, without concealing or mistrusting any thing. For he freely confessed before *Cæsar*, that he had intirely loued *Antonius*, and that to the utmost of his power hee had done him seruice, to the end that he might obtaine the soueraigntie & monarchie; not by annexing his forces vnto his, in that he was otherwise imploied in the Arabian warre; but in furnishing him both with whear and money, and that this was the least office which it behoued him to performe towards *Antonius*; for that being once his professed friend, it behoued him not onely to imploie his best endeavors on his so princely benefactor, but also to hazard both his head and happinesse to deliuer him from perils. All which (said he) I haue not performed according as I ought to haue done; yet notwithstanding I know, that at such time as hee was overcome in the Actian battell, I did not alter my affection with his fortune, neither did I restraine my selfe: for although I befriended not *Antonius* with my presence & assistance in his Actian war, yet at leastwise I assisted him with my counsaile, certifying him that he had but one onely meanes left him for his security; & preuention of his vtter ruine, which was to put *Cherpatra* to death, for that by cutting her off, he might

Herode cometh to *Cæsar* and declareth vnto him what pleasures hee had done *Antonius*, promising him no lesse dutie and loue, if so he might be receiued into his fauour.

might enjoy her estate, and might more easily obtaine his peace, & pacifiethy displeasure against him. And for that he gaue but slender regard to these mine admonitions by his owne forthlines and indiscretion, he hath hurt himselfe and profited you, because, as I said, he did not follow my counsaile. Now therefore (*O Caesar*) in regard of the hate which you beare vnto *Anthony*, you condemne my friendship also. I will not deny that which I haue done; neither am I affraid freely and publickly to proesse how much I haue loued him; but if without regard of persons, you consider how kindly I am affected towards my benefactors, & how resolute and constant a friend I am, and how mindfull of kindnesse, the effect of that which I haue done, may make me knowne vnto thee. For if the name be onely changed, the friendship notwithstanding may remaine, and deserue a due praise.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 8.
Caesar confir-
meth Herods
authoritie.

Herode con-
dueth Caesar
toward Egypt,
& presenteth
him with ma-
ny sumptuous
gifts.
Herode enter-
taineth both
Caesar and his
armie very
heroically.

Herod giueth
Caesar eight
hundred tal-
ents.

By these words (which were manifest testimonies of his resolute and noble courage) he so in-wardly indeered himselfe vnto *Caesar*, who was a magnificent and worthy Monarch, that he conuerted this his accusation into an occasion to win & worke him to be his friend: for which cause *Caesar* in setting the diademe vpon his head, exhorted him that he should no lesse respect his friendship, then he had in former time *Anthonies*: and withall, did him much honour; certifying him moreover, that *Capidius* had written vnto him, how much *Herode* had assisted him in his warres that he had with the Monarches of Syria. *Herode* seeing that he was thus entertained, & that contrarie to his expectation, the kingdome was more surely confirmed vnto him, then before time, both by *Caesars* bountie, and also by the decree of the Senate, which hee had practiced to obtaine for his greater assurance, accompanied *Caesar* as far as Egypt, presenting both himselfe and his friends with many rich gifts, beyond the proportion of his estate: endeavouring by these meanes both to win their fauours, and to shew also the greatnesse of his courage; requiring moreover at *Caesars* hands, that *Alexander*, who was one of *Anthonies* dearest friends, might not be sought out to be punished; yet notwithstanding he could not obtaine the same, by reason of an oath that *Caesar* had past before he solicited him. That done, hee returned backe againe into Iewry, with more greater honour and assurance, then before; whereby hee strooke them with wonderfull amazement, who expected his contrarie successe, as if by Gods especiall prouidence he alwaies ouerwent his dangers, to his greater honour. Incontinently therefore, he prepared himselfe to entertaine *Caesar*, who returned out of Syria to take his iourney into Egypt, & receiued him at Ptolemais, with all roiall honour, & gaue his army presents with all abundance of munition: so that he was accounted for one of *Caesars* most affectionate friends, and rode about with him, at such time as he tooke the view of his army: he entertained him also and his friends with one hundred and fiftie men, adorned with most rich and sumptuous apparell. And for that they were to passe thorow a country, wherein there was great scarcitie of water, he furnished them both with water and wine; so that they needed neither of them. He gaue *Caesar* also eight hundred talents, and so roially satisfied he all men, that they confessed themselves to haue had far greater entertainment, then the reuenues and profits of his kingdome could afford them. By which meanes hee gaue the more ample testimonie of his forward friendship, and free affection to deserue well: and making vse of the opportunitie of the time, he obtained the reputation of a prince of an heroick and noble spirit; so that he was held inferiour vnto no man, for the good entertainment that he gaue to the chiefe Romans in their returne out of Egypt.

CHAP. XI.

Herode being incensed by false accusations, putteth his wife Mariamme to death.

Mariamme
and Alexandra
displeased
with Herode.

BVt as soone as he returned into his kingdome, hee found all his household troubled, and both his wife *Mariamme* and her mother *Alexandra* grievously displeased with him. For they supposed (and not without cause) that they were not shutt vp in that Castle for their securities sake, but as it were in a prison; so that, in asmuch as they neither might make vse of other mens, nor enjoy their own goods, they were highly discontented. *Mariamme* also supposed that her husband did but dissemble his loue, rather for his own profit and comoditie, then for any intire affection hee bare towards her. But nothing more grieued her; then that she had not any hope to liue after him, if so bee he should happen to die, especially for this order hee had left concerning her: neither could shee ever forget what commandement before that time he had left with *Ioseph*; so that by all meanes possible, she laboured to winne the affections of those that had the

A the charge of her, and especially *Sohemus*, knowing very well that her safetie depended wholly on his hands. Who in the beginning behaued himselfe very wisely and faithfully, containing himselfe very circumspectly within the bounds of his commission; but after these Ladies had with pretty presents and feminine flatteries mollified & wrought him by little and little, at last he blabbed out all that which the king had commaunded him; especially, for that he hoped not that he should returne with the same power and authoritie, which before he had; and for that cause he thought thus in himselfe, that without incurring any danger in regard of *Herode*, he might greatly gratifie the Ladies; who in all likelihood should not be deprived of that dignity, wherein they were at that time; but would returne him the like kindnes whē *Mariamme* should be Queene, or next vnto the king. Furthermore, hee hoped that if *Herode* also should returne with all things answerable to his desires, that hee would performe nothing without his wiues consent; or vpbraid him with the act, if she contradicted: for he knew too well that the king loued her in such sort, as it was impoossible to equall or expresse his affections; and for these causes hee disclosed the trust that was committed vnto him. But *Mariamme* was very fore displeased to heare that there was no end of her miseries, but they were altogether vnited and tied to the dangers of *Herode*; and she oftentimes wished that hee might neuer more returne againe in safetie, supposing that her life with him should be very intolerable: all which shee afterwards dissembled not, but openly confessed that which afflicted her with discontent. For when as *Herode* beyond all expectation arriued in his country, beeing adorned with mightie fortune, he first of all, as it became him certified his wife of his good tidings and happy successe, whom onely amongst all other his friends and wiues, he embraced and saluted, for the pleasing conuerlation and affection that was in her. But she, whilst he repeated vnto her these fortunate euents of his affaires, rather entertained the same with a displeasing attention, then applauding ioy: & these affections of hers like wife she could not conceale. For at such time as he folded his armes about hir necke, she vnfolded her sorrow in her sighes; so simple and vnfaigned were her affections; and seemed rather to be displeased then appeased by his narrations. Whereupon *Herode* was fore troubled, perceiuing these things not onely suspected, but also fully manifest; but aboue all things he was distracted, when he considered the incredible and apparant hatred that his wife had conceiued against him, which in such sort incensed him that he could not resist the loue that had attained him; so that he neither could continue in wrath, nor listen long to peace; and being vnresolued in himselfe, he now was attempted by this; straight distracted by a contrarie affection: so much was his mind traualled betweene loue and hatred, that when as oftentimes hee desired to punish the womans pride, his heart by lous mediation failed him in the enterprife. For nothing did more torment him then this feare, least executing his displeasure against her, hee should by this meanes more grievously wound himselfe, thorow the desire he bare vnto his decaied delight. Whilst thus he was sweltered and deuoured in his passions, and conceiued sinister opinions against *Mariamme* his wife; *Salome* his sister and his mother hauing an inkling of his discontents, thought that they had gotten a fit opportunitie to expresse and execute their hatred towards *Mariamme*: for which cause they conferred with *Herode*, and whetted his spleene and displeasure with variety of slanders, sufficient at one assault to engender hatred, and kinde his iealousie against her. To these reproches of theirs, he lent no vnwilling eares; yet had he not the heart to attempt any thing against his wife, or to giue free credit to their report: notwithstanding his displeasure increased, & was inflamed more and more against her, for that neither shee could colour her cares and discontents, nor he containe himselfe from exchanging his loue into hatred: and perhaps at that time he had published some farall doome against her, had not a happy messenger brought him word, that *Anthony* and *Cleopatra* being dead, *Caesar* was become Lord of Egypt: for which cause hastning forward to meete and entertaine him, he left his family in that present estate. Vpon his departure he recommended *Mariamme* to *Sohemus*, giuing him great thanks for the care he had had of her, and granted him in way of gratuite a part of Iewry to gouerne.

Herode but
coldly enter-
tained by his
wife Mari-
amme.

Herodes for-
rowes to see
his wiues
affections
distracted
and chaunged.

Herods sister
& his mother
incense the
king by slan-
derous reports
against Mari-
amme.

Anthony and
Cleopatra slain
Caesar Lord
of Egypt.
Sohemus ho-
noured by
Herode with
dignities.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 9.
Caesar enlar-
geth Herodes
dominions.

FWhen *Herode* was arriued in Egypt, and had friendly and familiarly conferred with *Caesar*, he was highly honoured by him: for *Caesar* gaue him those foure hundred Frenchmen that were of *Cleopatras* guard; and restored that part of his country vnto him againe, which was taken away and spoiled by her. He annexed also vnto his kingdome Gadara, Hippon, and Samaria, and on the sea coasts the Cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Ioppe, with the tower of Straton: which when hee had obtained, he grew more mighty then before: and after he had accompanied *Caesar* as farre as Antioch, he returned into his owne country. Vpon his arriual, he found that fortune which was fauourable vnto him abroad; too froward at home, especially in regard of his wife, in whose affection

affection before time he seemed to be most happy. For he was as inwardly touched with the law-
full loue of *Mariamme*, as any other of whom the Histories make report: and as touching her, she
was both chaste and faithfull vnto him; yet had shee a certaine womanly imperfection and nar-
rall frowardnesse, which was the cause that shee presumed too much vpon the intire affection
wherewith her husband was intangled; so that without regard of his person, who had power &
authoritie ouer others, shee entertained him oftentimes very outrageously: All which he endured
patiently, without any shew of discontent. But *Mariamme* vpbraid and publickly reproached
both the kings mother and sister, telling them that they were but abjectly and ba'ely borne.

Wherevpon there grew a great enmity & vnrecoverable hatred betwene the Ladies; and
from thence also there arose an occasion of greater accusations and calumnyation then before.
These suspicions were nourished amongst them, for the space of one whole yeere after *Herodes* H
returne from *Cesar*; and finally this long contriued and fore-imagined hatred at last brake out
violently vpon this occasion that ensueth. When as about midday the king had withdrawne
himselfe into his chamber to take his rest, hee called *Mariamme* vnto him to sport with her, being
incited thereunto by the great affection that hee bare vnto her. Vpon this his command shee
came in vnto him; yet would he not lie with him, nor entertaine his courtings with friendly ac-
ceptance, but vpbraid him bitterly with her fathers and brothers death. The king tooke these
reproachfull words in very euill part, and was almost ready to strike her; but his sister hearing a
greater stir and noise within then was vsuall, sent in the butler, who long before that time was us-
borne by her, whom the king commanded to tell the king, that *Mariamme* had prepared a drinke for
him to incite and quicken him vnto loue; willing him that if the king should be mooued thereat, I
and should demaund what he meant, he should certifie him, that *Mariamme* hauing prepared a
poison for his grace, had dealt with him to deliuer it to his maiestie. Charging him moreover,
that if the king in hearing him speake of this poison, should seeme to be mooued therewith, that
then he should proceed no further in his discourse. He therefore (being in this maner before hand
instructed what hee ought to doe) at that very instant was sent to discouer his treacherie vnto
the king; for which cause with a sober and staied countenance hee entred in vnto him, being seri-
ously and well prepared to discourse, and told him that *Mariamme* had bribed him to present his
Maiestie with an amorous cup of drinke. Now when he perceiued that the king was troubled
with these words, hee procured his discourse, alleaging that the poison was a certaine medi-
cine which *Mariamme* had giuen him, the vertue whereof he knew not, which hee had receiued K
according as he had told him, knowing that it concerned both his owne securitie, and the kings
safety.

Herode who before this was highly displeased, hearing these words, was so much the more in-
censed: for which cause he presently commanded *Mariammes* most faithfull seruant to be exami-
ned: by torments, as concerning the poison, supposing that it was impossible for her to vndertake
any thing whatsoeuer, without his priuie. He being tired and tormented after this cruel maner,
confessed nothing of that for which he was tortured; but declared vnto the king that the hatred
which his wife had conceiued against him, proceeded from certaine words that *Sohemus* had told
hee. Scarcely had he finished these words, but that the king cried out with a loud voice, saying,
that *Sohemus*, who before time had bene most faithfull both to him and his kingdome, would L
not haue declared these his priuy commands, except there had been some more inward familiari-
ty and secrecy betwixt him & *Mariamme*; for which cause he presently commanded his ministers
to lay hands on *Sohemus*, and to put him to death. As for his wife, he drew her to her triall, and
to this effect he assembled his most familiar friends, before whom hee began to accuse her with
great spight and spleene, as touching the potions and poisons aforesaid, wherein he vsed intem-
perate and vnseemely speeches, and such as for their bitterness did ill become him in cause of ius-
tice; so that in the end, the assistants, seeing the butte and bent of his desire; pronounced sen-
tence of death against her: which being past, both he, and all other the assistants were of this o-
pinion, that she should not so speedily be executed, but that she should bee kept close prisoner in M
some sure place of the palace. But by *Salomes* sollicitations *Herod* was incited to hasten her death,
for that she alleaged that the king ought to feare, least some sedition should bee raised amongst
the people, if he should keepe her alieue in prison. And by this meanes *Mariamme* was led vnto
her death.

Alexandra her mother considering the estate of the time, and fearing no lesse mischief from
Herodes hands, then her daughter was assured of; she vndecently changed her minde, and abie-
ctedly laid aside her former courage, and magnanimitie. For intending to make it knowne, that
shee

A shee was neither partie nor priuie to those crimes, wherewith *Mariamme* was charged, she went
out to meete her daughter, and entertained her iniuriously, protesting publickly that shee was a
wicked woman, and vngratefull towards her husband; & that she well deserved the punishment
that was adiudged her, for that she durst be so bold to attempt so hainous a fact, neglecting to re-
quite her husbands entire loue, with her vnfaigned loyaltie. VVhilest thus dishonestly she counter-
fai'ted her displeasure, and was ready to pull *Mariamme* by the haire, the assistants according to re-
her desert, condemned her generally for her shamefull hypocrisie: but she that was led to be pu-
nished, conuicted her by her milde behauiour. For first of all, shee gaue her no answer; neither
was any waies altered by her reproches; neither would so much as cast her eie vpon her; making
it appeare, that she discreetly concealed & couered her mothers imperfections, & was aggrieved
B that she had so openly shewed so great indignitie: expressing for her owne part a constant beha-
uiour; and going to her death without change of colour, so that those that beheld her, perceiued
in her a kind of manifest courage & nobility, euen in her vtmost extremity. Thus died *Mariam-
me*, hauing bene a woman that excelled both in continence and courage: nor withstanding that
she defaulted somewhat in affabilitie and impatience of nature: for the rest of her parts, she was
of an admirable and pleasing beauty, and of such a carriage in those companies wherein shee was
intertained, that it was impossible to expresse the same, in that she surpassed all those of her time
which was the principall cause that she liued not gratioously and contentedly with the king. For
being entertained by him, who intirely loued her, and from whom shee receiued nothing that
might discontent her, she presumed vpon a great and intemperate libertie in her discourse. Shee
C digested also the losse of her friends verie hardly, according as in open tearms she made it known
vnto the king: whereby also it came to passe, that both *Herodes* mother, and sister, and himselfe
likewise grew at odds with her, and in especiall her husband, from whom onely she expected no
hard measure.

After her death the king began more powerfully to be inflamed in his affections; who before
times, as wee haue declared, was already miserably distracted. For neither did hee loue after the
common manner of married folke: but whereas almost euen vnto madnes he nourished this his
desire, he could not be induced by the too vnbridled manners of his wife to alay the heat of his
affection, but that daily more and more by doting on her, hee increased the same. And all that
time especially hee supposed that God was displeased with him, for the death of *Mariamme* his
D wife. Oftentimes did hee inuocate her name, and more often vndecently lamented hee her.
And norwithstanding he deuiled all kind of delights and sports that might be imagined, by pre-
paring banquets, and inuiting guests with princely hospitality, to passe away the time; yet all
those profited him nothing. For which cause he gaue ouer the charge and administration of his
kingdome. And in such sort was he ouerwhelmed with griefe, that oftentimes he commanded
his ministers to call his wife *Mariamme*, as if as yet she had bene alieue. Whilest thus he was af-
fected, there befell a pestilence within the citie, that consumed a great sort of the people, and the
better part of the nobilitie, and each man interpreted that this punishment was inflicted by God
vpon men, for the vniust death of the Queene. Thus the kings discontents being by this meanes
increased, he at last hid himselfe in a solitary wildernes, vnder pretext of hunting, where afflicting
E himselfe incessantly, at last he fell into a most grieuous sicknes. This disease of his was an inflam-
mation or paine in the necke: he seemed also in some sort to raue and wax mad; neither could a-
ny remedies relieue him of his agony; but when as the sickness seemed rather to increase, al men
at last grew almost desperate of his recovery. For which cause his physition, partly in respect
of the contumacie of his disease, partly, because in so great danger there was not any free election of
diet, they gaue him leaue to taste whatsoeuer best pleased his appetite, committing the vncertaine
event of his health to the hands of fortune.

Whilest thus hee sojourned in Samaria, which now is called Sebaste, *Alexandra* inha-
biting at that time in Ierusalem, hauing notice of this his estate, sought to reduce all the strong
fortresses that were within the Citie, vnder her subiection: the one of which abutted vpon
F the Temple; the other was situate within the Citie: for they that are Lords of these, keepe all
the rest of the nation vnder their awe; because that without these, neither the vsuall and dayly sa-
crifices may be performed, neither may the Jews liue without such sacrifices and oblations, who
had rather lose their liues then contemne their religion. She therefore laboured those that had
the gouernment thereof, to surrender them vp to her & *Herodes* children begotten of her daugh-
ter *Mariamme*, for feare least he being dead, they should be seized by others: & if it should for-
tune him to recouer his health, in the meane while they might be kept and held by no man more
securely;

Herods mis-
erable estate, &
moane after
the death of
his wife.

A plague in-
uadeth Ieru-
salem.

Herode fal-
leth grie-
uously sicke.

Alexandra in
Herodes ab-
sence seeketh
to get the
possession of
the castles.

The year of the
world, 3936, be-
fore Christs Na-
tivity, 28.

Sohemus sus-
pected by He-
rode, in Mari-
ammes be-
haviour is put
to death.
Mariamme is
accused by
Herode, and
condemned,
and impriso-
ned.
Mariamme by
Salomes insti-
gations is led
to execution.

The year of the world, 3936, before Christs Nativity, 28.
Herods counsellors certify him of Alexandras intent to death.
Cofabarus, whom Herodes had matched with his sister Salome, was in Idumæa.

securely, then such as were his domestical friends. This suite and solicitation of hers was but coldly conceived of: and the captains who at other times shewed themselves alwaies faithful, at that time were the rather farre more constant in their dutie, both for that they hated *Alexandras*, as also for that they thought it a great offence to deipaie of the health of their Prince. For these were the kings olde friends, and one of them was *Herod*; owne nephew, whose name was *Asin*. For which cause they sent present messengers vnto him, to certifie him of *Alexandras* intent: who hauing heard these newes, presently commanded her to be slaine: & at length ouercoming his sickness, hee grew so badly affected both in body and mind, that hee waxed hautesill vnto all men; so that all those who offended him for how little cause so euer, were readily sought for to be punished. In this his intemperance he imbrued his hands in the blood of diuers of his inward friends, as *Cofabarus*, *Lyfimachus*, *Antipater* surnamed *Gadias*, and *Desitheus*, for this occasion that ensued. *Cofabarus* was an Idumæan, and one of the greatest account amongst his countrymen, who was descended from the Priests of *Cozas*, whom the Idumæans esteeme for a God. Now after that *Hircanus* had drawn the policie of the Idumæans to the reformed customes of the Iewes, *Herode* was made king of the Iewes, and appointed *Cofabarus* to be gouernour in Idumæa and Gaza, giuing him *Salome* his sister to wife, after he had put *Ioseph* to death, to whom she had bin married before time, as we haue heretofore declared. *Cofabarus* seeing himselfe in this estate beyond his expectation, grew more elate and proud then his good fortune required, and in a little time forgot himselfe so farre, that he thought himselfe dishonoured, if he should performe that which *Herod* commanded him, and scorned that the Idumæans should bee vnder the Iewes subiection, notwithstanding they had receiued their manner of gouernment from them. He therefore sent messengers vnto *Cleopatra*, giuing her to vnderstand, that Idumæa had alwaies bene vnder her ancestors subiection; and for that cause she ought vpon iust cause to demaund and beg that countrie at *Antonius* hands, and that in respect of himselfe he was readie to become her seruant. All which he practised, not to gratifie *Cleopatra* in any sort whatsoever, but to the intent, that if *Herodes* fortunes should be any waies weakened, he might more easily by this meanes both enlarge and obtaine the kingdome of Idumæa. And with these foolish hopes was he transported, in regard of his birth and riches, which he had heaped together, by such dishonest meanes, as hee continually practised, as he that intended no small matters. But notwithstanding *Cleopatra* often and earnest petition to obtaine this soueraigntie; yet could shee not obtaine it at *Antonius* hands. When *Herode* had notice of these couert and cunning practises, he was ready to kill *Cofabarus*. But vpon the earnest supplications of his sister and his mother, he dismissed and pardoned him; yet held him alwaies in suspicion, by reason of this his practise. Not long after it happened, that *Salome* fell at debate with *Cofabarus*, for which cause shee sent a libell of diuorces to her husband, notwithstanding it were against the lawes & ordinarie customes of the Iewes. For according to our ordinances, it is onely lawfull for the husband to doe the same; & as touching the wife, notwithstanding she were separated, yet is it not lawfull for her to marry againe, except her husband first giue her licence. But *Salome* without respect of the lawes of the countrey, grounding her selfe too much vpon her owne authoritie, forooke her husband, saying, that she separated her selfe from her husband, by reason of the great friendship which she bare vnto her brother, for that she had receiued some notice that *Cofabarus* practised some inuouation with *Antipater*, *Lyfimachus* and *Desitheus*. And this accusation of hers confirmed she by *Babas* children, whom he had already kept with him in all securitie for the space of twelue yeeres. All which was true, and at that time beyond all mens expectation wonderfully troubled *Herod*, as soone as he heard it. For as touching *Babas* sonnes, he had heretofore resolved to cut them off, for that they had been alwaies badly affected towards him and all his enterprises; but all that time he had let them passe, because by continuance they were grown out of his remembrance. Now the cause of this enmitie and hatred which he bare towards them, was gathered from this ground. At such time as *Antigonus* enioyed the soueraigntie, and *Herode* besieged the citie of Ierusalem with an armie: now those incommodities & necessities that ordinarily happen vnto those that are besieged, were the cause that diuers acknowledged *Herode*, and fixed their hopes vpon him. But *Babas* sonnes being in authoritie, and besides that, attended by a great number of men, persecuted in their faithfull obseruation of *Antigonus*, and blamed *Herod* continually, encouraging the inhabitants to continue the kingdome in those to whom it appertained by descent: and they themselves followed that course, which in their opinion was most profitable for the common weale. But after that the citie was surprised by *Herode*, and he grew master of the estate, *Cofabarus*, who was appointed to keepe the citie gates, and to lie in wait that none of those who were accused to haue forsaken

Cofabarus persecuted by his wiues intercession.

Cofabarus, *Lyfimachus*, *Antipater* and *Desitheus* accused before *Herode*.
Babas sonnes persecuted by *Cofabarus*.

The year of the world, 3936, before Christs Nativity, 28.

A forsaken the kings side, should escape, knowing that the sonnes of *Babas* were greatly esteemed and honoured among the people, and foreseeing that their safety might be no small furtherance to himselfe, if at any time there might be fortune any alteration; he discharged, and hid them within his owne possessions: and notwithstanding that at that time he had protested to *Herod* by an oath, that he knew not what was become of them; yet, though suspected of periury, he concealed them. And afterwards when the king had by proclamation promised a reward to him that should discover them, and sought for them by all means, neither then also would he confesse the fact. For being affraid lest he should be punished for his first deniall, hee continued thorow concealment, being not onely now driuen thereunto by friendship, but also by necessity.

Now when the king had notice hereof by his sisters report, hee sent certaine messengers to the place where they were hidden, and slew them, and all those that were partakers of the same crime: so that no one of *Hircanus* kindred was now left aliue; but all of them being slaine, who excelled in nobilitie and dignitie, he did what himselfe listed without any contradiction or controuersie: for which cause he by little and little forooke the ceremonies and ordinances of his countrey, and corrupted the decrees and institutions of their ancestors, which he ought to haue kept inuiolable, by his new and strange inuentions. In whose time there was a very great change and alteration of the ancient and good manner of liuing; for all fell from bad to worse: and the politike order, whereby the people ought to be gouerned and kept within compasse of their dutie, went to decay. For first of all, he ordained certaine wrestlings from five yeeres to five yeeres, in honour of *Cesar*; and builded a Theater for that purpose within Ierusalem. He erected also a most huge Amphitheater within the Plaine, which were two piles worthy the regard and beholding, by reason of the sumptuousnes thereof; but wholly estranged fro the fusions of the Iews.

Babas sonnes, and others are accused before *Herode* and slaine.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10.
Herode introduced diuers forraigne customes.

The year of the world, 3939, before Christs Nativity, 25.
The theater, & the wrestling places.

For neither the vse, nor the presentation of these spectacles hath ever been practised or taught by our ancestors: yet was it his pleasure to ennoble this assembly, to the end it might be continued from five to five yeeres, and this proclaimed he publicly in the countries round about him, and to this spectacle assembled he all the Nations. The wrestlers also, and all that which concerned their exercise, were sought out from all corners of the world, vnder the hope to obtaine the proposed palme and victorie; and all the most excellent in those exercises that were to bee found, were inuited to that assembly. For he proposed most huge rewards, not onely to those that exercised wrestling, but also vnto those who are called Musicians, and to all sorts of plaiers on instruments; labouring to his utmost power, that all the most famous in those professions should bee assisant in those pastimes. Hee appointed also a reward of great valew for such as ranne vpon chariots of three, foure or of one horse; and all that which was both sumptuous and magnificent to behold, for euery one was most carefully provided in that he strove to haue the honour of a most magnificent preparation for his games. The Theater was hung all about with *Cesars* titles, and the trophees of those nations, which were ouercome by him, altogether set out & shining with gold and silver. As for the instruments thereof, there wanted neither furniture, costly vestments, or precious stones. Thither also were drawne certaine savage beastes, as Lyons and other wilde beasts, which were worthy to be placed in this famous shew, being admirable both for their force and rareness of nature, who fought the one with the other, and against such men likewise who were condemned to die: whereby the strangers conceiued, together with the admiration of his expence, an vncomparable and vnaccustomed pleasure. But his countrymen interpreted this thing for a manifest corruption of those disciplines and manners which before time they had entertained, and honoured amongst them. For it was an act most manifestly impious, to hazard men against wilde beasts, to delight the eyes of other men: It was also a matter as impious, to change & prophane the ordinances of the country, for forraigne exercises: But the most hated of all these, were the Trophees: for in that they were certaine Images attired in armour, the vse and veneration whereof were forbidden by our lawes, this displeased and grieved them more then any thing whatsoever: neither was *Herod* ignorant of those troubles, which they procured. But he thought it to be a matter of danger to attempt the same for the present by force; and for that cause he familiarly debated the same with some few of them, and discoursed vnto them his occasions, to the end to ridde them of their superstition, although herein he profited nothing. For all of them with one consent, cried out against the indignitie which they saw him commit: telling him, that although all other things were to bee tolerated: yet the Trophees, which were images of men, were vnacceptable, because they were vnusall in their countrey. *Herode* perceiuing that they were discontented, and that they would not easily be wrought vpon, except they had some contentment, he called the most worthiest men amongst them;

Herode obtained no small honour by these expences.

The Iewes suppose that the Trophees couered with armes were Images.

The year of the
world, 3939. be-
fore Christs birth
25.

Ten men con-
spire against
Herode.

Herode hath
intelligence
of the conspira-
cie.

The ten men
are executed,
and the intel-
ligencer is cut
in peeces.

Herod fortifi-
eth two castles
within Ieru-
salem.
Antonia,
Samaria or
Sebastie.

Stratons towr
or Cæli-
rea.
Gabala.

Herode plan-
teth garrisons
in the fortres-
ses to with-
stand conspira-
cies.

them, & led them into the Theater, demāding of them what they thought these Trophees were: G
and when as they cried out that they were images of men: he incontinently caused all the orna-
ments to be taken off from them, letting them see that they were nought els but naked stocks of
wood; so that sodainly their displeasure was turned into a laughter, and their doubts were plea-
santly discussed. Thus appeased he the people, and moderated the fury of their dislikes: so that
diuers of them changed their opinions, & were no more displeased. Norwithstanding, there were
some of these that persisted in the indignity they conceived in those vnaccustomed exercises,
supposing that the corruption of their ancient discipline was an inducement to their grievous ca-
lamities; and they imagined that it rather concerned them to vndertake all dangers, then to en-
dure any alteration in their policie, by permitting that *Herode* should introduce new and extra-
ordinarie fashions, who onely in word was their king, but in effect an enemy of their whole na- H
tion. For this cause there were ten men amongst them, who bound themselves by oath to hazard
all extremities, and to this intent they hid certaine short swords vnder their garments: amongst
these there was one that was blind, who vrged & egged on by the stranges of those things which
he had heard, not for that he was of abilitie to execute any thing with his hand, but to testify that
he was ready to suffer with the rest, if any misfortune should befall them, by his example the
rest of the were not a little confirmed. These hauing mutually vndertaken this their resolution,
repaired to the Theater vnder hope that *Herode* should not escape them, for that they intended
to assaile him vnawares: at leastwise if they failed of him, their hope was to fall foule on some of
his fauourites and followers, accounting this to be some solace in their expected death, if in re-
gard of their violated religion they might bring the King in hatred with the common people. I
And these intending to offer themselves as chieftaines and leaders vnto the rest, resolved to ex-
ecute these things. But one of those intelligencers that *Herode* had sent abroad to pry and search
into such like actions, hauing discovered all this their conspiracie, signified the same vnto the
king, at such time as he was ready to enter into the Theater. Hee knowing full well what hatred
was continually hatched against him, betooke himselfe to his palace, and sent for the conspira-
tors by their names: who being apprehended in the fact, and knowing that there was no waie
for them to escape, resolved to endure their present misfortunes with a valiant courage: for being
no waies dismaide, with a constant countenance they drew out their weapons, protesting that
their conspiracie was honest and holy, not attempted by them for priuate affection, or their own
profit sake, but in the behalfe of their publike discipline, which no good man would either see or K
suffer to be violated, no though it cost him his life.

Now when with great confidence they had alleadged these things for their iustification, they
were led away by the kings ministers to be slaughtered by diuers sorts of torments. Not long af-
ter this, that intelligencer who had betrayed them, growing hateful in all mens eyes, was slaine
by certaine men, and chope in peeces with their swords, & afterwards cast vnto the dogs in sight
and presence of many men. Yet did no man discover this act, vntill after long and wearisome
inquisitions made by *Herode*, it was wrought out of certaine poore women (who were priuie to
the fact) with diuers torments. Then were all the actors of that murder punished, with their
whole families: and notwithstanding all this, the common people was in no sort dismaide, but
were ready to defend their lawes, except they were restrained by some greater power. Which L
when the king perceiued, he resisted their indeuours with al diligence, least happily thorow these
alterations in affaires, the people should be drawne to an open rebellion. Whereas therefore he
had two strong castles within the Citie, one wherein his palace was, an other called Antonia,
that adioyned neere vnto the temple, fortified by him; he thought good to strengthen a third cal-
led Samaria, the name whereof he changed, and called it Sebastie (which was distant from Ieru-
salem some daies iourney) to containe those of the comon sort that were abroad, vnder his obe-
dience, and very fit to bridle any vproares that might be raised in the Citie and fields. And for
the whole nation he builded a fort, which in times past was called Straton, and afterwards he na-
med it Cæfarea. He builded also a fort in Galilee, which was called Gabala, in a large Plaine, M
where by course he kept his horsemen. Besides these, he builded the fort of Esthmonites in the
countrie of Peræa on the other side Iordan.

Now when he had fitly disposed all these Castles thorow his whole countrie, for the securitie
and safetie of his kingdome, the matter of rebellion was taken from the comon people, who vp-
on euery light cause are subiect to commotions, in that he had prepared a remedy against all
priuie conspiracies, by planting such forces alwaies neere at hand, who might preuent and paci-
fie all alterations vpon their originall. After this, betaking himselfe to encompass Samaria with a
wall,

The year of the
world, 3942. be-
fore Christs birth
22.

A wall, he brought to passe that diuers of those, who had borne armes with him against his enemies,
and diuers of the people likewise that dwelt round about, came to inhabit it, both in regard of
the temple, which he intended to build in that place, as also for that hee fortified the same for his
owne securitie (although that before time it was not in the number of famous Cities.) He there-
fore changed the name thereof, and called it Sebastie, and distributed the lands that confined the
Citie among the inhabitants of the same (which was by nature a fruitfull and goodly country) to
the intent that within a little space they might enrich themselves. Hee inuironed the Citie also with
a strong wall, beeing assisted by the naturall strength and steepnesse of the place: and besides the
whole circuit, he included so much ground, that it is no waies inferiour to any of the famous Ci-
ties; for it contained the circuit of twentie furlongs or stadia. And in the midst thereof there was
B a sacred place, containing a furlong and a halfe, wonderfully adorned; in which there was a tem-
ple builded, famous both for beautie and bignesse. And as for the other parts of the Citie, hee
decked them with all sorts of ornaments. And seeing how neerely it concerned him to prouide
for the securitie of his person in this walled Citie, hee erected a fortress for himselfe. And as tou-
ching the beautie thereof, his intent was that it should remaine for a monument to posteritie, of
his magnificence and liberalitie.

CHAP. XII.

A famine inuaded the land of Iudea.

C Hat very yeere, which was the thirteenth yeere of *Herods* raigne, very great calamities
happened in that country (either thorow Gods displeasure, or for that the reuolution of
time would haue it so.) For first of all, there were such continuall droughts, that by rea-
son thereof the earth grew barren, and produced not those fruites, which of it selfe it
was accustomed to beare. And after this, the ordinarie course of mens diets being altered by rea-
son of the want of corne, the want of sustenance was accompanied with a bodily sicknesse (for
that by custome these two plagues doe ordinarily entertaine one another.) For this made the
plague & sicknesse more vehement, for that the sicke in this great penury, could neither haue care
of themselves as was expedient, nor gette conuenient nourishment for preservation of life: And
many died daily; and those also that remained alieue were in despaire, because they could not re-
lieue their want & necessities, what diligence soeuer they vsed. For which cause, after the old fruites
D of that yeer were wholly consumed, & all the rest of their store was utterly spent, there appeared
not any meanes wherupon they might hope, namely, for that the misery increased more the was
expected; yea and extended it selfe beyond that yeere: so that they had nothing remaining by
them, and the seeds they sowed at that time mouldred away, and the earth for all their labours af-
forded them no interest. The necessitie therefore beeing thus great, constrained men to search out
many new inuentions to maintaine their life: and the king likewise was in no lesse perplexitie, in
that he was depriued of those ordinarie reuenues which he receiued by the fruites of the earth; &
the rather, for that he had spent his money in repairing his cities, according as before this wee haue
declared: and in such sort were all things wasted by diuers calamities, that a man could conceiue
no hope of remedy. Besides this, the people grew in hatred of their king, for that it is their custome
E ordinarily to accule their gouernors, as if they were the authors of all their euils. Yet did the king
bethink himself how he might remedy these inconueniences, but hardly could he find the means,
for that their neighbours had no meanes to sell them victuals, because they were no lesse afflicted
then themselves: and although he might haue recovered some little meanes for a great summe of
money, yet wanted hee it also to defray the charges: notwithstanding in that he knew, that it be-
hooued him to imploy his vttermost indeauours in yeelding a generall remedie to such and so vi-
olent an oppresion, hee moltd downe all those moueables he had either of gold or siluer within
his palace, and spared nothing either for the matter, the excellencie, or the fashion; no nor so
much as the vessels wherein hee was ordinarily serued. This money sent hee into Egypt, where at
that time vnder *Cæsar, Petronius* held the government. This man being *Herods* friend, in that he
F desired the safetie of his subiects, at such time as diuers of them retired themselves vnto him, by
reason of that their necessitie, he permitted them to buy vp corne; and assisted them in all things,
both in their bargaines, and in their cariages; so that the greater or the whole summe of their suc-
cours was attributed to him. But after their returne, *Herode* wrought so much, that the care that
was taken by him did not onely change the affections of those, which before time were his ene-
mies, but beside all this, he purchased great praise and commendation for his liberalitie and sin-
gular prouidence. For first of all hee distributed a certaine quantitie of corne to all those, who
were

Herod maketh
money of all
his rich orna-
ments & hous-
hold stuffe of
gold & siluer,
and bueth
corne.

Herod distri-
buteth the
corne he had
bought among
the people.

was not able of themselves to supply their owne wants, vsing herein both great care & diligence. G After this, for that there were a great number of such, who in regard of their age, or some other infirmities, were vnable to prepare their victuals, hee tooke order for their reliefe; and appointed them certaine bakers, who should furnish them with bread, both sufficient and meet for their sustenance. He gaue order also, that they should not passe the winter disurnished of clothing, but provided for such as were naked sufficient raiment, considering that the sheepe were partly dead, & partly deuoured, & that there was no wooll to set the awork, or other stuffe to make garments of. Now after he had furnished his subiects with these things, he thought good also to shew kinde- nesse to the neighbouring cities, & stored the Syrians with seed corne to sowe their lands; which yeelded him no little profit: for the earth incontinently gaue him a large & plentiful tribute for that she had received; so that all of them had abundance of victuals: and as soone as the harvest H was ready, he sent fiftie thousand men into that country which he had relieved: & by this means he with all diligence restored his afflicted kingdome: and comforted his neighbours, who were oppressed with the like calamitie. For there was not any man in necessitie, that according to his qualitie was not assisted and succoured.

The villages likewise and the cities, and those of the common sort who entertained great households, and were in want, hauing their recourse vnto him, receiued that which they had need of; so that to reckon vp all the corne which he gaue vnto those, who were not his subiects, it appeareth that he imploied ten thousand Cores of wheat: now the Core containeth ten Athenian bushels: and within the compasse of his Realme hee imploied eightie thousand: which care of his, and discretely imploied fauour, wrought so much in the hearts of the Iewes, and was so highly renowned amongst other nations, that the ancient hatred which they had conceived against him, for that he had altered certaine customes of their kingdome, was wholly forgotten, and hee was supposed by them to haue made a sufficient recompence, by the diligence hee had shewed in assisting them in their necessities; and no lesse either grace or glory obtained he among strangers: so that by these miseries the kings honour was not a little magnified, and whatsoeuer damage here- ceived at home, so much honour and reputation atchieued he abroad. For whereas in strangers ne- cessities he had shewed himselfe so full of magnanimitie, each man did not respect what hee had been before, but such as they lately found him to be.

The Iewes fa-
uour Herod
for his bounty.

Herode sen-
deth Caesar
fue hundred
of his guard.
The palace
built in Ieru-
salem.
Herod & Ruf-
inus, chap. 12.

Herod remo-
ueth Iesus fro
his priesthood
and placeth
Simon in his
room, and
marieth his
daughter.

About the same time also he sent *Caesar* certaine supplies, namely, five hundred chosen men of his guard, whom *Elius Gallus* led into the warres in Arabia, and had often vse of the in his most dangerous attempts. When as therefore his kingdome was restored to his former felicitie, hee builded a roiall palace in the higher part of the citie, furnished with many large buildings, & decked with gold and marble seates; so as they might receiue a great number of men: hee named also each roome of the house according to their severall names, and called one the lodging of *Caesar*, & another of *Agrippa*. After this, being intangled with loue, he married a wife, least he should be distracted by vaine desires, and the cause of this his new marriage was this. There was amongst those that dwelt in Ierusalem, a certaine citizen called *Simon*, the son of *Boethas* the Alexandrine, who was a Priest, and one of the chiefe in nobilitie amongst them: this man had a daughter, the fairest and comliest creature of that age, whole beautie renowned by the common voice, it came to passe, that with her same *Herode* at one time entertained a good affection towards her, and afterwards obtaining the sight of her, hee grew in loue with her; yet would not vse his authoritie, least hee should seeme to behaue himselfe tyrannically, but chose rather to accept her for his be- trothed wife. Whereas therefore *Simon* seemed unworthy his affinitie, and yet too woorthy to be blasted by contempt, hee made election of a convenient meanes to obtaine the fullness of his desire, which was, to raise both *Simon* and his to higher dignities. For which cause hee presently depoyed the high Priest *Iesus* the sonne of *Phabetes*, and established *Simon* in his place; and that done, he contracted affinitie with him. After the marriage was consummate, he builded a new castle in that place wherein he had overcome the Iewes, vpon the time and incontinently after the ouerthrow of *Antigonus*, and when he had taken vpon him the gouernment.

This place is distant from Ierusalem some sixtie furlongs or stades, strong by nature, and fit for defence & good fortification. For neere vnto the same there is a certaine steepie hill made by art, after the manner of a round dugged, enuironed with round towers, with a steepie ascent of two hundredth steps cut out of hewed stone. Within the same there are diuers palaces, builded with great & sumptuous workmanship, made both for defence & delight. At the foote of this hill there are two houses worthy the sight, for diuers their singularities, & namely, by reason of those con- duits of water, which although they spring not in that place, yet notwithstanding are they brought from

A from far with great cost and expence. The Plain that adioyneth vpon it, is all full of buildings after the manner of a citie, and the toppe of the castle commandeth all the Plain. As soone as there- fore he had disposed of his affaires, according to his hearts desire, he possessed his kingdome in great quietnesse, for that he made his subiects obedient vnto him, both by feare, and shewing himselfe in- exorable when it concerned him to punish; and by liberality, whereby he provided for their pub- lique necessities: he therefore tooke an especiall care of himselfe, as if the life and safety of his per- son had been the security of his people. He behaued himselfe officiously and fauourably towards all forraign cities: he entertained the Princes by presents, which according to his occasions he sent vnto them, to insinuate himselfe into their fauours, being in his owne nature magnificent and fit to gouerne: so that all his fortunes increased, and all things fell out happily according to his hearts desire. True it is, that the care which he employed in honouring *Caesar*, and other mighty mi- strates of Rome, caused him to oustrip his customes, & to falsifie diuers ordinances of his coun- trey, in building cities, and erecting temples in honour of them, although he builded them in the kind of Iury; for the Iewes would not haue endured it, because we were forbidden to honour Images and figures, formed according to the likenesse of a man, as the Greeks are accustomed to doe; but he did this in the country and forraigne cities, and excused himselfe to the Iewes, saying, that he did it not of his owne head, but performed that according to the charge and commaund- ment which he had from others, who were greater then himselfe: and in the meane while gratio- ed *Caesar* and the Romans, in that he respected their honour more then he did the ordinances of his country; although in all things he had a respect to his particular advantage, and determined C with himselfe to leaue behind him after his death large and ample testimonies of his power and greatness: which was the cause that he builded cities with great charge and expence.

CHAP. XIII.

The building of the Citie of *Caesarea*.

When as therefore he had found out a fit & conuenient place vpon the sea coast, to build a citie on, which of long time had been called the tower of Straton, hee both magnifi- cently designed and set downe the module and forme thereof, and made many sumptu- ous buildings, both of roiall palaces, and of other private lodgings, not builded after a slight manner, or of weake and fading matter, but of marble stone. But the greatest and busiest worke of all, was the haven which hee made exempt and free from stormes and tempests, that in greatness resembled that of *Piræus*, and was so spacious that it was able to receiue manie great ships into the road, & had diuers roomes and warehouses to lay vp the merchandize therein. And the more admirable was this pile, because the stuffe that was fit to finish this so great worke, was not gathered or gotten in that place, but must needly be brought from another place, vpon great charge & expence. This citie is seated in Phoenicia vpon the coast, in the way to Egypt, between Ioppa and Dora, certaine villages situate vpon the sea coasts, vsit either for landing or harbour, by reason of the Affricke wind, that driving the sand of the sea vpon the shore, giueth not any quiet road vnto the ships, but that the Merchants are enforced for a long time to ride at anchor. To correct this incommoditie of the place, he made the circuit round about the port so spacious, that it was able to receiue a great flect: and he cast downe to the bottom thereof, which was about some twenty fathoms deep, certaine huge stones, that for the most part were fittie foot long, eight foot broad, and nine foot high, some more and some lesse. The pile that was erected vpon this to affront the sea, was a pane of two hundredth foot, the halfe whereof was opposed against the waues to breake the furie of the streame, and for this cause was called in the Greek tongue *Procyonion*, that is to say, Before flood: The other halfe serued as a foundation to beare vp a wall of stone for- tified with diuers towers, the chiefe whereof was a faire pile or building, which was called *Drusus*, in memory of *Drusus*, *Caesars* sonne in law, who died very young: it had also diuers retreats F or hostries in the same, into which the mariners were receiued and lodged.

The descent being hard by, encompassed all the port like a round platforme, that serued for a pleasant walking place for whom soeuer listed. The entrance and mouth of the haven was toward the north, which is a wind that of all other most purifieth & cleanseth. The supporter & strength of all the circuit on the left hand vpon the entrance to the port, was an ample and huge tower to fasten it the more strongly; and on the right hand, were two huge pillars of stone, more higher then the tower that stood opposite against them; erected and fastned together. All round about the

The tower of
Straton other-
wise called
Caesarea, build-
ed by Herod.
Piræus the
port of Athens

Dora and Iop-
paull harbors.

The Port of
Caesarea.

The theater &
Amphitheater.
Herod sendeth
his sonnes
Alexander &
Aristobulus to
Rome vnto
Cæsar.
Cæsar giueth
Herod the do-
minions of the
Trachonites
of Batanea &
Auranita.
Zenodorus li-
ueth by spoile.

the haue there were certaine buildings, abutting one vpon another of polished marble, and in the midst there was a little hillock, on which there was a certaine monument placed in honour of *Cæsar*, which presented it selfe to their sight who sailed to the port, in which there were the figures of the Citie of Rome and of *Cæsar*. This Citie also was called *Cæsarea*, as much to be wondered at for the matter whereof it was built, as for the arte whereby it was erected: and no lesse cunning was there shewed in the vaults and conduits vnder ground, then in those buildings that were about them; some of them were conuayed toward the port, and discharged themselves into the sea by certaine compassed spaces: but there was one that went athwart, that comprehended all the rest, to the end that therby the raine-water, & the cleansings of the Citie might be conuayed into the sea, and that when the sea should flow, it might wash and cleanse all the Citie.

Hee erected also a Theater of stone, and behind the same to the Southward; an Amphitheater, that was able to receiue a great number of men; and so pleasantly and fitly situated, that from the same a man might discouer the sea. This Citie was finished at the end of 12 yeeres; during which time, the king was neither wearied by intending the worke, nor negligent in furnishing the necessary charges. After this, perceiving that the Citie of Sebastia was already inhabited also, he resolved to send his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* to Rome, to present them vnto the Emperour *Cæsar*; who no sooner resorted thither but they were lodged in *Pollios* house, who amongst all the rest was an intire friend of *Herods*. They might haue lien also at *Cæsars* house, who entertained them with as great familiaritie and kinnesse, as might be possible: and gaue *Herod* licence in like manner to confirme the kingdome in one of his children, which soeuer best liked him, annexing to his gouernment, the countries of Trachona, Batanea, and Auranita for the occasion which ensued. A certaine man called *Zenodorus* had hired *Lysanias* demaines or Lordship: and not contenting himselfe with those reuenues which he gathered, but desirous to gather more, he liued vpon spoiles and robberies in Trachona, which is a countrey, the inhabitants whereof commonly liue by pillage and spoile, which they purchase from the Citizens and Merchants of Damasco. And so farre was *Zenodorus* from prohibiting these robberies, that hee himselfe also was partaker of the bootie; so that the nations neighbouring round about, seeing themselves thus abused, sought for remedy at *Varus* hands, who was their gouernor, requiring him to certifie *Cæsar*, of *Zenodorus* wrongs and outrages. Which when he understood, he commaunded that such lawlesse rioters should be punished, and that the countrey should be added vnto the iurisdiction of *Herod*, to the intent, that by his vigilancie the inhabitants of Trachona shoulde no more molest their neighbours. For it was hard to restraine them, considering that they were accustomed and traded in such theft, and could not liue other waies. For they neither had townes nor lands, neither heritages nor any possessions, but onely certaine retraires and caues vnder ground, and liued pell mell like beasts; and hauing made abundant prouision of water and victuals, they might easily endure warre a long time, and maintaine themselves in their caues, when their enemies assailed them without.

The doores of these denues were so narrow, that they could be entred but by one at once; but within it was incredible spacious and large: the vpper part thereof was not steepe, but plaine, & in forme of a smoothe earth: for the whole place naturally consisteth of a sharpe and ragged rock, with a hard and difficult passage thercon, vnlesse a man be guided therow the paths. For the way was not direct & straight, but full of windles & many turnings. At such time as they wanted opportunity to spoile their neighbors, they robbed one another; and omitted no kind of wickednesse. *Herod* hauing receiued the gift of this countrey at *Cæsars* hands, resorted thither vnder the conduct of certaine guides that knew the waies, and hauing brought their power and prouision to an end, hee left the neighbour nations in assured peace. But *Zenodorus* being partly whetted on with enuie, partly incited by the grieue which hee conceiued therow the losse of his possessions, resorted to Rome to accuse *Herod*; yet could effect nothing of that which he intended.

When *Agrippa* was sent into Asia by *Cæsar* to gouerne the prouinces beyond the seas, *Herode*, because hee was his verie friend and familiar, went to salute him at Mitylene where hee vntiered, for that hee was one of his inward friends, and afterwards returned into Iewry. But certaine Gadareans came vnto *Agrippa* with an intent to accuse *Herode*: but he sent them bound vnto the king, and vouchsafed them no audience. On the other side, the Auranites, who of long time hated *Herodes* gouernment, stirred vp commotions, and laboured to drawe the countrey into rebellion, and that vpon a iust ground, as it seemed, at that time: for *Zenodorus* despairing of his affaires, went and sold them a certaine part of the Lordship in Auranita (which was comprehended within *Cæsars* donation to *Herode*) for the sum of fiftie talents of yeerely reuenue, where-

Herod punisheth the robbers.
Herod & Rufinus, chap. 13.
Agrippa is sent into Asia.
Agrippa sendeth the Gadareans bound vnto Herod, who came to accuse him.
Zenodorus signorie sold to the Auranites, and bestowed on Herode by Cæsar, is the cause of the warres.

Cæsar cometh into Syria: before him the Gadareans accuse Herod, & afterwards murder themselves.

The year of the world, 3946. before Christs birth 18.

with they grew discontented, for that they were vniustly depriued of their estates: and hereupon they made often incurfions, indeuouring themselves sometimes to recouer the same by force; & otherwhile contending for the right of their possession by course of iustice. They drew also vnto them certaine needy souldiers; who, according to the custome of wretched men, expected their better fortunes by change and innouation: which though *Herode* knew, and could haue prouidently prevented them, yet exhorted hee them to maintaine their titles rather by good meanes then open violence, being loth to giue any occasion of new trouble or disquiet. At length in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, *Cæsar* came into Syria: vpon whose affrual diuers of the Gadareans beganne to exclaime against *Herode*, accusing him of his seueritie and tyrannie: which accusation they the rather attempted, because they were chiefly incited therunto by the instigations of *Agrippa*, who bound himselfe by an oath, that he would neuer giue ouer vntill that deliuering them from *Herods* tyrannie, they were reduced vnder *Cæsars* protection. The Gadareans, perswaded by these his protestations, began to continue their exclamations, and that somewhat the more audaciously, for that they perceived that they liued as yet vnpunished whom *Agrippa* had deliuered into *Herods* hands: for *Herode* had set them at liberty without any punishment, notwithstanding that in regard of his owne subiects he was inexorable, as euer man was; and most patient in induring those iniuries that were offered him by strangers, whom he alwaies dismissed without reuenge. When as therefore they accused him of violence and rapine, and for violating and rasing downe their temples, *Herode* being nothing dismayed therat, presented himselfe before the Emperour to iustifie his actions. But *Cæsar* entertained him verie kindly, and diminished nothing of the good affection which he bare vnto him, notwithstanding all the vppores & insolent tumults of the people. Thus was the first day spent in audience of their complaints, and in those daies that followed there were no further obiections to be heard of: for the Gadareans perceiving both *Cæsars* disposition and the inclination of his counsell, & fearing (as it was most likely) to be deliuered into *Herods* hands, the next night after some of them slew themselves; other some for feare of torments brake their own necks; & some of them also drowned themselves in the riuer. And thus whereas they seemed to fore iudge themselves, *Cæsar* presently absolved *Herod*.

And this felicitie of his, was seconded with another of no small consequence. For *Zenodorus* hauing his bowels broken through an extreme flux of blood, finished his life at Antioch in Syria. Whereupon *Cæsar* gaue *Herode* his countrey, which was a large and ample signorie, & was situate betweene Trachonita and Galilee, containing Vlatha, Pannas, and the countries thereabouts. Hee made him one of the gouernours of Syria also, commaunding them to execute nothing without his aduise. At this time attained he to the height of all worldly felicitie: For whereas within the huge and ample Romane Empire, all things were disposed by *Cæsar*, and *Agrippa*, *Cæsar* honoured no man more then *Herod* next to *Agrippa*; and *Agrippa* respected him about all men next to *Cæsar*. Whereupon he grew to be so confident, that hee begged a Tetrarchie at *Cæsars* hands for his brother *Pheroras*, on whom hee bestowed one hundred talents of his reuenue out of his owne kingdome, to the intent, that if he should happen to die, *Pheroras* estate might be assured and left no waies subiect vnto his children.

As soone as therefore he had conducted *Cæsar* as farre as the sea, vpon his returne he builded a goodly temple of white marble in honour of his name, in the countrey which belonged to *Zenodorus*, neere to a place which is called Panion, which is a goodly caue in the hart of a mountaine, and a place of great pleasure, vnder which there is a wide pool of immeasurable depth, which is full of standing water, and the vpper part of the mountaine is very high. From vnder this caue spring the fountaine heads of the floud Iordan. This place of it selfe so famous and delightful, was chosen out by *Herod*, and adorned also with a temple which he built in honour of *Cæsar*. At that time also hee releaied the third part of his tributes which his subiects paid vnto him, to the end (as he said) that he might relieue his subiects after the penurie they had endured. But the truth of his intention was, that he did it to that end to win their fauours, who were sinistery affected towards him. For they had conceiued an hatred against him, because all pietie was in a manner abolished, & the ordinances of the countrey in a sort diuallied by the means of those temples, which he had built, & each man priuily muttered with bitterness against him; so that welny they were addressed to mutiny. But *Herod* with great discretion prevented the same, & cut off all occasions of insurrection, commanding euery one to intend his labour; forbidding them to make any assemblies in the citie, or to talk one with another vnder colour of walking abroad for pleasure or feasts sake. Moreover, hee had sent out certaine Intelligencers to discouer all that which was done, ap-
pointing

Herod buildeth a temple neere vnto Panion.
Herode remitteth the third part of his tribute.

Herod bind-
eth the people
by an oath.Herod excu-
seth the Phari-
sees for swea-
ring for Po-
lias and Sa-
meas sakes.
The Essians
not much vn-
like the Py-
thagorists.Manahē fore-
telleth Herods
gouernment.Herod questi-
oneth with
Manahem a-
bout the con-
tinuance of
his kingdom,
and loeueth the
Essians for his
sake.Hedio & Ruf-
inus, chap. 14.
al. 11.
Herod inten-
deth to redi-
fie Gods tem-
ple.Herod certifi-
eth the people
that he will re-
edifie the tem-
ple.

pointing grievous punishments for those that misliked, or maligned his gouernment. For diuers of them were led vnto the Castle of Hircania, some openly, some priuately; where they were no sooner imprisoned, but they were put to death; and both in the citie & in the country, there were certaine men appointed to take note of all such that vsed any assemblies vpon any occasion whatsoeuer. And so inwardly was hee tormented with their dislikes, that as it is reported of him, hee tooke vpon him the habite of a priuate man, and thrust himselfe in the night time into the company of the people, to vnderstand and gather what they thought of his gouernment; and those whom he found to be vntractable and obstinate, and would not be conformed to his will, hee dispatched the by one meane or other, binding the rest of the people by an oath to serue him faithfully, and constrained them to keepe the oath they had sworne, & to acknowledge his souerainetic: vvhercunto diuers thorow the feare they conceiued, easily condescended. But they, who had a more greater courage, and were discontented to see themselves constrained, hee cut them short by all the meanes that he might. Hee required also an oath of diuers of those sectaries, who followed the Pharisees *Pollio* & *Sameas*: and notwithstanding they denied to take the oath, yet did he not punish them as he did the other for their refusal, in respect & reuerence of *Pollio* their master. From this rigour also were they exempt, who amongst vs are called Essians, which is a sort of men that liue after that manner, that *Pithagoras* did among the Græcians; of whom I haue more expressly discoursed in another place.

At this present I thinke it not a matter to be ouerslipped, neither estranged from the aime of my historie, to report for what cause the king had so religious an opinion of those men. There was a certaine Essian called *Manahem*, who in his sect was accounted an vpright and iust man, and one that had obtained from God the knowledge of things to come. Hee seeing *Herod* one day at such time as hee was very young and went to schoole, saluted him and called him king of the Iewes. *Herod* supposing that *Manahem* knew him not, or that he mocked him, reprooued him sharplie for this his speech, saying, that he acknowledged himselfe to be one of the common sort. *Manahem* smiling, hit him gently with his hand vpon the backe, and said vnto him, Thou shalt be king, and shalt haue a happy raigne. For such is Gods pleasure; and at that time remember thy selfe of the words that *Manahem* spake vnto thee, which shall serue for a testimonie to put thee in mind of thy mutable estate. For it becommeth thee nothing more, then by iustice, pietie, and equitie, to winne the hearts of thy subiects: yet know I by reuelation from God, that thou wilt not follow these instructions; for thou shalt forget and neglect both diuine and humane lawes: though in other respects thou shalt be most fortunate and purchase eternall glorie. Yet shalt thou not escape Gods hands: for he shall chastise thee in the latter time of thy life, with a grievous punishment.

At that time *Herod* gaue small regard to those his words, in that he had no hope that any such thing should happen: but not long after, as soone as he had obtained the kingdom to the fullness of his felicitie, hee in the greatnesse of his power sent for *Manahem*, and asked him how long hee should raigne. But hee returned him a doubtfull answer. Which when *Herod* perceiued, hee asked him anew if he should raigne ten yeeres. Vvhercunto *Manahem* answered, and twentie, and thirtie, without setting him downe any prefixed terme. *Herod* contenting himselfe herewith, embraced *Manahem*, and gaue him licence to depart, and continued his affections towards the Essians for his sake. I haue thought good to register these sayings, notwithstanding they may seeme vncredible, to declare that diuers of our nation haue had communication with GOD by reason of their holinesse.

CHAP. XIII.

Herode buildeth a newe Temple in Ierusalem, after he had pulled downe the old.

IN the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, *Herod*, after hee had finished these many and admirable actions, conceiued in his mind no meane, but a mightie project, which was to reedifie Gods Temple of greater bignesse & answerable height, hoping that this work, which was the most admirable of all those he had vnderaken (as indeed it was) in being finished, would eternize his memorie. But fearing least the people in regard of the greatnesse of the enterprise, would be hardly drawne thereunto, hee determined to sound their intents by his discourse, and for that cause assembling them together, he spake after this manner;

Men and brethren, I hold it to be a matter both vain & superfluous, to recount vnto you what things I haue performed, during the time of my gouernment. For they haue been of that nature,

that

A that they haue returned me but little honour; and your selfe great profit and securitie. For you your selves know that in those aduersities that haue befallen you, I haue been no wayes negligent in that which concerned your proficite; and in those buildings I haue erected by Gods assistance, I haue not so much regarded my selfe, as that which concerneth you all: and my hope is by the wil of God that I haue brought the estate of the Iewes to that degree of felicitie, that they neuer had or expected before this time. As for that which I haue particularly exploited in the heart of the country, & in the cities which I haue augmented, as well with ornament & beautie, as with a number of inhabitants; since you your selves know, I thinke it a ridiculous matter to reduce them to your memorie. But I must at this time assure you that the desseign which I will presently enterprise, is far more holy and more excellent, then may be performed by vs. For our predecessors after they were returned from the captiuitie of Babylon, builded a temple in honour of our great and mightie God, which in height wanted sixtie cubits of that which *Salomon* first built: yet ought we not to object as a blame, or ascribe this action to any impietie in our ancestors. For the temple was not at their disposition, but the measure of the building was set them down by *Cyrus* and *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, to whom and their successors they haue first of all been lawes, as after their time they haue beene vnder the subiection of the Macedonians: so that they had not the meanes & opportunitie, to raise this religious monument, according to his first patterne, to that requisite and conuenient height. But since at this present by Gods permission, I haue obtained the kingdom; and that for a long time hitherto we haue enioied a happy peace; and that neither money nor great reuenues are wanting; & that which is our greatest good, we are made happy by the fauour of the Romanes, who in a sort are the Lords of the whole world, and in effect are our entire friends: I will enforce my selfe to repaire that defect, which hapned in times past thorow the miseries, and weake meanes of our noble predecessors, resolving with my selfe to perfect that which is requisite for the seruice of God, in acknowledgement of the benefices which I haue receiued from him, by whose mercy and meanes I haue obtained my kingdom.

This sodaine and v unexpected speech of *Herods*, filled all mens eares with wonder, and hearts with expectation in that he seemed to promise such a thing, as was beyond their hope, and as they thought farre greater then his power; and that which most distracted them was, for that they had conceiued a feare, least after he had pulled downe the olde, hee should not bee of abilitie to erect a new. For which cause his counsaile seemed to be dangerous, and attempt ouer difficult. But the king perceiuing with what doubts they were detained, encouraged them, promising in no sort to deface the olde temple, before all that was prepared and polished which was requisite for the building of the new. And in this he kept his word. For he appointed a thousand chariots to draw stones vnto the place, and chose out amongst the rest ten thousand cunning and expert workemen. Hee apparrailed also at his owne charge one thousand Priests in their accustomed vestments, whereof some gaue the masons instructions how they should worke, and the rest assisted the carpenters. This done, after he had fitly and readily performed and prepared all things requisite, he caused them to fall to their building. As soone as therefore the former foundations were taken away, and other more new were planted in their place, the temple was erected vpon

them, in length one hundred cubits, and twentie cubits in height about those hundred cubits which the former contained, which twentie cubits were in some sort scantled after that by succession of time the foundations began to be settled, and during *Neroes* raigne our countymen had thought to haue raised it to the first height. The building was of white and strong marble stones, which were each of them twentie and fiue cubits long, eight cubits high, and about some twelue cubits broad. All the structure of the same was made after the manner of a princely palace on all sides, and the middle part thereof was higher then the rest: so that it might easily bee discovered by the inhabitants of the country many furlongs off; and especially it was most apparant and subiect to their sight, who dwelt opposite against it, or repaired vnto the Citie. The doores thereof and their transomes were correspondent to the rest of the magnificence of the temple, garnished with diuers tapestries, & azured flowers, which inuested & adorned the pillars: vnder whose chapters a golden vine spread it self on each side, replenished with many goodly clusters of grapes hanging downe; which was an admirable worke to behold, both in respect of the greatnesse, as also for the workmanship and matter whereof it was made. Hee encompassed all the temple with most goodly galleries, and porches correspondent to the magnificence of the same, and surpassing those in times past for the cost; so that neuer any man before him so magnificently adorned the temple. Two of which were vnder-propped with very strong wals, whose

P P

workman-

The Iewes fea-
ring least He-
rode should pul-
downe the old
temple before
he had prepared
matter for the
new he promi-
sed the con-
trary.
Conuenient
stuffs is gathe-
red for the
building of the
temple.
How the temple
was builden by
Herod.

workmanship was so exquisite as it is incredible to bee reported amongst men. There was a stony rising or hillocke, and verie streight and high, the top wherof towards the eastermost part of the citie was somewhat smooth and vpright. The first that encompassed it with a wall was *Solomon* our king, who by Gods fauour and the mediation and labour of diuers workmen, did first of all build the higher part: *Herode* also inuested the lower part thereof with an other wall, vnder which to the southward there lieth a most deep valley. This wall was made of huge stones, close fastned the one vnto the other with lead, shutting all within his enclosure, & extending it self very deepe; so that the greatnes and height of this foure square building was an incredible thing to be imagined. The greatnes of the stones appeared in the front, but on the inside they were fastned together with claspes of yron, which fortified and strengthened the building for euer against all iniuries of times. This worke hauing bene thus continued to the top, and the void space between the wall and the rising hillocke filling vp the floore aboue, was made plaine and equal. The whole circuit of the tower contained about foure stades or furlongs, a stade or furlong in length to euery pane from angle to angle. On the inside and nere vnto the top there was an other wall of stone extended along the easterne side; hauing a double porch of equall greatnesse with that of the wall, and placed in the midst of the temple, and openeth right vpon the gares thereof, which the kings before time had adorned. Round about the temple were planted those spoiles which were taken from the Barbarians, which king *Herod* had placed there with all those spoiles, which he had taken from the Arabians. In a corner on the north side there stood a verie strong and defended fortresse, builded by the *Asmonians*, who were *Herods* predecessors, and had bene both kings and high priests, and had imposed a name on that tower which was *Baris*, in which they kept the priestly vesture, wherewith the high priest was wont to bee adorned at that time only when he was to offer sacrifice. King *Herode* kept the same in that place, and there remained it after his death vntill the time of *Tiberius Caesar*: vnder whom *Vitellius* gouernour of Syria came vnto Ierusalem; where he was entertained by all the people with as great magnificence as was possible: and being desirous to acknowledge the fauours that hee had receiued at their hands, being requested by them that they might haue the keeping of the high priests ornaments, he wrote vnto *Tiberius Caesar*, to grant them that fauour, & till the death of king *Agrippa* the Iewes had the same in their possession. But after that *Agrippa* was dead, *Cassius Longinus* that gouerned Syria, & *Cuspius Fadus* lieutenant of Iudaea, commanded the Iewes to returne the same into the fortresse *Antonia*, saying that the Romans ought to be Lord thereof, as they had bin in times past. For which cause the Iewes sent embassadors to *Claudius Caesar*, to request his fauor therein, who arriuing at Rome found the young king *Agrippa* there, who belonged to the Emperour that it might bee lawfull for him to haue the keeping of the habit: who commaunded *Vitellius* the gouernor of Syria, to deliuer it vnto his hands. Before time it was kept vnder the seale of the high priest, and the custody of the treasurers, & on the eue of a certaine solemne feast the treasurers went vp to the capitaine, who kept the fortresse for the Romans, and after they had opened their seale they tooke the habit: and after the feast was past, they returned it backe againe vnto the same place, and shut it vp vnder the same seale in the presence of the capitaine. All which wee haue thought good to lay open to make the diuersity knowne that was vsed in that care.

After that *Herode* had in this fort builded this strong tower for the securitie and guard of the temple, he called it *Antonia*, for the loue of *Antonius* his friend, and one of the chiefe men in Rome. In the westerne part of this porch, there were foure gates, whereof the one opened vpon the kings palace, to which there was a direct way thorowe the midst of the valley; the two others led vnto the suburbs: and the fourth opened vpon the rest of the citie, & gaue open passage vnto the same, by the meanes of a number of staires, by which men might descend to the foot of the valley; and from thence there was an ascent by other staires to ascend vpwades. For the citie was situate nere vnto the temple, after the manner of a theater; and was bended to the southward by a deepe valley. As touching the fourth side turned toward the south, it had likewise certaine gates in the midst thereof; and vpon the same there was a triple gallerie verie royall and princely, the length whereof extended from the orientall valley as farre as the westerne. For it was impossible to extend it any further. This worke was one of the most famous peeces that was euer seene vnder the sunne: For the depth of the valley was so great, that it was impossible for a man to see the bottome, if he looked downward from the higher part: and notwithstanding on the same he erected this porch of so great a height, that but to looke from the toppe thereof, and to consider the depth as well of the valley as the height of the porch, it would make a man giddie, and his eye could not pearce vnto the immeasurable bottome of the same. It had in length

The porch
builded aloft
aboue the val-
ley.

The Tower
of
Antonia.

A length foure ranks of pillars opposed the one right ouer against the other (for the fourth pane of the wall was fortified with a wall of hewen stone) the thicknesse of the pillars was such, that it was as much as three men could fadom holding one another by the hand, and the length was of twenty and seven fathoms, with a double base at the bottome. The whole number of them was one hundred, sixtie and two, and they had Chapters engrauen and damasked with Corinthian worke. All this building was so huge, that it moued admiration in those that behelde the same. Betweene these foure ranks there were three porches, whereof two were on either side, containing in breadth each of them thirtie fathoms, and in length a stade or furlong: and more then fiftie foote in height. That in the midst was in breadth once and a halfe as much as these two; and in height twice as much. For it surpassed the rest by farre. The floore was made of goodly planks, engrauen with diuers figures; and the rooffe thereof was farre higher then any of the rest, in which certaine huge beames were mortised, on which there were certaine pillars builded, vnited and annexed so tighly together, that it is a matter incredible to those that haue not seene the same, and admirable to him that beholdeth it. Such was the fashion of the circuit of the first porch. In the midst, and not farre off from the other, stood the second; whereunto there was an ascent made with few steppes. It was inclosed with a separation of stone, with an inscription, forbidding any stranger to enter the same vpon paine of death. This inward porch both to the southward and the northward had three gates, in ranke equidistant the one from the other; and toward the eastward had one great gate, by which those men entred who were cleaused with their wifes. For beyond that place it was not lawfull for the women to haue access. But the third inward space was only accessible by the Priests. In it was the Temple, and before the same the Altar; on which they were wont to offer burnt sacrifices vnto God. But *Herode* durst not enter the interior sanctuarie, from whence profane men were excluded by the lawe: but by the mediation of the priests he intended the structure and building of the inward porch, and finishing in eight yeeres space the rest of the edifice, at length also he finished the Temple it selfe, by the induours of the same priests, within the terme of one yeere and sixe moneths. By which meanes the people were replenished with the fulnesse of ioye, and euery one gaue thanks vnto God for that the whole worke was finished so speedily, and wished all happinesse to the king for his cost and diligence in the execution and finishing thereof: and they celebrated a great feast in honour of the restauration of the Temple. Then did the king offer vp three hundred oxen vnto God, and the rest of them each one according to his abilitie offered so many sacrifices, as that scarcely they may be comprehended in number, for that their multitude exceedeth their estimate.

About the very time of the celebration of this feast in honour of the reedification of the Temple, the kings day of coronation fell out, which hee was wont to solemnize euery yeere with great ioye: and for this twofold occasion the solemnitie and ioy was farre more sumptuous and compleate. The king also caused a conduit of water to bee made, and conuayed by pipes vnder ground, drawing it from the Cattle *Antonia* vnto the Orientall gate of the temple; nere to which he builded an other Tower also, to the ende, that by the conduits he might ascend priuily vnto the Temple, if happely the people should practise any insurrections against his royalty. It is reported, that during the building of this temple, it neuer rained by day time, but onely by night, to the intent the worke might not bee interrupted: and our predecessors haue testified no lesse vnto vs. Neither is this thing vncredible if wee attentively consider those other effectes of Gods prouidence. Hitherto concerning the reedification of the Temple.

The inward
court into
which, and no
further, the
Iewes might
enter.

The dedicati-
on of the temple.

A conduit
vnder ground,
from the Cattle
Antonia.
During the
building of the
temple it neuer
rained by day.



THE SIXTEENTH BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 16. Booke.

- 1 How Alexander and Aristobulus returning vnto Herode their father, were calumniated by Salomes and Pheroras meanes.
- 2 How Herod gaue Alexander and Aristobulus wines.
- 3 How Herode sailed vnto Agrippa.
- 4 The Iewes of Ionia accused the men of that countrey before Agrippa, for endeavouring to take away their priuiledges granted vnto them by the Romans.
- 5 How Herode returned into Iudaea.
- 6 Of the discord in Herods house betweene him and his sonnes.
- 7 How Antipater being at Rome, Herode brought Alexander and his brother, and accused them before Caesar.
- 8 Of the defence of Alexander, and how he was reconciled vnto his father.
- 9 How Herod did celebrate euery five yeeres certaine sportes, for hauing finished Caesarea.
- 10 The Embassage of the Cyrenian and Asian Iewes vnto Caesar.
- 11 How Herode needing money, entred into Dauids Sepulchre.
- 12 How Archelaus king of Cappadocia did reconcile Alexander vnto his father.
- 13 How the Trachonites revolted.
- 14 Of Herods expedition into Arabia.
- 15 How Syllæus accused Herode vnto Caesar.
- 16 Of Eurycilus his calumniation against Herodes sonnes.
- 17 How Herodes sonnes were condemned in a councell at Berytus.

CHAP. I.

How Alexander and Aristobulus being returned vnto their father, were assailed and calumniated by Salome and Pheroras.

The yeare of the world, 3955. before Christs birth.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Herod made a new law that wall-breakers should bee sold into bondage out of the kingdome. The punishment of theft according to the law of Moses. Exod. 1. 22. Deut. 12. 15.



Mongst the rest of the affaires of the common wealth, the king thought it behooued him to redresse and hinder priuate iniuries, both in the Citie and countrey: for the which purpose hee made a new law vnlike to the former, that it should bee lawfull for such as were wall-breakers, to bee sold for slaues out of the limits of his kingdome: which law did not seeme so much to intend the punishment of malefactors, as the dissolution of his owne countrey customes. For to serue forraine nations, who liued not after the manner of the Iewes, and to doe whatsoeuer they commanded them, was more preiudiciall vnto religion then vnto the parties conuicted of that fact. Wherefore it was sufficiently already in the olde auncient lawes provided for the punishment of such people, to wit, that a theefe should restore foure times as much as he stole: which if hee was not able to doe, that then he was to be sold; not vnto strangers, nor into perpetual bondage, but onely for seven yeeres: at which time he should againe be set free. So that the common people did interpret this new law to set downe an vnjust punishment, and rather to saue of tyranny, then of princely dignitie, and to be enacted not without contempt of their auncient lawes: so that for this cause all men spake verie ill of the king.

Herod sailed into Italy, and brought home his sons from Rome.

At the same time Herode sayled into Italy to salute Caesar, and to see his children living at Rome. Where, Caesar receiving him very curteously, permitted him to take his sons home with him, as being now sufficiently instructed in the liberall artes. Who returning into their country were ioyfully receiued of all their countymen, both for that they were of comely stature, and of

A of curteous conditions; and in their very behauiour did shew that they came of kingly lineage. Which things moued Salome and the rest, by whose false accusations their mother Mariamne was oppressed, to enuie them; fearing their puissance, & verily perswading themselves that they would be reuengers of their mothers iniuries. So taking hereby occasion, they began also falsely to accuse them, as mistaking their father, who had caused their mother to be slaine, and as though they had an auersion from him, whose hands were imbrued in their mothers blood. For they well perceived that by such calumniation they might draw them into hatred, and auert their well good will from them. Yee did they not carry these their inuentions to the kings eares, but contented themselves to brute them abroad amongst the common people; which so in the end coming to his hearing, would cause in him such enmity and hatred against his sonnes, as that it would overcome in him all naturall affection.

CHAP. II.

How Herod gaue wines vnto Alexander and Aristobulus.

But the king as yet mistrusting nothing, moued with a fatherly care ouer them, had them in such estimation as reason did requite, and for that they were now come vnto mans estate, hee married them both; and vnto Aristobulus he gaue Bernice the daughter of Salome; and vnto Alexander, Graphyra the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Which done, vnderstanding that Marcus Agrippa was returned out of Italy into Asia, hee went vnto him thither, and inuited him into his kingdome, requestling him to accept of his friendes entertainment. Which Agrippa yeelding vnto Herod omitted nothing that might delight him: for he receiued him in his Citie newly built, shewing him the faire houses and goodly edifices, entertaining him and the rest of his friends and followers with all sorts of delights, pompe & magnificence, as well at Sebaste, as at the hausen of Caesarea, and in the Cattles hee built, to wit, Alexandrium, Herodium, and Hircania. Hee also brought him to Ierusalem, where all the people met him, apparelled in such goodly and braue attire, as they were accustomed to adorne themselves withall when as they celebrated their festiuals, and with many ioyfull acclamations receiued & saluted him. Agrippa offered a hundreth head of fat oxen to God, and feasted all the people; and although he would willingly haue made a longer abode there, yet winter drawing nigh, fearing tempestuous weather, he was forced to saile away with all speed into Ionia, both hee and his friends being honoured with verie great presents.

CHAP. III.

How Herod sayled vnto Agrippa.

Herode hauing past the winter at home, and hearing that Agrippa was now with an armie minded to go to Bosphorus, the spring time being now at hand, hee sayled vnto him againe, and taking his course by Rhodes & Cos, he came toward Lesbos, thinking there to finde Agrippa: but by a contrary winde he was driuen from thence, and forced a while to stay at Chius; where many priuately comming to salute him, he rewarded them with princely rewards: & perceiving that the citie gate, destroyed in the wars against Mithridates, was not yet repaired, but lay still ruined for want of money to repaire it, hee gaue them so much money as largely sufficed to restore it to the former beautie and bignesse; exhorting them with all expedition to reedifie and adorne the Citie as it was in times past. At last the winde changing, he sailed first to Mitylene, and then to Byzantium; and there vnderstanding that Agrippa had already past the rocks of Cyanes, he followed him with all speed, and ouertooke him at Synope a Citie of Pontus: who contrarie to Agrippas expectation arrived there with his nauie: Herods comming was verie gratefull vnto Agrippa, and with especial affection they embraced one another. It was an euident sign of friendship, that the king omitting his own priuate busines, would now come vnto him in so conuenient a time. Wherefore Herod still abode with him in the army, alwaies present either to assist him with counsell, or to beare part of the labour with him. Hee was also present with him at such times as hee meant to be merrie, being his onely counsellor in difficult matters, for the beneuolence he bare vnto him, and also in all his mirth, as being one whom he honoured. Agrippa hauing dispatched the businesse in Pontus for which he came, it pleased him not to return by sea, but to go by Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the greater Phrygia, and so they came by land to Ephesus: and there taking shippe they came to Samos. And in all that whole iourney, almost

Herode sayled vnto Agrippa to Chius, and gaue a great summe of money to reedifie the porch.

Herod found Agrippa at Synope a citie of Pontus, and was by him honourably entertained.

Herod still present with Agrippa in sports and leisure affaires. Agrippa went by land to Ephesus.

The year of the world, 3956 before Christs birth 8. Herod helped many in the way with money. Herod was a mediator for many to Agrippa. The citizens of Ithia are reconciled to Agrippa, and they of Chius obtaine a priuiledge.

almost in euerie citie he gratified *Herod*, at his entreatie relieuing many of their necessities. And *Herode* did in the way helpe many with money that wanted, and spent much vpon his guests; and moreover if any one had any suit vnto *Agrippa*, *Herode* was the onely man that might obtaine his suit for him. And although *Agrippa* also was both nobly minded and easily entreated to grant all such things as were not preiudiciall to any man, yet was it a matter of no small moment and importance in king *Herode*, to incite him to vs. beneficence, beinge euen of his own accord forward enough to put the same in practise. For first of all he reconciled *Agrippa* beinge angrie against the Ilienians, and himselfe paid the money that the people of Chius were indebted vnto *Casars* receiueurs, obtaininge for them an immunitie: and hee also assisted and pleased others in what soeuer they needed.

CHAP. III.

How the Iewes of Ionia accused those countymen for offering to take from them their priuiledges, granted vnto them by the Romans.

The Iewes of Ionia complained vnto Agrippa of the injuries offered them by those countymen. Nicholas did make a speech vnto Agrippa in the behalfe of the Iewes.

When they came into Ionia, a great multitude of Iewes inhabiting that countrey being gathered together, expected him to speake vnto him; and findinge opportunitie, they complained vnto him of the wrongs that those countymen offered them, not permitting them to liue according vnto their lawes; and that vpon festiuall dayes they pulled and haled them before their tribunall: and that they would not permit them to send sacred moniey vnto Ierusalem, and that they compelled them to doe publike busines, and to spend the holy money in thole affaires, contrarie vnto the priuiledges granted vnto them by the Romanes. *Herode* laboured to haue the Iewes complaints heard by *Agrippa*, and willed one of his friends and followers called *Nicholaus*, to plead the Iewes cause: who made a speech vnto *Agrippa*, sitting with the rest of the Roman nobilitie, and other kings and princes, in their behalfe after this manner:

„Most worthy *Agrippa*, true it is that all men that suffer iniurie are constrained to flie for redresse to the higher powers, and we ouer and aboue hope to obtaine our suit. For wee aske nothing but that which your beneficence hath already granted, and that which they endeavour to take from vs that are, as wee also are, your subiects. And although that your benefit bestowed vpon vs was great, yet are wee worthe still to enioy it, onely for that you your selfe iudged vs worthy thereof. And suppose it was a small matter, it is a discredite for you not to grant so small a trifle.

„Wherefore it is euident, that the iniurie done vnto vs, doth also redound vnto you, whose decrees those that haue iniured vs, feare not to contemne, and to disannull your beneficence towards vs.

„For if any one should aske any of them whether they had rather lose their liues, then be deprived of their countrey lawes, rites, sacrifices, and festiuities, wherewith they honour their Gods; I know well they would rather endure any calamitie, then to be forced to forsake their countrey customes.

„For many wars arise onely for defence of religion, & the greatest reward & content that we reap by this happie peace, which through your means we enioy, is this: that wee are euerie one permitted to liue according to the custome of his countrey, and to continue in pietie. Wherefore they endeavour to take from others that, which by no means they would permit to be taken from themselves; as who should say, it was not as great an offence to hinder other mens pietie and deuotion, as neglect their owne. Let vs consider whether there be any citie or nation, that doth not account their felicitie to bee situate in your dominion, & the power of the Romanes? or is there any that desireth your honour & power to decay and be of no force? Truly none that is wise: for there is none, whom either publicly or priuately it concerneth not: but these people endeavouring to take frō vs your liberalitie, do also as it were deprive themselves of all benefits which they haue receiued at your hands, which are infinite. For what a benefit is it, that whereas other nations liuing vnder the dominion of rigorous kings constituted ouer the; these do only obey the Romanes, and liue in happy peace and tranquillitie? But as for our affaires, were no man troublesome vnto vs, yet are they not such as deserue to be enuiet. For enioying the common felicity, which others your subiects do, we desire nothing of high estimate & worth, but onely request that we may liue according to the religion of our countrey, which of it selfe is not to be enuiet at, but may be profitable for them that permit it. For God doth alwaies loue them, who honour him, and them who do not hinder his honour. What is there in our religion offensive to any man? nay, what is there that is not according to all pietie and iustice: whereby all things continue & are preserved? For neither do we conceale what life wee follow, nor the labours and exercise wee vs, but resting the

The year of the world, 3956 before Christs birth 8.

A seventh day from all labours, we spend that day in learning our religio, & the lawes & customes thereof, esteeming this custome not to bee of small force to correct and amend our manners. These our customes haue in them nothing that any that searcheth them, can iustly reprehend, they are now also, though many are perswaded the contrarie, consecrated and confirmed by their antiquitie: So that we must needs make a conscience of it to forsake our lawes, that haue endured so many ages. These are the injuries that those people by violence offer vs; they sacrilegiously take from vs the money dedicated to God: they impose tributes vpon vs, who are free: they vpon festiuall daies force vs to their tribunalls, to haue either prophane businesse, without any necessity, but onely in contumely and disgrace of our religion, which they knowe well in the meane while that they persecute with vnkind and vnlawfull hatred. For your Empire, equally providing for the good of all your subiects, doth not ouerly nourish the mutuell concord of them all, but also resisteth hatred and malice: These are the injuries most worthy *Agrippa*, whereof wee seeke redresse at thy hands, requesting thee that hereafter we may liue according to our religion as before times, and that our aduersaries may haue no more authority ouer vs then we ouer them: which is not onely iustice and equitie, but already also granted by your clemencie. And there are yet extant to bee seene in the Capitoll many decrees and ordinances of the Senate concerning this matter, engrauen in brasse, which are read vnto this day: doubtesse for our truth and fidelitie so oftentimes tried: or at least, though we not deseruing it, yet holy and inuiolate. For you do not only not withdraw from vs & all other nations your former benefits granted vnto vs, but you do rather every day beside all hope and expectation increase them: all which, time will not suffer me to recount. And that we may not seeme vainely to boast of our duties and officiousnes towards you, and also omitting other things that are past; our king now sitting with you can sufficiently testifie it so to be. For what kind of loue & good will hath he omitted to shew vnto your nation? where was he not proued truly: what hath hee not deuised to honour you? where stood you in need, when he was not the first man to helpe you? Why therefore should not wee receiue some fauour for his deserts? I will not omit to put you in minde of the fortitude of his father *Antipater*, who came with two thousand soldiers to assist *Cesar* in the Egyptian warres, wherein hee so valiantly behaued himselfe, that neither by sea nor land any one in those warres deserued more commendations then himselfe. I will not at this time recount how much good hee did *Cesar* in those warres, and what and how great rewardes hee therefore receiued: but rather I should first of all put you in remembrance of the letters that the Emperour writ vnto the Senate concerning this matter, wherewith hee obtained for *Antipater* the honours and priuiledges of the citie. For this onely argument had bene sufficient to haue declared that wee did not obtaine such fauour without desert, & request thee now to confirme the same, of whome wee might iustly hope for new benefits, seeing such friendship and familiaritie between thee and our king. For wee haue vnderstood by our nation that dwell in Iudæa, how many offerings thou didst there sacrifice vnto our God, & with what vowes thou honouredst him: how thou feastedst the people, and wast delighted in that mutuell hospitalitie. All which are as it were an argument of the friendship confirmed betweene so great a Roman prince, and the nation of the Iewes, euen in *Herodes* house. By all these, we humbly request in the presence of the king nothing but this onely, that thou wouldest not permit vs deceitfully to bee defrauded of that, which you your selues haue already granted vnto the nation of the Iewes.

Now no one of the Greeks offered to oppose himselfe against that which *Nicholaus* did speak: for this was no contention to a Iudge concerning their right, but onely a deprecation and supplication to auoid iniurie. Neither did they denie it: onely thus they excused themselves, that the Iewes dwelling amongst them were troublesome vnto them. But the Iewes shewed themselves to be free citizens, and to liue according to their religion and lawes of their countrey without any mans molestation or iniurie. Wherefore *Agrippa* vnderstanding that they were wronged, answered thus; that he would not onely gratifie the for his friend *Herods* sake, but also for that they seemed to him to demand a reasonable matter. Wherefore though they had demanded a greater thing of him, he would haue granted them whatsoeuer hee might, without preiudicing the people of Rome. And now seeing they onely demanded of him that which already the Romanes had granted vnto them, hee would ratifie and confirme vnto them the benefit which they had already receiued at the Romanes hands, and prouide that henceforth no man should molest them for liuing according to the institution and ordinances of their countrey. Hauing thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly. Then *Herode* arising, thanked him in all their names. And then after mutuell embracing one another, they departed, taking their leaues, from *Lesbus*.

Agrippa confirmed the Iewes priuiledge.

*Agrippa deprecates to *Herod*.*

CHAP. V.

How Herode returned into Iudaea.

Herod returned
to Ierusalem
and made a
speech vnto
the people,
and let them
vnderstand the
cause of his
iniurie, and
remitted the
fourth part of
his tribute.

THe king hauing a prosperous winde, within a few dayes after arrived at Caesarea; and from thence hee went to Ierusalem; and calling together all the people, as well the Citizens as also the country people then present, there he tolde them the cause of his iniurie, and how he had obtained immunities for the Iewes living in Asia, that they might conuerse there among the Gentiles, without any molestation. Then hee recounted vnto them, what felicitie they had receiued and enioyed by his raigne, seeing that his greatest care was so to provide for his subiects, that they might want nothing. And to gratifie them the more, he told them, that he would freely remit the fourth part of the taxes and tribute they were to pay for the year past. The people greatly comforted as wel with the kings speech vnto them, as with his liberalities, departed ioyfully, wishing the king all happinesse.

CHAP. VI.

of the discord in Herodes house, betweene him and his sonnes.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 3. al. 7.
Salome persecuted Mariamnes children with naturall hatred.

IN the meane time, the discord of his house was dayly increased; for Salome greatly maligne the two young men, as hauing an hereditarie hatred rooted in her heart; and presumed by reason of her good successe in her exploit practised against their mother, to labour all waies possible not to leaue any aliuie, that might reuenge her death; who died, not deserring it. And she wanted no occasion, for that it seemed the young men were not verie well affected toward their father, partly for the memorie of their mothers death, & partly also for that they desired the kingdom. So that they vpbraiding Salome and Pheroras did renew their olde hatred against them, who dayly practised, by all meanes they could, to overthrow them: the young men also hated them, but not with like hatred that they were hated of them. For they for their ingenuous manners and noble race dissembled not their anger, but with lauish tongues declared their mindes. But Salome and Pheroras contrariwise enuiously and craftily prepared themselves a way by calumnies, alwaies prouoking the magnanimous spirits of these young men, whose fiercenesse might loone bring them into suspicion with their father, to the intent that hee might gather hereby, that they wanted not will to reuenge their mothers death, yea even with their owne hands, forasmuch as they were not ashamed to be the children of such a mother, and would contend that she was vniustly put to death. And now all the whole Citie talked of them, euerie one pitying the young mens simplicitie: Salome not ceasing to gather by their owne speeches probable arguments of suspicion, that they did not only take their mothers death impatiently, but also raging like young men, did both bewaile her death, and their owne case, who were compelled to liue with the murderers of their infortunat mother, & as it were contaminat themselves with liuing amongst them. And the absence of the king greatly increased this their dissension; who being returned, and hauing made a speech vnto the people, hee presently was admonished both by Pheroras and Salome his sister, that hee was in great danger, by reason of the two young men, who did openly boast that they would be reuenged of them that killed their mother: feining moreover, that they were encouraged, for that they hoped that Archelaus king of Cappadocia would helpe them to accule their father vnto Caesar. Herod hearing this, was greatly troubled; and so much the more, for that hee heard the same also reported vnto him by others: And heereby hee was put in memorie of that which was past, how that for the dissension of his house he could not long enioy his friends and dearest wife. And as it were foreseeing by that that was past what would ensue, and fearing some greater calamitie would befall him, he was altogether amazed. And truly as abroad he was most fortunate about all hope; so at home hee was most vnhappy and infortunat beyond mens opinion: So that one may well doubt whether his fortunate successe abroad did counteruaile his misfortunes at home; or whether it had bene more expedient for him to haue had neither the one nor the other, but to haue had onely a common and ordinarie fauour at fortunes hands. Deliberating thus with himselfe, hee thought it good to call vnto the court another sonne of his, whom he begat when hee was a priuate man, and to grace him with honours, and to oppose him against the other two brethren, to the end, to bring downe and repress their fierce and haughty mindes: (this sonne of his was called Antipater) not minded (which after overcome by affection hee did) to make him sole heire of all, but thinking

Alexander and Antipater being by Salome and Pheroras drawn into bad words are by them accused to their father Herod.

Hedio & Rufinus, lib. 4. al. 8.
Pheroras and Salome accuse Alexander and Antipater before Herod.

Herod was fortunate abroad, and vnfortunate at home.

Herod aduanceth Antipater to bridle the arrogancy of his sonnes.

Ang hereby to bridle Mariamnes children, and to diminish their arrogancy by letting them see that it was not needefull to keepe the inheritance of so flourishing a kingdom onely for them: wherefore hee introduced Antipater one opposed against them, that thereby the young men laying their pride aside, might shew themselves more tractable to their father: and so now hee thought hee had by this meanes provided for the safetie of these young men. But it fell out farre otherwise, then hee expected; for the young men esteemed this fact as an iniurie done vnto them: And Antipater was of that nature, that hauing gotten promotion contrarie to his expectation, hee did endeavour all waies possible to bee in greater account with his father then the two young men, who was now through false accusations alienated from them, and euerie day (as he also desired) ready to beleue any thing that might increase him against them.

B Wherefore this was all his labour: yet had he an especiall care not to be thought an accuser of his brethren, but hee vied others of his accomplices, whom the king nothing suspected, who for the trust the king put in them, might also haue better credit giuen vnto their words. For now this man had many followers and fauourers, as it were gaping after preferment by his meanes, who with a kinde of counterfeit good will made a shewe of loue and good will towards Herod: And being many in number and trafficke one to another, the young men were euerie day entrapped more and more: for many times they shed teares for verie griefe of the contumelies and iniuries that they suffered; and many times they mentioned the mother, and complained vnto those whom they thought to be their friends, of their father, as one that dealt not well with them: all which Antipaters partakers maliciously noting, and adding thereunto something of their own inuention, they did presently tell it vnto Herode; and so did nourish the dissension of his house. For the king being moued hereat, and purposing to humble Mariamnes children, did daily increase and augment Antipaters honours, and at his entreaties at last brought his mother into the court, and many times secretly writing vnto Caesar in fauour of Antipater, hee especially commended him in particular vnto him: and being to saile to salute Agrippa, who was now to depart out of Asia, hauing gouerned that prouince ten yeeres, hee onely tooke with him Antipater of all his sonnes, whom also hee committed vnto Agrippa with many gifts, to go with him to Rome, and to be brought into fauour with Caesar; so that now all things seemed to be done, as it were by this mans becke, and the young men to be already disinherited.

Antipater inciteth his father against his brethren.

Herod brought Antipater mother into his palace. Herod deliuereth Antipater to Agrippa, to be carried to Rome.

CHAP. VII.

How Antipater lining at Rome, Herod brought Alexander and his brother thither, and accused them before Caesar.

His journey did greatly aduantage Antipater, and increase his honour, and preeminence about his brethren: for hee became famous at Rome being by his fathers letters commended vnto all his friends there: yet this was a great griefe vnto him, that he could not dayly calumnie his brethren; for hee feared lest his fathers minde should change, and so hee should affect Mariamnes children most. This was his dayly cogitation: but though hee were absent, yet hee ceased not by letters to incite his father against them, as hauing care of his safetie, but in deede for that he thereby through his bad practises hoped to obtaine the kingdom: so that hee so increased Herods wrath against them, that hee now was become a deadly enimie vnto the young men. But endeavouring to resist this affection, and fearing rashly in his anger to commit any thing to preiudice them, hee determined to saile againe to Rome, and there accuse his sonnes before Caesar, least he being led away thorow indignation and displeasure conceiued against the young men, should seeme to cast off all loue & fatherly affection towards them. And repairing to Rome, and not finding Caesar there, he followed him vnto Aquileia, and comming to speech of him, and requesting him to take notice of his misfortunes, hee presented his two sonnes, and accused them before Caesar of insolencie, and for hauing attempted to poyson him, complaining their hatred to bee gone so farre, that now by any wicked and execrable way whatsoever they sought their fathers kingdom; notwithstanding that Caesar had giuen him full power and liberty to leaue the kingdom to him, whom he found most dutifull and obedient vnto him. And that they, though thereby they might not gaine the kingdom, yet they could be contented with their fathers death, and that they sought it with danger of their owne liues, and that this horrible and detestable hatred was now rooted in their hearts. And that hee hauing long endured this calamitie, was now forced to open it vnto Caesar, and trouble his eares with these complaints. And spake after this manner: Haue I deferted this at their hands? what wrong haue I done them? or how

Antipater was honoured at Rome. Antipater who hee was present incited his father against his brethren by lyes, and being absent hee did the same by letters. Herod failed to Rome, and followed Caesar to Aquileia. Herod accused his sons before Caesar.

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world, 3956. be-
fore Christ's birth
8.

Alias, chap. 9.
Alexander and
Antipater
moue all that
were present
tuen their
father and
acceded to
& compassion.

Alexander
speareth in his
owne and his
brothers de-
fence.

how can they thinke it reason, that I who haue exposed my selfe to so many dangers; and vnder-
gone so difficult labours for a long time to obtaine the kingdome, should not peaceably enjoy
the same, and suffer me to bee Lord of my owne dominion, and permit mee the liberty to leaue
it vnto him who shall deserue such honour in the best performance of a son-like duty? So that
the beholders hereof seeing pietie so rewarded, might hereby be the more incited therunto, es-
pecially seeing that without violating the lawes of nature, it is not lawfull to thinke anie such
thought: for no man can affect his fathers kingdome, but he doth also desire his fathers death,
seeing that it is not permitted men to succcede those in the kingdome who are yet aliuie. He al-
leaged moreover, that for his part he had had a care that they should want nothing convenient
for a kinde father to prouide for princely children, neither ornaments, nor followers, nor de-
lights: that also hee had provided for them wiues of noble race, and had married one of them vnto
his sisters daughter; and the other vnto *Archelaus* and his daughter king of Cappadocia: and
which was the greatest matter of all, he had not vied the authoritie of a father against them after
these their enterprises, but brought them vnto *Cesar* their common benefactor; and that forsak-
ing his owne right of a father, who had been iniured, or of a king, against whom treason had bin
wrought, he was now content to debate his matter with them before such a iudge, as well knewe
how to decide the thing in question according to right & equitie: yet requested hee him that that
offence of theirs might not be left unpunished, nor he forced to lead the rest of his life still in per-
petuall feare: seeing that it was expedient that they should neuer see light againe after such ha-
nous offences, and to escape unpunished after the violating of all lawes of God and nature. He
rode hauing with a vehement voice objected these accusations against his sonnes before *Cesar*; I
the young men were not able to abstaine from teares whilst hee was yet speaking, and hauing
ended his speech they wholly retolued into teares, not for that they were guiltie of those impietie
laid vnto their charge, but for that they were accused by their father, against whom it was not de-
cent to speake freely for themselves, nor expedient to refuse to defend their owne cause. When
they remained doubtfull what to doe, mouing the auditors to pitie them by their teares and la-
mentations, and carefull withall lest it should bee thought that their guiltie conscience did so
trouble them, that they were not able to speake in their owne defence, seeing that indeede it was
their want of skill and tender yeeres, by reason whereof they were so amazed. Which also *Cesar*
well perceiued, and all that were present were so moued to compassion, that neither their father
who was their accuser could long refrain from being moued herat to compassion.

CHAP. VIII.

of Alexanders defence, and how the two brethren were reconciled vnto their father Herod.



Then the young men perceiuing both their father and *Cesar* to relent, and the rest that
were present partly to pitie them, partly to shed teares of compassion: the one of them
named *Alexander*, who was the elder, framing his speech vnto his father, began thus
to purge himselfe of the crimes objected against them. My father, how wel & friend-
ly minded thou art towards vs, this present iudgement declareth: for hadst thou determined any
heauy sentence against vs, thou wouldest not haue brought vs before him, who is the presenter
of vs all: for thou mightest being a king, or for the authoritie ouer vs as a father, haue punished
vs for our offence according to thy power; but in that thou hast brought vs to Rome, and made
Cesar our iudge, it is an argument that thou seekest to saue vs: for no man bringeth any one to
the temple whom hee purposeth to destroy: which greatly aggravateth our cause, who do censure
our selues unworthy to liue, rather then to incurre an opinion of impietie committed against
thee such a father. How farre more expedient is it to die guiltlesse, then to liue suspected of such
offences. Wherefore, if truth be our parrone, we shall be happy either by thy own iudgement, or
for that we haue escaped danger: but if calumnians doe preuaile against vs, it is superfluous
and to no purpose that we liue. For what good would it doe vs, if wee liue in continuall suspi-
cion? It is a probable accusation to accuse our yeeres, as hauing affected the kingdome; and our
vnfortunate mothers calamitie maketh it seeme more probable. But consider I beseech thee, if
the same crime may not be as well framed against any one whomsoever, as against vs. For any
king hauing children by a wife that is now dead, may if it please him suspect them, as practising
treason against him their father. But suspicion is not sufficient to prouoe a man impious and
guiltie: wherfore bring any one forth that can tell any argument of this crime by vs to haue been
attempted,

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A attempted, which may adde credit to this calumny; Can any man shew that payson was pre-
pared by vs for you; or that we conspired with any; or that we corrupted any seruants with money
and gifts; or that we writ any letters against thee? yet may calumnyation saue euery one of
these vpon no occasion. It is a grieuous matter for discord to be in a princes contrie; & the hope of
dominion, which your maiestie affirmed to be the reward of pietie, doth often impel mens minds
vnto hainous offences. But although it be most certaine that wee cannot bee convicted of any
crime; yet how can we cleare our selues from accusations forged against vs before them that
will not heare vs? But did wee speake some insolent wordes; yet were they not against thee, O
my father (for that had beene impietie) but against them who tell all they heare. Wee bewayled
our mothers misfortunes. It is true: but not because she is dead, but because after her death thee
is euill spoken of by those, who ought not to doe it. Wee affected the kingdome of our father he
being yet aliuie. Wherein? Is not that purpose of ours vaine and fruitiuous, wee hauing already
become graced with kingly honours? And suppose we were not; yet might wee hope for them.
But could wee expect them by killing of thee, whom both earth and seas would didaine after so
execrable an offence? Or could we haue expected that the loyaltie of thy subiects, and the lawes
of our nation would haue permitted vs, hauing gotten the kingdome by murdering our father,
to haue enjoyed the same, and entered into the holy temple, which thou didst repaire? Or suppose
we despised them all; yet could any one that murdered thee escape, *Cesar* being liuing? Thy chil-
dren by thee begotten are not so impious nor foolish, though more infortunate then thy estate
requireth. And seeing thou hast nothing to accuse vs of, or nothing to prouoe any accusation
laid vnto our charge, how canst thou be perswaded that wee are guiltie of such inhumane actes?
Is it because our mother was put to death? But her death ought rather to haue made vs more
warie, then insolent and rash. Wee could speake more in our owne defence, then this; but what
need is it to excuse that which was neuer done? Wherefore we beseech *Cesar* (who is Lord of
all, and now our Iudge) onely this, that if thou canst, O my father, put away out of thy minde
all suspicion of vs, to suffer vs to liue hereafter how vnhappy and vnfortunate soeuer: for what is
more miserable than to be rashly accused without cause? But if thou canst not, wee liuing, liue
without feare of vs, let vs die condemned by our owne censure. For our liues are not so deare
vnto vs, that we desire to keepe them to his molestation that bestowed them vpon vs.

Cesar with these words, though before not greatly crediting such accusations and slanders
did against them, was now more moued to beleuee that they were guiltlesse; and the rather, All men do
for that fixing his eyes vpon *Herod*, hee perceiued him also to be much moued, and all that were
present were sorrowfull for the young men: so that all courtiers present thought hardly of the king
for the absurd & fruitiuous accusation framed against them & the flower of their age, wherein they
were now inlaugered, moued all mens minds what they could to assist them: And much more
were they incited after that *Alexander* had ingeniously refuted his fathers accusations, the ac-
cused remaining still in the same habit and place, and for grieve fixing their eyes vpon the ground.
At last some hope appeared, so that the king himselfe seemed to need some excuse, for hauing so
rashly accused his sonnes without any certaine proofe of his accusations. At last, *Cesar* hauing
a while deliberated with himselfe, pronounced that the young men were innocent, and guiltlesse
of the crimes laid vnto their charge: yet herein they were culpable, in that they had so behaued
themselves, that they gaue their father occasion herein to suspect them. And as for *Herode* he re-
quested him to lay aside all suspicion, and to be reconciled vnto his children. For it was vniustly
done of him to beleuee such forged accusations against those whome hee had begotten, and that
one might recompence another in time to come for their former offences, and renew the good
will betwene them in times past, if to abolish all suspicions either did hereafter thewe himselfe
more friendly to other then before. *Cesar* hauing thus admonished the young men, they prepa-
red themselves to intreat their fathers wonted fauour: hee not expecting so long, came and em-
braced each of them one after another, they weeping exceedingly; and all those that were pre-
sent both seruants and others did the like.

Then giuing humble thanks vnto *Cesar*, they departed together; and *Antipater* with them
counterfaising himselfe to congratulate their good hap, for that they were now reconciled vnto
his father. Within a few daies after, *Herode* gaue *Cesar* three hundred talents, who was now be-
stowing his gifts and presents at Rome, and exercising his liberalitie vpon the people. And *Cesar*
againe bestowed vpon him halfe of the reuenues out of the mines of the metall in Cyprus; and
the other halfe vnto the ouerseeer thereof, and gracing him otherwaies also, he gaue him leaue
to chuse which of his sonnes he pleased for to succcede him in his kingdome; or if he had rather
to

Antipater
friendly doth
congratulate
his brethren
turned into his
fathers fauour.
Herode did
giue Cesar
300. talents.

The year of the world, 3956 before Christs birth 8.
Cæsar gaue Herod half his reuenues out of the mines of Cyprus.
The rebels are conquered.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

to distribute it amongst them all: which *Herod* presently would haue done, but *Cæsar* would not permit him, affirming that during his life hee should keepe it all whole and vndiuided, and his sonnes should be subiect vnto him.

After this, *Herod* returned againe into Iudæa, in whose absence the Trachonites that were no small part of his kingdome, were reuolted: yet by the industrie of the captaines he left to oversee all in his absence, they were conquered againe, and forced to doe as they were commanded. As *Herode* and his sonnes were sailing towards home, arriuing at Eleusa a citie of Cilicia which is now called Sebaste, he found *Archelaus* there, who was king of Cappadocia. *Archelaus* did courteously entertain *Herod*, and was very ioyful that his sonnes and he were made friends, and that *Alexander* his sonne in law had so well cleared himselfe and his brother of the crimes laide vnto their charge. And so each one bestowing vpon the other princely gifts, they departed, taking their leaue one of the other. After this, *Herod* being new returned into Iudæa, and calling the people together into the temple, told them all that had past in his absence from them, & the courtesie of *Cæsar*: and tolde them also of other affaires that he thought meet for them to know; and turning the latter end of his speech vnto his sonnes, and exhorting the courtiers and common people to concord, hee told them that his sonnes should raigne after him, and first of all *Antipater*: and after him his sonnes that he had by *Mariamme*, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*; in the meane time euerie one of them should honour him as King and Lord, notwithstanding his olde age, which for long experience was the fitter to gouerne, seeing there was nothing in him wanting to keepe both his subiects and children in their obedience; and that the soldiers also if they onely respected him, should liue in all happines and felicitie without molestation. Having thus spoken, he dismissed the people; some thinking he had spoken according to equitie; others thinking cleane contrary: For hauing now as it were caused an emulation amongst his children, there was as it were already a shew of some mutation.

CHAP. IX.

How *Herode* hauing finished *Cæsarea*, for ioy thereof did celebrate euerie fift yeere certaine sports.

The year of the world, 3957 before Christs birth 9.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9.
Cæsars first wife, Agrippina's sister.

About this time *Cæsarea* was finished, the tenth yeere after it was begunne to be built, the eight and twentieth yeere of *Herods* raigne, in the hundreth, foure score and twelfth Olympiade. In the dedication hereof there was great pompe and sumptuous preparations: for all musicians were brought hither to striue one with another, who was most excellent in their art; and champions that wrestled being naked & annointed with oyle: there was also a great many that fought with swords, & a great number of sauage beasts; and all things else that at such times were vsed, and in account either at Rome or in other countries. These sports were also consecrated vnto *Cæsar*, and were to be renewed euerie fift yeere. All this prouision the king at his owne cost and charges prouided to bee brought from any place whatsoever, to shew the greatnes of his magnificence. *Julia*, *Cæsars* wife also bestowed much of hir owne to the furnishing hereof, and sent many precious things out of Italy; so that the worth of them all amounted vnto fife hundreth talents. And a great company being gathered together to behold these sportes, hee receiued all Embassadors sent vnto him from other nations, to thanke him for the benefittes hee had bestowed on them; and he lodged, feasted, and sported them: and being all day long amongst the people to see those sportes, at night he receiued them with banquets, and shewing them his magnificence; and gained great praise and commendations for a worthy king. For he in all things so prouided, that the last was more pleasing and gratefull then the first, and caused him to be more admired. And it is reported that *Cæsar* himselfe and *Agrippa* often did say, that *Herods* magnanimitie was greater then his present reuenues could beare, and that hee well deserued an empire, as big as all Syria, and Egypt. These sportes being ended, he builded another towne in a field called Capharfabas, chusing for it a watery soyle fit for plants: the citie was compassed with a riuer; and he also planted round about it a wood full of most goodly trees. This towne he called Antipatris, after his fathers name *Antipater*. After which he also builded a castle about Iericho, called after his mothers name *Cypron*, which was verie strongly defended, and adorned within with rare and sumptuous edifices. And not forgetting his brother, hee dedicated vnto him most goodly buildings: for first he builded a tower as bigge as *Pharo* in the citie, in remembrance of his dead brother, and called it by his name *Phasaelus*, which also was the strongest hold and defence in all the citie. After this, he builded a towne nere vnto the valley of Iericho, as one goeth toward the north, wherby the fields that before almost lay desert were now tilled

Cæsar and Agrippa commended *Herodes* magnanimitie. Antipatris built.

Cypron is built.

The tower and towne of *Phasaelus* is built.

OF THE IEWES. THE XVI. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 3957 before Christs birth 7.
Herod built the temple of Pythius.

A tilled and inhabited by the townsmen; so that of them it was named *Phasaelus* field. It were hard to recount all his liberality in particular shewed both vnto the Cities of Syria and Grecia, and all other places wherefoeuer he came: for he helped many either by building publick places; or if there were any new works begun, and not finished for want of money, by giuing them money to finish them: the chiefest amongst all which were, that he builded at his owne cost & charge the temple of *Apollo* at Rhodes; and gaue them many talents of siluer to build their ships. He also builded the greatest part of the publicke houses and places in the Citie by *Actium*, which *Cæsar* built for the Nicopolitans there inhabiting, and that with his owne proper costes and charges. Hee also for the Antiochians inhabiting the greatest Citie of Syria, builded porches on each side of the greater streete, that goeth quite thorow the middest of the City, and doth as it were part it into two: and the streete it selfe that lay open, he paved with polished stone: which worke was as great a commodity to the inhabitants, as a beautie vnto their City. He also helped to maintain the sports at Olympus with yeerely reuenues, that now for want of maintenance began to decay: so that by his meanes there were more solemn sacrifices, and all things more sumptuous to please them that came to behold them: for which his liberality he was declared a perpetuall master and maintainer of those sports. It is admirable to see in one man such diuersitie of mindes: for on the one side if we respect his liberality and beneficence towards all men, we must needs say, he was of a most free and bountifull nature; contrariwise, if we consider the iniuries and cruelty he shewed against his subiects and dearest friends, we must confesse him to haue been a hard man, and intractable, and who passed all bounds of modesty: so that we would thinke him to haue bene of two contrary dispositions. But I am otherwise perswaded, and thinke that both these did proceed from one matter: for because hee thirsted after glorie and honour, and wholly applied himselfe therunto, he became liberal wherefoeuer he was, in hope either to reape present thanks for his labour, or a future remembrance. Wherefore spending aboue his reuenues for this matter, he was forced to be chargeable vnto his subiects: for it was necessary that he that so lauishly bestowed such huge summes of money vpon others, should some where get it, though with euill meanes. Lastly, seeing himselfe for such like iniuries hated of his subiects, he thought it a hard matter to get their good wils; which he could do no waies else, but by remitting the tribute they paid him. Wherefore he abused the hatred of his people for his owne commoditie: for if any one of them did not tolerate that slauerie wherein they liued, or did indeuour to shake off the yoke of his dominion, against such he vsed a meruailous cruelty; and outraged them no lesse, then as if they had been his enemies, neither respecting friendship nor kindred; for that he desired alone to be honoured of all men. And how greedy of honour he was, we may ghesse by the honours he did vnto *Cæsar*, *Agrippa*, and others of their friends: for he desired to be an example vnto his subiects, that as he himselfe honoured men better then himselfe, so they should all honour him likewise: thereby declaring what thing he did naturally most desire. But the Iewes religion doth not permit them licence to honour potentates, who of necessity ought to haue greater care and respect of right and equitie, then of such officiousnesse toward superiours: for it was disprofite enough vnto the Iews that they could not with statues and temples obtaine the kings fauour, and with such like flatteries satisfie the fonde appetites of a vaine glorious man. And this seemeth to me to be the reason that *Herode* was vnjust, and hard towards his friends, and to those whom he made partakers of his counsells and enterprises: and franke and bountifull towards strangers.

The sports of Olympus.

Why Herod was liberal to strangers, & cruell to his owne nation.

Herod greedie of honour.

CHAP. X.

Of the Embassage of the Cyrenian and Asian Iewes vnto *Cæsar*.

He Asian and Cyrenian Iewes were greatly afflicted by the Citizens of those countries, who hauing had the same priuiledge granted vnto them by the ancient kings that the Citizens had, were now greatly iniured by the Greeks: as though they carried money out of the country, & were preiudicial vnto the rest of the inhabitants. And the Greeks making no end of these their iniuries, they were constrained by Embassadors to complain of them vnto *Cæsar*: who wrote vnto euery prouince, that it was his pleasure that the Iewes should enioy like priuiledges with the other inhabitants of the countrey. The copy of which writing we haue here set down, that it may the better appeare, how the Roman Emperors of ancient times were affected vnto our nation.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10.
The Iewes of Asia and Cyrene being afflicted by the inhabitants there, send an embassage to *Cæsar*, and doe obtaine of him immunitie.

The year of the
world, 3957, be-
fore Christs birth
7.

Caesar Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. potestatis, thus decreeth. Forasmuch as the nation of the *G* Iewes hath alwaies been trusty vnto the Romans, not only at this day, but also in all former ages, and especially in the time of our father *Caesar* the Emperour, vnder *Hircanus* their high Priest: I haue ordained, that according to the common sentence of the Senate, they shall liue after their country lawes, vnder which they liued in the time of *Hircanus* the high Priest of God: and that their temple shall retain the right of a sanctuarie, and that it shall bee lawfull for them to sende votiuie money vnto Ierusalem by certaine persons: and that they shall not bee compelled to appeare before any Iudge vpon their Sabaoth daies, or the day before their Sabaoths, after nine of the clocke vpon the preparation day. And if any one be knowne to steale the holie bookes, or holy money laid vp in their places appointed for religion, he shall be guilty of sacriledge: and his goods shall bee confiscated vnto the treasury of the people of Rome. I also decree for the good will I beare vnto all men, that their memoriall or request offered vnto me by *C. Marcus Censorinus*, shall together with this my edict be published in that famous place, which all Asia hath dedicated vnto my name, to wit, *Argyra*. And if any shall be so hardy as to doe contrary to our decree, he shall be punished extraordinarily. This was engrauen in a pillar in *Caesars* temple. *Caesar* wisheth health vnto *Norbanus Flaccus*: let it be lawfull for all Iewes whereloeuer liuing, to carrie their sacred money vnto Ierusalem, according to their auncient custome, and that no man should forbid them so to doe: and this did *Caesar* write in fauour of the Iewes.

Agrippa writ
vnto the rulers
of Ephesus in
the Iewes be-
halfe, and to
Syllanus and
the magistrates
of Cyrena.

Agrippa also wrote in the Iewes behalfe, as followeth: *Agrippa* wisheth health vnto the magistrates, Senate, and people of Ephesus. I will that the Iewes liuing in Asia keepe their sacred money, which according to the custome of their countrey, they are wont to sende vnto Ierusalem: and if any one shall steale their holy money, that the same person if he fle to a sanctuarie, shall be violently taken away from thence, as a sacrilegious person, and deliuered vnto the Iewes to be punished. He also wrote vnto *Syllanus* the magistrate, that the Iewes might not bee constrained vpon their Sabaoths to appeare before a Iudge. *M. Agrippa* wisheth health to the Cyrenian magistrates and Senate. The Iews inhabiting amongst you, for whom *Augustus* hath already written vnto *Flavius* the president of Libya, and vnto other magistrates of that prouince, are not to bee hindered from sending their holy money to Ierusalem, as their custome is: and they haue now complained vnto me, that they are molested by the false accusations of some bad people, and forbidden to doe it vnder pretence of a certaine tribute, which notwithstanding they are not to pay. Wherefore I commaund that they may bee permitted to liue after their custome, and free from all such matters: and if in any of your Cities any sacred money of theirs be intercepted, that by certaine persons which you knowe to be fit for that purpose ye make choise of them, to send it againe vnto the Iewes. Item *C. Norbanus Flaccus* proconsul, Health vnto the magistrates of Sardinia: *Caesar* hath written vnto mee, commaunding that no man hinder the Iewes, according to their custome, to send sacred money vnto Ierusalem: wherefore I also write vnto you of the same, that you may not be ignorant both of my wil and *Caesars* also. Moreover, *Iulius Antonius* proconsul did also write to this effect: Health vnto the magistrates, Senate and people of Ephesus. The Iewes of Asia in the Ides of Februarie, I sitting in iudiciall seat at Ephesus, signified vnto me that *Caesar Augustus* and *Agrippa* haue permitted them to vse their countrey customes, and every one, according as he thinketh good, to contribute his first frutes for religion sake, to be carried without let or hinderance vnto the temple of the most mighty God: & they desired me to ratifie by my consent, that which they had already granted them by the abouenamed Emperours. Wherefore I would haue you to know, that I also, according vnto *Caesars* and *Agrippas* decrees and ordinaunces, doe permit and grant them also to doe all things they please, according vnto their countrey customes, forbidding anie man to hinder them therein.

Caius Norbanus Flaccus
writeth in the
Iewes be alfe.
Iulius Antonius
proconsul.

I haue thought good to annexe these decrees, for that I know that these my writings will come vnto the Grecians hands, that I may shew them that in former ages wee were so esteemed of the publick magistrates that none were permitted to hinder vs from vsing our countries rites and ceremonies; and that by their consent we worshipped God in our owne religion: which I do inculcate the oftner, that I may moue strange and forraigne nations, and take away their hatred conceived against vs, which is without all reasonable cause. For no nation doth alwaies vse the same custome, but almost whole towne amongst them do sometimes alter and differ from the rest; yet is Iustice equally to be distributed vnto all men: which is most possible, as well to the Greeks as to other barbarous nations, which is greatly obserued in our laws; which if we follow and violate not, are able to make all nations loue vs. Wherefore we request all men not to despise vs for that

A that we differ from them in religion, but fauour vs in that we follow vertue. For this is comon to all nations: and without this, mans life cannot stand. But I will now retorne vnto my history.

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The year of the
world, 3957, be-
fore Christs birth
7.

CHAP. XI.

How Herod hauing neede of money, opened Dauids Sepulchre.

Herod spending lauishly much and many summes of money, both at home and abroade, hearing that *Hircanus*, who raigned before him, opened *Dauids* Sepulchre, and tooke out of it three thousand talents of siluer, and that there was left yet farre more, able to defray any great charges whatsoever, he long time purposed to doe the like. And at this time in the night season accompanied only with his most trustie friends, being verie warie that none of the people should know of it, he entred into the Sepulchre: but he found no money there, as *Hircanus* did; but he tooke from thence a great company of precious attires & ornaments of gold; whereby he was entised to make a more diligent search: and he sent two of his companie for the nonce into the inner part of the Sepulchre, where the bodies of *Salomon* and *Dauid* were intombed, who were there lost, and as it is reported, fire came out of those secret places and consumed them. Whereat *Herode* being terrified, departed out of it; and moued with religion to make satisfaction, he builded a most sumptuous monument of white marble, at the entrance into the Sepulchre: of which building *Nicholaus* also a writer of that time, maketh mention; but he speaketh not how they went into the Sepulchre of *Dauid*, thinking that therein hee should not keepe decorum, if hee should make mention thereof. Wherein he followed his accustomed order: for his writings were to come to the eares of the king yet liuing, wherein he did onely curry fauour, mentioning onely that, that might redound vnto the kings credit: so that many of his open and wicked pranks, he doth either colour vnder some other pretence, or else all waies possible he endeavour to hide them. For he doth as it were tell a tale of *Herods* crueltie against *Mariamme*, and his sonnes; as though he did thereby deserue credit and praise, accusing her of adultery, and them as traitors vnto their father: and this he dooth cleane throw his workes, too much extolling the kings good deedes, and too diligently excusing his bad deedes and iniquities. But as I haue said, we must pardon him, who did not so much write to leaue a memorie of things done vnto after ages, as to gratifie and please his king. But I, who come of the lineage of the Asamonian kings, and execute the office of a Priest, account it a shame to lie: and doe intend truly to recount the history of all things that were acted and done, yet with a reuerence of the posteritie of that king, who doe also now beare sway and rule; yet with their pardon and leaue, hauing a greater care to the verity of our history, then to them.

Herode lost
two of his men
in Dauids sepulchre.
Nicholaus the
historiographer
reproued.

Ioseph came
of the priestly
line of the Asa-
monians.
A discord in
Herods house.

After the Sepulchre was thus violated, *Herods* house began to decay, whether reuenge lighting vpon that part which was already scarce found, or whether by meere chance such calamity at that time befell him, as might iustly be thought the reward of impietie. For there was a discord in the court not vnlike vnto ciuill warres, euerie one struing against other with hatred and forged accusations: but especially *Antipaters* politick practice against his brethren was to be noted, who intangling them by other mens forged accusations, himselfe oftentimes seemed to take vpon him their defence, that making a shew of good will vnto them hee might secretly oppresse them the sooner; and hee did so craftily circumuent his father, that his father deemed him to be his onely conseruer. Wherefore the king commended *Ptolomeus* his procurator vnto *Antipater* his sonne, and did communicate all his secrets vnto his mother, so that all things were done according as they pleased, and they made him displeased with those against whom they knewe the kings displeasure might redound vnto their profit.

Antipaters
crafty plotting
against his bre-
thren.

But *Mariammes* children did euery day stomacke the matter more and more, disdayning to giue place vnto their inferior: and for their nobilitie not enduring to bee removed from their places, and not to keepe their dignitie also: their wiues did the like, and *Alexanders* wife *Glaphyra*, who was the daughter of *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia, did greatly enuie and disdain *Salome*; and she also her againe, both for the loue that she bare vnto her husband, and for that she disdaind (as women are wont) that her daughter married vnto *Aristobolus* should be in equall honour with her. *Pheroras* also the kings brother had a hand in this other contention about a priuate cause of suspicion and hatred. For he fell so farre in loue with one of his maides, that he refused the kings daughter offered vnto him, rather making choise of his maide. *Herode* tooke this in very euill part, seeing his brother (who had receiued so many benefits at his hands, and

The women at
discord and
variance.

Pheroras re-
fused the kings
daughter offer-
red him to
wife.

was almost his fellow in his kingdome by his means) not to shew the like brotherly affection to him againe as hee then ought, and himselfe to bee an vnhappy brother. And seeing hee could not dissuade him from that madnesse, he married his daughter vnto *Phasaelus* his sonne, and afterward thinking that now his brothers mind towards his maide was satisfied, he complaining of his iniurious dealing in repulsing his daughter, offered vnto him to wife, he now offered him another of his daughters named *Cypros*. Then *Ptolomeus* aduised *Pheroras* not still to contemne his brothers offer, and persist in such folly; telling him it was meere folly therefore to incurre the kings displeasure and hatred, and losse of tranquillity. *Pheroras* vnderstanding this counsell profitable for him, hauing bene once before iniuriously accused, and obtained pardon at the kings hands, sent away his maide, by whom he now had a son, and promised the king to marry this his other daughter, and appointed the thirtieth day after to celebrate his marriage; making a solemn oath vnto the king, neuer after that time to vse the company of that woman whom he had put away. The time appointed being expired, he fell so far in loue with the former woman, that he would not stand to his promise, but againe companied with his maide.

Salome enticed
her daughter to
bewray her
husbands se-
crets.

Then *Herode*, not able any longer to containe himselfe, vsed many speeches, whereby he euidently shewed his mind to be alienated from his brother. And there were many, who taking hereat opportunity, did by forged calumniatione encrease his alienation: so that now there was no day nor hower past, wherein he did not still heare some new alterations and stirs amongst his deere friends; whom nature willed to combine themselues to maintaine concord and amitie. For *Salome* being now offended at *Mariammes* children, did not permit her daughter married vnto *Aristobulus*, one of the young men, to enioy mutuall loue and comfort of her husband, enticing him to bewray her husbands secret talke: and if shee heard any small occasions of offence (as often it falleth out) she should the more aggravate them with suspitions, whereby she also learned all their secrets; and made the yong woman hate her husband. And she to please her mother, recounted how that often when her husband and *Alexander* were alone, that then they were wont to talk of *Mariamme* their mother, & vse reprocheful words against their father; and threatening, that if they euer did obtaine the kingdome, they would make the sonnes of the king, whom he had by other wiues, notaries and towne clerkes: and so they might reape profit of their learning which they now studied for: and whensoever they saw any of the kings wiues weare any of *Mariammes* apparell, that then they vowed in steed of that attire, to cloath them with sackcloth, and shut them vp where they should neuer see the Sunne. *Salome* presently told all this to the king: who though he were much grieved hereat, yet he chose rather to seeke to amende it, then to punish them: for he was greatly incited against them by suspicion, and euery day waxing worse and worse, at last he beleued all the reports of any whomsoever. But he then contented only sharply to chide his sonnes, and pacified with their excuses and answers, he for that time was quiet.

Herod greatly
moued against
Pheroras for
affirming that
he was in loue
with Glaphyra.

But presently the mischief was againe set on foote: for *Pheroras* the kings brother, meeting *Alexander*, who (as we haue said) was *Glaphyra* her husband, who was daughter to *Archelaus*: he told him that he heard by *Salome*, that *Herod* was far in loue with *Glaphyra*: so that he could not shake off this affection. The yong man hearing this, became ielous, and was in a great rage: and now what honour soeuer or gifts *Herod* for the loue of his sonne gaue her, *Alexander* did interpret it in the worst sence, being now made ielous by that which he had heard of *Pheroras*; and not able to put vp such iniuries, as he thought, he went vnto his father, and with tears requested vnto him what *Pheroras* had told him. But *Herode* was hereat the more enflamed, not enduring himselfe falsely to be accused of so shamefull a fact, inuicighing against the great malice of his friends, who for his great good turnes he did them, so rewarded him. And presently sending for *Pheroras*, very sharply he began to chide him, saying: O most impious that liueth amongst men! art thou become so vngreatfull, either to speak or think such a matter of vs? Thinkest thou that I doe not perceiue thy drift, that thou speakest not these words vnto my sonne to discredit me, but also to the intent by this meanes thou mightest worke some treason against me, & cause me to be poisoned? For who but a good sonne, as this is, would suffer his father, suspected for such a matter, to liue, and not be reuenged of him for such offence? Whether dost thou think that thou didst put these speeches into his mind, or by them a sword into his hand to kill his father withall? or what was thy intent, seeing thou hatest both him and his brother, and only counterfeiting good will towards me to belie me, & to report that of me, that without impiety could not be thought? get thee hence, thou wretched impe, seeing thou hast thus abused thy brother, who hath well deserved at thy hands; and do as thou wilt till thy life time, my selfe will indevout to be better vnto my children, then I haue been; and neither will I punish them as they deserue. but

A but I will honor them above their merits. The king hauing discharged his choler against his brother *Pheroras*; and he being taken in a manifest fault, answered, that that report was first deuiled by *Salome*, of whom he heard it: which she (being then present) hearing, began to exclaim, saying, it was not her deuise, and that they all laboured to make the king hate her, and put her to death, being one who did especially with him well, and what in her lay seeking his safety, and that now he was in danger of more treason then euer before: for (saide she) I was the onely cause that you did put away the woman, whom you so doated after, perswading you to marry the Kings daughter: and this is the cause that you hate me. With these speeches tearing her haire, and striking her breast, she made a shew of innocency: but this her gesture was a colour to hide her bad intent. So *Pheroras* was left in great perplexity, not knowing what to say or do; and finding no pretence to excuse his fact: for on the one side he confessed, that he told it vnto *Alexander*; and on the other hee could not make *Herode* beleue, that hee heard it of *Salome*. This contention endured a good while: at last the king, being wearied sent away his brother, & his sister: and greatly commending his sonnes moderate mind, and that he had given him intelligence of those speeches, very late in the night, he went to supper.

The effect of
calumniation.

After this contention, *Salome* was hardly thought of, because she was iudged to be the author of this ill report, and the kings wiues withed euill vnto her, because they knew her to be of strange qualities and hard to please, and so variabell, that according to the time, one while she would professe friendship, and presently after hatred. Wherefore they still had something to enforme *Herode* of against her, taking occasion hapning by chance, which was this. There was a king of the *Arabians*, named *Obadas*, a slouthfull man, and one giuen to idleness: and there was one *Syllaeus* that did gouerne all his affairs; this man was a crafty fellow, & in the prime of his youth, and very beautifull. This *Syllaeus* coming vnto *Herode* about some businesse, and viewing *Salome*, who then sat at supper with him, began to set his mind vpon her: and finding she was a widow, he entered into talke with her, and shee finding her brother now not so friendly vnto her as before hee had bene, and also entangled with the beauty of this yong man, did not greatly deny to marry him, and many feasts being made at that time, they shewed euident signes of their mutuall consent, and loue one vnto another. The kings wiues told the king of this in scoffing sort: *Herod* herewith not contented, demanded of *Pheroras* how the matter stood, & willed him at supper time to note if he could espie any tokens of familiarity betwixt them: And *Pheroras* tolde him that by signes and mutual viewing one another, they sufficiently shewed their intents. After this the *Arabian* being suspected, departed into his owne country: But two or three moneths after he came again into *Iudaea*, only for this purpose, & talked with *Herod* touching this matter, requesting him to let *Salome* be his wife: affirming that that affinitie would be profitable vnto him for the traficke betwene his people and the *Arabians*, whose prince he was to be, and did already enioy a great part of the dominion. *Herod* told all this vnto his sister, & asked hir if she would marie him: & she answered, she would. Then they requested that *Syllaeus* should become a Jew in religion, or else it was not lawfull for him to marry her. He would not condescend herunto, affirming that he should be stoned to death by his people, if he did it; and so he departed without obtaining his purpose. From that time forth, *Pheroras*, and especially the kings wiues accused *Salome* of intemperancy, affirming that she had had the company of the *Arabian*. Now *Herod* determined to marrie his daughter vnto *Salomes* sonne, whom *Pheroras* refused for the loue of his maide, which sonne of *Salomes* was her eldest that she had by *Costabarus*; and that to shew his good wil toward *Salome* his sister. But he was dissuaded by *Pheroras*, who told him that the yong man would neuer loue such a father in lawe, because of his fathers death, perswading him rather to marrie her to his eldest son, who was to succeed him in his Tetrarchy: which he easily perswaded the king vnto, and so obtained pardon for his former offence. Wherefore the spousals being changed, the maide was married vnto the yong man, who had an hundred talents in dowrie with her, more then other-wise should haue been giuen with her.

Herod married
his daughter to
Pheroras son.

But all this while the dissension of *Herods* house did not cease, but rather encreased, he hauing a shamefull beginning, and coming to a sorrowfull end. *Herod* had three Eunuches, whom hee greatly esteemed for their beauty: one of them was his butler; the other his cooke; and the third his chamberlaine: whom also he was wont to employ in serious affaires of his kingdom. Some one or other enformed the king, that these three Eunuches were corrupted by his sonne *Alexander* with great summes of money, and being vpon tortures examined if they had accompanied with him they confessed all; yet they affirmed that they knew no practice of his attempted against his father. But their torments being encreased by *Antipaters* fauorites, they were forced to con-

the sons hatred
towards their
father is be-
wraied.

The year of the
world, 3957. be-
fore Christ's na-
tivity, 7.

confesse that *Alexander* secretly hated his father, and he exhorted them to forsake *Herode*, who was now good for nothing; who dissembled his age by painting his face to make himselfe seeme younger then he was, and colouring his head and beard black, which were already growne very white through age: but rather set their mindes vpon him who would in despite of his father enjoy his kingdome due vnto him; and that then he would aduance them to the highest honors of the kingdome: for he had not only title vnto it by his birth, but also was now prepared like wife to invade it; and that he had many of the captaines, of the souldiers, and many of the kings friends on his side, who were prepared to do or endure any thing for his sake.

Herode hearing this, feare and anger did invade him, by reason that his sonnes words seemed both contumelious and threatening: and being for both these causes in a rage, hee feared some greater matter to be put in practice against him, which he could not sodainly, and hauing so little warning, auoide; and not daring to make open inquiry, he set secret spies a worke, to tell him how all matters stood, himselfe now mistrusting all men, and accounting it his securitie to mistrust all, euen them that deferred it not: and not moderating his suspicious minde, now whose foeuer was the neereft vnto him, was the more suspected, as of most power to iniure him. As for others that were but onely named by his spies, he presently esteemed it his safetie to put them to death.

Herode credi-
teth all tales,
and so putteth
many to death
vniustly.

Then they of his householde euerie one being carefull to saue himselfe, were one turned against another, euerie one deeming it his owne safetie to preuent others, by accusing them vnto *Herode*: which done, presently they incited other mens enuie against them, and euerie one of them to desire such measure as they had measured vnto others: and thus they also reuenged their priuate quarrells, and presently after, they themselves were taken, and did by other means suffer the like, being intrapped in the same trappe they set for their enemies. For the king did quickly repent himselfe, because hee had put very many to death, who were not conuicted, yet for all that, hee was not hereby admonished to beware of the like hereafter; but on his repentance for their death, raged so farre, as to cause him to inflict the same punishment vpon their accusers, which he had done vpon them. So great trouble and feare then fell vpon all the whole Court. Hee then commaunded manie of his dearest friends, and them especiallie whose fidelitie he had before times experienced, not to come in his sight; nor within his court gates. For he did now shake off the friendship between *Andromachus* and *Gemellus* and himselfe, who were his auncient friends, and oftentimes had gone Embassadors for him, and alwaies been of his counsell, and had been tutors vnto his children, in whome hee had alwaies reposed more trust then in any others: the one of them, for that his sonne *Demetrius* was familiar with *Alexander*; and *Gemellus*, for that he knew him to wish well vnto *Alexander*: for hee was one of them who had brought him vp, and had aboad with him at his being at Rome. And no doubt but he had censured them with some more heauie sentence, had it not been that they were so eminent persons. Wherefore at that time he was contented to haue banished them, and deprived them of all their authoritie, to the end, that hauing now disgraced these good men, hee might the more freely play the Tyrant. *Antipater* was the cause of all this mischief, who from the first time that he perceiued his father to be fearefull and suspicious, still after that ioyned with him as counsellor, and as it were increased his rage and cruelty; and then he gallantly played his part, endeavouring, that whosoever would resist him should be made away. Wherefore *Andromachus* and the rest of his friends being now banished the court; the king presently tortured all that he imagined any way to fauour *Alexander*, to see if they were guiltie; or if they knew of any treason to be practiced against him: but they knowing nothing to inform him of, died amidst their tormētts. Where he so much more tortured others, for that contrary to his opinion, he found not so much as an euill thought against him; *Antipater* craftilie interpreting it, that they had rather in tormētts conceale the truth, then to shew themselves not trustie to their masters and friends: wherefore many being taken he caused them to be tortured to get some thing out of some of them. At last one amongst the rest, not able to indure those tormētts imposed vpon him, sayd; that he had often heard *Alexander* say, so often as any one commended his goodly stature, or skillfull shooting and the rest of his vertues that these qualities nature bestowed vpon him rather then other benefits; for his father for enuie hereat was offended: so that when he talked with him, he did vpon purpose draw his body together, lest his father should perceiue the taleness of his stature; and that when he went a hunting with him, he vpon purpose did misse the mark he could haue hit, because he knew his father could not endure that he should be commended. And whilest these his words were considered, & pondred, and his tormētts intermitted; he again accused *Alexander* to haue conspired with his brother *Aristobulus* to kill his father when he was hunting, & then to flie with speed vnto Rome,

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 8.
Herod deni-
eth to be fami-
liar with An-
dromachus
and Gemellus.

Antipater the
cause of all
mischiefe.

Many were
tortured, and
examined for
Alexanders
cause.

The year of the
world, 3957. be-
fore Christ's birth
7.

A Rome, and begge the kingdome of *Caesar*. There were also found some of this young mans letters written vnto his brother, complaining of the iniurious dealing of his father, who had giuen certaine grounds vnto *Antipater*; they cerely reuenges whereof amounted vnto two hundred talents. Then *Herode* thinking himselfe to haue probabilitie enough, his former suspition was now confirmed; and so hee tooke *Alexander* & cast him in prison: and againe he began to rage; notwithstanding that himselfe did scarcely beleue the informations against him: neither could he himselfe denie any cause wherefore they should seeke to worke treason against him. And those complaints seemed childish: neither was it probable that hauing openly killed his father, hee would afterwards haue gone to Rome. Wherefore endeavouring to find som stronger argument of his sonnes impietie, and because he would not bee thought rashly to haue committed his son to prison, he caused the most noble and eminent of all *Alexanders* welwillers to be tortured, and they confessing no such matter as he expected, he put them to death.

Alexander be-
gin in prison.
his friends were
tortured.

One accused
Alexander to
haue sent let-
ters to Rome
against his fa-
ther.

Alexander
confesseth the
treason, and
who had a hand
in it.

Whilest thus all the court did resound with feare, tormētts, and contentions; a certaine man accused *Alexander* to haue sent letters to his friends at Rome, to entreate them to cause him to be sent for by *Caesar* thither, that he might accuse his father of certaine conspiracies against *Caesar*; and how he more esteemed the friendship of *Mithridates* king of the Parthians, then the friendship of the Romans: affirming also, that he had poison ready prepared at Ascalon. *Herod* hearing this, was comforted by the parasites about him, as hauing not done any thing rashly; and so he gaue now full credite vnto all: yet the poison was diligently sought for, but could not be found. *Alexander* being now oppressed with this calamitie, he yet tooke courage, & because he would more incite his fathers displeasure against him, he did not deny it: perhaps meaning to make his father ashamed of himselfe, for giuing credite so easily vnto forged tales; or at least if hee could not effect that, entangle all the court and him too in calamitie and misery: Which that he might the better doe, he writ foure little bookes, and sent them vnto his father, telling him that it was needlesse to vse any more tormētts, for indeed treason was intended against him; and that *Theororas* and his most trusty friends were herein conspirators: And that in the night time *Salome* came secretly vnto him, and as it were forced him to lie with her; and that all of them aimed at this mark, to haue him made away, that so they might enjoy their wished liberty. He also accused *Ptolomeus* and *Sapinnus* of this conspiracy, who were more faithful vnto the king, then all others: so that now these men, who before were most friendly one to another, began like mad men to rage one against another: and punishment so hastily pursued euerie one, that they had no leasure giuen them to speake in their owne defence: neither was their punishment deferred till their cause was tried, and the truth known, that some were bound and imprisoned, other some presently put to death, other laughed in their sleeves to see that day, yet discontented for that anie delay was vsed for their punishment: so that the kings court was now greatly defaced with sorrow, and heauinesse, wherewith the wonted felicitie thereof was destroyed. *Herode* himselfe amidst these calamities, could not but bee weary of his life, who not daring trust himselfe in any bodys hand, he was tormented with a daily and hourly feare of some vntimely death, that would befall him: and many times perswaded himselfe, that hee did see his sons before him with a drawne sword, ready to kill him; and this was his cogitation night and day, so that herewith he almost ran mad.

Herod was so
troubled with
the contention
in his house
that hee was
weary of his
life.

CHAP. XII.

How Archelaus king of Cappadocia reconciled Alexander vnto his father.

Whilest *Herode* was thus troubled in his minde, *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia carefull for his daughter, and the young man his sonne in law, and pitying his friend *Herode* entangled in such calamities; he thought it his dutie to make a iourney vnto him. And finding him so affected as it was reported vnto him before his coming, he thought it an vnfitt way to argue him of too much credulity and rashnesse; perceiuing that thereby hee would bee rather exasperated, so much the more labouring to excuse himselfe. Wherefore *Archelaus* deuised an other way to appease these troubles. Wherefore hee counterfained indignation against the young man, approouing all the kings actions for good; affirming that he would breake the band of wedlocke betweene his daughter and *Alexander*, and that if hee knew of the conspiracie, and did not informe the king thereof, himselfe would punish her. Then *Herode* contrarie to his expectation, seeing *Archelaus* so angry for the offence committed against him,

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 9.
al. 18.

Archelaus the
king of Cappa-
docia secretly
displeaseth
against *Alex-
ander* his son
in law, and so
reconciled *He-
rod* vnto him.

4. Caesar offended
with Herod.
Obodas dying,
Aeneas succee-
ded him in the
Arabian king-
dome.
Caesar would
not give audi-
ence to the A-
rabian embas-
sadors.

Herod sent
Nicholaus Da-
mascene to
Caesar.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

did easily perswade *Caesar* any thing; for that *Caesar* was now very credulous; and *Syllaus* ayimed at some greater matter. For *Obodas* dying, *Aeneas* succeeded him in the kingdom of Arabia, who changing his name, called himselfe *Aretas*, whom *Syllaus* by forged calumniationes did seeke to depole from the crowne, and vsurpe the kingdome vnto himselfe; giuing great summes of money vnto the courtiers, and promising great summes vnto *Caesar*; whom he now perceiued to be angry against *Aretas*, for that without his consent he presumed to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdom. But at last he also sent letters and gifts vnto *Caesar*, and amongst the rest a crown of gold worth many talents, and in those letters he accused *Syllaus*, who as an impious and disloyal seruant, had poisoned his king *Obodas*; in whose life time he had also inuaded the gouernment of the kingdom, committing adulterie with the Arabians wiues, getting together other mens money, thereby to obtaine the kingdom. *Caesar* would not permit these embassadours to haue audience, but refusing their gifts, suffered them to depart without obtaining that they came for. In the mean time the affaires of Iudaea and Arabia euery day became worse and worse, euery one seeking to trouble the estate of both kingdomes, and no man endeavouring to quiet them. For the king of Arabia was not yet established in his kingdom, and therefore could not controule his subiects. And *Herod* feared that if he did defend himselfe, he should so much the more incite *Caesar* against him; and so was forced to put vp all iniuries that were done vnto him: and finding no end of his miseries, he finally determined to send againe to Rome embassadours, to see if by the help of his friends *Caesar* might bee perswaded to thinke better of him, and so committed them. *baissa* vnto *Nicholaus* of Damasco, and sent him to Rome.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Eurycles his calumniationes against Herodes sonnes.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 11.
al. 17.
Eurycles a La-
cedemonian
insinuateth
himselfe into
Herods famili-
arity.
Eurycles insi-
nuated himself
into Alexanders
friendship.

AT this time the dissension of *Herodes* house was much encreased; and although al-
ther times his court was neuer voided of suspition, which is a pernicious euill to Kings
and Princes, yet at that time especially this mischief was in his principall vigor & force.
For one *Eurycles* a Lacedemonian and a noble man of his countrey, but hauing a turbulent wit gi-
uen ouer to flattery & pleasure, yet cunningly dissembling both vices, comming vnto *Herod* and
giuing him gifts, & receiuing greater gifts at his hands, was by him curteously entertained; and
familiarily conuersing with him, brought it so to passe that he was receiued amongst his especial
friends. This *Eurycles* lodged at *Antipaters* house, being also familiar with *Alexander* for their of-
ten meeting one another: for he said that *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia and himselfe were great
friends, and therefore hee counterfained himselfe to reuerence *Glaphyra* verie much; and all men
iudging him indifferent vnto all parties, he diligently noted whatoeuer past, and euery word that
was spoken, seeking by all meanes he could, matter to gratifie others by carrying of tales; and
with such flattering faire speeches he insinuated himselfe into euery mans friendship, that he se-
med as *Alexanders* sole trusty friend, and to vse other men as it behooued a friend. And by this
he deceit he so insinuated himselfe into *Alexanders* fauour, that the young man thought him to
be his only friend, vnto whom he might impart his secrets; so that *Alexander* opened vnto him
his griefe, for that his father was something alienated from him, and recounted vnto him his mo-
thers misfortune, and that *Antipater* had now gotten all authoritie and dignitie from him,
and his brother: and was the onely man that could doe all; and that these iniuries were no longer
tolerable, their father being now so incited against them, that now hee would neither ad-
mit them vnto his counsels, nor banquets. And he committed his griefes (as he then thought)
into his friends bosome. But *Eurycles* told *Antipater* all, affirming that though it nothing con-
cerned him, yet he could not but speake of it for the greatnesse of the danger then imminent,
willing him to beware of *Alexander*, who did not sticke openly to shew what mind he bare, but
did as it were manifestly shew that he desired to make away his father. Which done he receiued
of *Antipater* most rich gifts, as pledges of his good will towards him; and finally he was by him
perswaded to relate this newes himselfe vnto *Herode*. The king lent a greedy eare whilst here-
counted *Alexanders* malice, and was so moued with the circumstances of his speeches, that he
conceiued a deadly hatred against his sonne, which also without further delay hee did make ma-
nifest: for he rewarded *Eurycles* for his paines with 50. talents. Which he hauing receiued went
vnto *Archelaus*, and talking and speaking well of *Alexander*, recounted vnto him in what stee-
de he had stood him in reconciling him vnto his father: and receiuing of him also a summe of mo-
ney, hee departed before his malice was discovered; and returned into his countrey, and vsing the

Eurycles obser-
uing all Alex-
anders words and
actions related
them to Anti-
pater & Herod.
Eurycles by
craft got money
of Archelaus.

OF THE IEWES. THE XVI. BOOKE.

As the like shifts there also, hee was finally by his countymen banished from Lacedemonia. Fur-
thermore, *Herode* not content now, as before he was, to heare only that which was told him of
Alexander and *Aristobulus*, did now himselfe also conceiue a proper hatred against them him-
selfe, obseruing all things, and making diligent inquiry though no man accused them, and per-
mitting all men to speake what they list against them. And amongst the rest, *Euratus* of Cous
had conspired with *Alexander*, and he seemed now to heare no talke more willingly then this, &
such like. But then greater misfortunes then all the rest befel the young men; false accusations, ne-
uer ceasing to be forged against them, and euery one as it were, striming to accuse them of some
crime or other vnto the king, pretending the care they bare of his safete. *Herod* had two cham-
pions, *Iucundus* and *Tyrannus*; both acceptable and gratefull vnto him, for their strength & tall
 stature & bignes of body: these two for some offence were banished the court, and receiued into
Alexanders seruice, and placed amongst his stipendary horsemen, and for that they were verie
active he bestowed many giftes and much money vpon them. Whereat the king presently con-
ceiuing suspition, began to torture them, & after many torments they confessed that *Alexander*
had hired them to kill *Herod* as hee was a hunting wilde beastes: for so it might easily be bruited
abroad that hee falling off his horse, fell vpon his owne lance; and so was slaine: which once
before had almost hapned vnto him. They also declared vnto him, that certaine golde was hid-
den and buried in the stable: and they also accused *Herods* chiefe huntsman, that at *Alexanders*
command hee had giuen *Alexanders* seruants the kings launces and his armour. After them
the prefect of the Caste of Alexandrium, was taken and examined vpon tortures, and it was
C objected against him, that he promised to receiue them into the Caste, and to deliuer vnto them
the kings treasure there. But he denying it, his owne sonne affirmed all to be true, and brought
forth letters to testifie the same, resembling *Alexanders* hand, written to this effect: So soone as
by Gods assistance we haue done that which wee intend to doe, wee wil presently come vnto you:
bee carefull therefore, that according to your promise you doe receiue vs into the Caste. *He-
rode* hauing had a viewe of these letters, did now without any hesitation beleene that indeede
some treacherous practice was plotted against him by his sonnes. But *Alexander* affirmed, that
Diophantus the scribe had counterfained his hand, and that the letter was *Antipaters* deuise. For
Diophantus was accounted cunning in such matters, and afterward being taken with the like, he
was therefore put to death. And the king produced them that had been tortured at Iericho be-
fore the people to accuse his sonnes, where they were stoned to death, and the people hereat mo-
ued, would also haue killed *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* with the same death. But *Herode*, by
the means of *Ptolomeus* and *Pheroras* did restraine them, and commanded the young men to
be cast into prison, and there to be kept so streight that no man was admitted vnto them, but ma-
niples were set, who should narrowly marke all their actions and wordes: and now they were
accounted as condemned men both by other mens opinions and also by their owne. One of
them, to wit *Aristobulus*, for griefe inuiuing his aunt, and mother in lawe to compassionate his
present calamitie, and to hate him that was the author hereof, affirmed that she also was in great
danger, being accused, in hope to marry with *Syllaus*, to haue signified vnto him by letters all that
past in *Herods* court. Which words the woman presently came and recounted vnto her brother
E *Herod*. The king no longer able to bridle his furie, commanded them both to be bound & kept
in seuerall places one from another, and each of them to write what they had plotted against their
father: & being thus commanded, they wrot that they neither prepared treason, nor yet thought
of any treason against him, only they purposed to flie, because they perceiued that they could no
longer liue here, because they were so suspected & in continual care. At that time a prince of Cap-
padocia came Embassadour from *Archelaus*, named *Mela*, who was one of the greatest lords of
the country: and *Herod* willing to shew his sons malice, he sent for *Alexander* out of prison, com-
manding him to recount how and after what order, or whither they meant to flie: hee answered,
vnto *Archelaus*, who had also promised them to send them to Rome; but that they had no further
intent or purpose to effect any vnlawfull practice against their father, and that all other accusa-
tions were false. And that he requested that *Tyrannus* and the rest might haue been better exami-
ned; But *Antipater* presented that, who by his owne forged rumours spread amongst the peo-
ple did cause them to hasten their deaths. Which being said, *Herode* commanded both him and
Mela to be led vnto *Glaphyra*, that she might be asked whether she were any way priuie vnto the
conspiracie against *Herod*: and comming vnto her, the woman seeing her husband bound, pre-
sently tore her haire, and being amazed, with great compassion cried out amaine. The young
mans cheekes were also bedewed with teares; so that a long time after, those that were present
amazied

4. Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 10.
Herod did
give care vnto
the accusers of
Alexander and
Aristobulus.
Iucundus and
Tyrannus con-
fessed that Alex-
ander did solli-
cite them to
kill Herod as
hee was a
hunting.

How Alexan-
der writ vnto the
captaine of
Alexandria to
receiue him.
Diophantus
the scribe doth
counterfaine
other mens
hands.
Alexander and
Aristobulus are
imprisoned: &
Aristobulus
warneth his
mother in law.

Alexander
confesseth to
Herod that hee
purposed to
flie to Arche-
laus.

Mela embas-
sador of Arche-
laus king of
Cappadocia.

Glaphyra *Alexanders* wife
is demanded if
she knewe of
any treason
against Herod.

The year of the
world, 3960. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tinitie, 4.

amazed and moued to compassion at this miserable sight, could neither speake or doe the kings G command. At last *Ptolomeus*, to whose charge *Alexander* was committed, willing him to speake whether his wife was priuie to his intent: he answered, how could it be otherwise, who is dearer vnto me then my owne life, being mother of her and my children? then she answered, crying out aloud, that she was priuie to nothing that was any harm; yet (quoth she) if it will auail you any thing, or helpe to saue your life, I am ready to tell any lie whatsoeuer seeing I must die, and will denie nothing you would haue me to say. *Alexander* answered, neither did I purpose any impietie against my father, as some suppose, who ought not to thinke so: neither doe I know of any one: this thou knowest, that thou and I purposed to flie vnto *Archelaus* thy father, and that he promised to conuay vs to Rome, which she also affirmed.

Archelaus ex-
cuseth himselfe
to Herod.
Cæsar and He-
rode made
friends.

Herode now thinking that *Archelaus* was conuicted of euil will towards him, deliuered letters vnto *Olympus* and *Volumnius*, commaunding them in the way as they went, to passe by *Ekusa* a towne of Cilicia, and deliuer certain letters vnto *Archelaus* himselfe to the same effect: and that from thence they should go to Rome, and if so be when they came there they found that *Cæsar* had been reconciled vnto him by *Nicholaus* his meanes, that then they should also deliuer certain letters vnto him, declaring all that was past betwene him and his sonnes, and the proofes alleaged to conuince the young men. *Archelaus* writ againe vnto *Herod*, that indeede he would haue entertained the young men, for feare that any greater mischance should befall them or their father, by reason of the suspicion against them; yet was he not minded to send them to *Cæsar*, nor to haue confirmed them in any malicious course. The messengers comming to Rome found *Cæsar* reconciled to *Herode*, and deliuered the letters vnto him. For *Nicholaus* his embassage was I to this effect: So soone as he came vnto Rome and had entred the palace, beside the charge hee had giuen him, he did also vnder take to accuse *Syllaus*. For hee perceiued the Arabians at vari-
ance amongst themselves, and that some of them had declared all *Syllaus* his bad practices, and that by his means and procurement many of *Obodas* kinsmen were murthered, as his aduersaries, manifestly prooued by certaine of his letters which they intercepted.

Hedio & *Rufi-
nius*, chap. 11.
al. 18.
Nicholaus ac-
cuseth *Syllaus*
and excuseth
Herod.

Now *Nicholaus* desirous to reconcile *Herod* vnto *Cæsar*, omitted not this occasion by chance offered him: for he well knew that if he began with the kings defence, he should then find a hard and heauy iudge against him; but if he began to accuse *Syllaus*, he should finde also fit occasion to pleade his kings cause. Wherefore *Nicholaus* taking vpon him to prooue the accusation against him at the day appointed, he accompanied with the king *Aretas* Embassadors, accused *Syllaus* as a murtherer of his Lord and king, and many other Arabians; and that he had borrowed much money to trouble the peace of the common wealth; and that he had corrupted manie women and honest matrons both at Rome and in Arabia. He added hereunto a most greuous crime, to wit, that he by his lies and false reports had deceiued *Cæsar*, whom in all things he had misinformed concerning that which *Herod* had done. Which when he once mentioned, *Cæsar* commaunded him to omit the rest; and onely to recount the matter concerning *Herod*, whether *Herod* did not enter into Arabia with an armie, and did slaine two thousand and fise hundred men, and carrie away captiues and robbe and spoile the countrey? *Nicholaus* answered, that to these demands himselfe was able to answere, that *Herode* did none of these, or at least verie little hereof, which he did recount; and that he did not deserue any displeasure. *Cæsar* contrary L to his expectation, hearing this, began to giue diligent care to what *Nicholaus* sayd: and herupon *Nicholaus* recounted vnto *Cæsar* how *Herode* had lent D. talents, and that hee had a writing in pawne wherein he was permitted after the day appointed if then it were not repaid him againe, to prey vpon all the whole country, and satisfie himselfe; and that this was no hostile inuasion, but according to lawe and equity a requiring of his right and debt due vnto him. And that this was not rashly done, though by the writing he was so permitted to doe, but by the consent of *Satur-
nius* and *Volumnius* presidents of Syria, in whose presence *Syllaus* swore by *Cæsars* good for-
tune at Berytum, that within 30. daies after both the debt & also certain fugitiues from the king, should be restored vnto him, and that *Syllaus* performed none of this: and so *Herod* went againe vnto the presidents, and they permitted him to goe and take pledges for his money; and that so by M their permission he went into Arabia. And this (quoth hee) is the warre that his aduersaries haue so tragically exaggerated, and yet (quoth hee) how can it be called a warre seeing that it was done by the consent of the presidents, and that by couenant after periurie, wherewith both other gods and also *Cæsars* name was violated. It now (quoth hee) remaineth that I speake something con-
cerning the captiues. There were forty theeues of Trachon, and afterward more that fled from
Herod for feare of punishment, and fled vnto Arabia, whom *Syllaus* protected and succoured
to

A narration of
the Arabian
wars, & the bor-
rowed money.

The theeues of
Trachon.

The year of the
world, 3960. be-
fore Christ's Na-
tinitie, 4.

A to the iniurie of all men, and gaue them ground to inhabite, and was partaker of their priees; notwithstanding that by his forced oath hee was bound to restore them together with the borrowed money: neither can he name any man beside them taken in Arabia, and caried away captiue, and some of them also escaped. This his forged tale concerning the captiues beeing thus refuted, heare, O Soueraigne *Cæsar*, the lying inuention which to prouoke thee to wrath himselfe deuised. For I am well able to affirme this, that when the Arabian army assaulted vs, and one or two of our men were slaine; then at last *Herod* forced to make resistance, he slew *Nacebus* and with him fise and twentie and no more: for euerie one of which *Syllaus* falsely recounted vnto *Cæsar* a hundred and so told him that two thousand and fise hundred were slaine. *Cæsar* hereat greatly moued with an angrie countenance looking vpon *Syllaus*, he asked him how many Arabians were slaine in the fight: he amazed and knowing not what to reply, answered, that he erred in the number. Presently *Cæsar* commanded the writings to be read, containing the conditions betwene them, and the writings of the presidents, and the letters of the cities containing the cōplaints of the robberies. And so the matter was brought to this passe, that *Cæsar* was reconciled vnto *Herod*, & condemned *Syllaus* to die; & repenting himselfe to haue written so threatening letters vnto *Herod*, he objected that also vnto *Syllaus*, affirming, that by his false enformations he had caused him to passe the limits of friendship in vsing his friend so hardly. And so he sent *Syllaus* into his countrey, that after hee had satisfied his creditors he might be punished according to the sentence. But he still continued angry with *Aretas*, for that without his authoritie hee had vsurped the crowne & kingdome, and he was minded also to bestow Arabia vpon *Herod*: but the letters which *Herod* sent him changed his minde. For *Olympus* and *Volumnius* so loone as they vnderstood that *Cæsars* wrath towards *Herod* was pacified, presently they deliuered vnto him the letters as they were commanded: wherein was contained the arguments whereby his sons were conuicted of treason against him. Which *Cæsar* hauing read, he thought it not cōuenient to trouble the old man, infortunate with his sonnes, with another kingdome; & so he admitted *Aretas* the embassadors: and chiding them that their king had rashly vsurped the kingdome without his authority & knowledge, not expecting his pleasure: he receiued their gifts, and confirmed him in the kingdome by his authority. This done, being now reconciled vnto *Herod*, he writ vnto him that he was sorrowful for him, that had such children; & that he should if they had attempted any treason against him, punish them as men that sought to murder their father: for he gaue him free D & full authoritie; but if they only attempted to fly, he should also be sufficed with a lesse punishment. Wherefore he counsellèd him to call a consistorie at Berytum; and together with the Roman presidents, & *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia, & the rest of his friends, & the nobility thereabout, according as they should aduise him, so to doe. And this was the effect of *Cæsars* letters.

Syllaus con-
demned to dy.
Cæsar was
purposed to
giue the king-
dome of Ara-
bia to *Herod*,
and was al-
tered by *Herods*
letters.

The year of the
world, 3961.
before Christ's
naitinitie, 3.

Hedio & *Rufi-
nius*, chap. 13.
Aretas em-
bassadors vnto
Cæsar.
Cæsar allow-
eth *Herode* to
punish male-
factors.

CHAP. XVII.

How Herodes sonnes were condemned in the counsell at Berytum.

Herode receiuing this letter, reioiced about measure, both for that hee had againe obtained *Cæsars* fauour; & also for that *Cæsar* had giuen him full authoritie to do what he pleased vnto his sonnes. And yet I know not how it came to passe, that he who in his prosperity was a hard father, did yet shew himselfe not rash in putting his sonnes to death: & now his estate being better then it was, and he recovering his wonted assurance; he now began a new hatred. Wherefore by letters he called together all those whom *Cæsar* appointed, only *Archelaus* excepted, either for that he hated the man, or else for that he feared he would haue withstood that his purpose: and when they were all come together, as well the presidents as the rest who were called out of diuers cities, he would not bring his sonnes into the counsell, but kept them in a village of the Sidonians, named *Platan*, nor farre distant from the Citie, to the intent, that if they were called for, he might bring them forth. Then *Herod* himselfe alone entring into the counsell before an hundred & fifty men there assembled for that purpose, began to accuse his sonnes before them, and vied a speech not onely pitifull for his owne calamities, but also little becomming a father. For he was very vehement and vnheedy in inueying against their offence; neither did hee sufficiently expresse his minde shewing many signes of furie, and anger; neither did he deliuer in writing any proofes of the accusations vnto the Iudges: but vndeceitly himselfe alleadged there the father against the sonne, himselfe also reading before them certaine letters written by them, wherein was contained no impietie nor treason, but onely a consulation

Herod assem-
bleth all that
Cæsar willed
except *Arche-
laus*.

Herode accu-
seth his sons.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

434

The year of the
world, 3961. be-
fore Christ. 26
times.

Saturninus
doth pro-
nounce an in-
different sen-
tence.

Volumnius &
other of He-
rods friends
pronounce
Herods sons
to be behea-
ded.
Herod asked
of Nicholas
what his
friends at
Rome thought
of his sonnes.

Tyro speaketh
to Herode,
and not obser-
uing modestie
he and the
captaines were impris-
oned.

to fly away, and certaine hard speeches whereby they shewed themselves offended. Which when G he came vnto, he exclaimed as though hereby they confessed their treacherous practises, greatly exaggerating the matter, and protesting that he had rather die then heare such speeches. Lastly, affirming that both nature and *Cæsar* permitted him authoritie against them; and his countrey lawes so commanded, that if any one being accused, his father or mother should lay their hands vpon his head, & the standers by must presently stone him to death: which though he might easily do in his owne countrey and kingdome; yet hee thought good also to expect their censures. Yet he came vnto them, not for that they were to iudge his sons, who were taken in a manifest crime, but that by this occasion they might adde their suffrages to the iust indignation of a father offended, and that they might leaue an example vnto all posterity, that such treasons ought not to be left vn Timer punished. The king hauing thus spoken, & not permitting the yong men to be brought H vnto their answer, all seeing what the king intended, & that there was now no hope to reconcile the yong men vnto their father, or saue their liues, they al confirmed his authority. And first of al Saturninus, one that had bene Consul, and had bene graced with many honours, pronounced an indifferent sentence, limited with circumstances, to wit, that he condemned *Herods* sons, yet not to die: for (quoth he) my selfe haue sons, and I would not adde this calamity to *Herods* misfortune past. After him also his three sonnes, who were their fathers legats, pronounced the same sentence. But *Volumnius* pronounced, that they had deserued death, who were so impious towards their father; whose sentence after him the most part followed: so that it seemed that they were now ordained to be put to death. Presently *Herod* caried them with him to Tyre, where he met *Nicholaus*, who was now there arriued, returning from Rome: vnto whom the king first re- I counting what was done at Berytum, hee asked of him what his friends at Rome thought of his sons. He answered that they iudged the yong mens intents impious, & that they also iudged that they ought to be bound and imprisoned; and then after due consideration if it were so thought expedient, to be put to death, least the king might be thought rather to haue giuen place vnto his choler then vnto reason: yet if it might please him they thought it best to acquit them, least o- therwise hee doe that which hereafter he may repent when it is too late. And this was the opinion of most of his friends at Rome. Then the king a long time pondered these his words, and made no reply, but commanded him to faile along in his company. At his arriual at Cæsarea all men were careful what should become of his sons, expecting an end of that tragedy, for they greatly feared that by reason of the olde discord hee would now cut them off; yet notwithstanding they K were sorrowful for them: yet it was dangerous either to speake rashly, or to heare any thing spoken freely concerning them, but in their hearts compassionating them they concealed their griefes. Onely one amongst all the rest, an ancient soldier of the kings named *Tyro*, others dissembling their griefe, spake freely what he thought: this *Tyro* had a sonne of *Alexanders* age, and beloued of him, whom *Alexander* much accounted of. This fellow many times amidst the multitudes exclaimed, that truth & equity was now banished from out of the world, and that in their steede malice & vntruth reigned: whereby there was such a mist & a fogge caused ouer the whole world, that no man could see his owne errors. This his freespcech though it was not without danger, yet all men hereat were moued, for that he had some reason to shew his fortitude in so dangerous a time, & every one was willing to heare this speech: and though themselves for feare were silent, L yet did they not reprehend him for speaking freely. For the expectation of the euent of so great mischief was able to haue wrested from every one of them words of commiseration. *Tyro* with great audacitie also came vnto the king, and belought him that hee might talke with him alone: which the king granting, hee vsed these words with great lamentation. I can no longer, O my king, suppress this my griefe, which causeth me so boldly to speake though with my own perill; yet if it please thee my king, that which I intend to speake shall be for thine aduantage.

Where now my Lord are thy wits? where is that thy courageous mind euer hitherto able to match all difficult busineses whatsoever? how hapneth it that thou hast so few friends & kinned for I account not them kinmen or friends, that permit such wickednes and hatred in thy court, which curst was most happy & fortunate. And what art thou vnto thy selfe? wilt thou not looke M and see what is done? wilt thou put to death the two yong men born vnto thee by the queene thy wife, who abound in all vertue; and commit thy selfe now in thy olde age vnto one only sonne, who nourisheth impious hopes & desires? and to thy kindred, who by thy own censure haue often deserued death? Dost thou not perceiue, that the people keeping themselves quiet & still, do both condemne the error of thy friends, and also pitie and compassionate the two yong men? Moreover, all thy soldiers and the captaines themselves haue compassion on them, and curse the authors

A authors of this infortunate calamitie. The king at first tooke these words of *Tyro* in good part, as being admonished of the perfidious dealing of them about him, and his owne calamitie. But *Tyro* immodestly & souldier-like vrging the king, and for his owne simplicity not able to discern what fitted that time, the king at last though he this rather a turbulent vpbraiding him the a friend- ly admonition: asking who those captaines & souldiers were, he commanded them all. & *Tyro* also to be bound & kept in prison. Then one *Triphe* the kings barbar, taking hereat occasion, told the king that *Tyro* had often solicited him, as he shaued the king, to cut his throat with his razor, promising him for a recompence great rewards, & that he should be one of *Alexanders* chiefe friends. Hauing spoken these words, the king commanded him to be apprehended, & the Barbar, and *Tyro* and his son to be tortured. *Tyro* his sonne seeing his father in most miserable torments, B and that hee still persisted in them (and by the kings displeasure, coniecturing that there was no hope of life) told them that tortured his father, that hee would confesse all the truth conditionally, that his father and himselfe might be no more tormented: & hauing his request granted, he told the that it was agreed, that *Tyro* with his own hand should haue killed the king: for he could get opportunity to come vnto the king when no man else was with him, & so he would kill him, and for *Alexanders* sake endure any torments whatsoever. This spoken, he deliuered himselfe & his father from further tortures, but it is incertaine whether the tale he told was true, or whether he deuised it to free them both from torments. Then *Herod* now laying all doubt aside (if before he were in any) thought what death his sons should die, & leauing no place to repentance & mercie, he hastened to execute his purpose: and producing 300. captaines, and *Tyro* & his sonne, and C the Barbar his accusèr, he accused them all before the people, and the people throwing any thing that came to their hands at them, they slew them euery one. And *Alexander* & *Aristobulus* were caried vnto *Sebastè*, and there by their fathers command were strangled: and their bodies caried by night into the castle *Alexandrium*, where their grandfather by the mothers side, and many of their progenitors lay buried. But perhaps some will nothing maruaile that a hatred so long a breeding should in the end so preuaile, that it ouercame naturall affection. But one may iustly doubt whether the fault were in the yong men, who exasperated by a hard father so long time, fell into such hatred of him: or whether it is to be imputed vnto his vnkindnes & immoderate desire of honour & rule, who could not abide any to be his equal, but rather chusing to do all at his own pleasure: Or rather vnto fortune, whose power the wisest liuing is not able to resist. Wherefore I D am perswaded, that fortune hath predestinated all humane actions, so that they must haue a necessary euent. And this ineuitable force we call fate or farall destiny, for that there is nothing which it effecteth not. But it sufficeth briefly to haue touched this high matter, which is of it selfe verie difficult, which attributeth something vnto our actions, & examineth the causes of the variety of our actions, which speculation is already comprised in the two volumes of our law. Furthermore as touching the yong mens fault, we may accuse their youthfull arrogancy, and the free kingly pride which was in them, who did giue too great care vnto their fathers accusers, & for that they were vniust searchers into his life & actions, & that they maliciously suspected him, & could not rule their tongues: but hereby gaue double occasion vnto their aduersaries, & matter vnto those tale-bearers that sought to get the kings fauour. But their fathers shamefull fault cannot be excu- E sed, who suffered himselfe so to be ouerruled with passion, that he put the to death that were be- gotten of his owne body, without any prooffe or argument of the crimes laide vnto their charge: yea two yong men of excellent feature of body, not only beloued of their own nation but also of strangers, not slouthful in hunting, & commendable in military affaires, & eloquent in ciuill discour- ses. For in all these things they were excellent, & especially *Alexander* the eldest of them. It had bin enough for him, suppose hee had condemned them, either to haue kept the in perpetuall prison; or to haue banished them into some far country: seeing that hee was assured of the Roman power, vnder whose protection he neither needed to haue feared inuasion; nor secret treason against him. For so soon to put them to death only to satisfy his own furious will, what other thing doth it betoken, but only an impious liberty casting off al fatherly humanity & kindnes? especial- ly seeing that he was aged, whose yeers could neither plead ignorance, nor that he was deceived. For neither was he the more excused by the delay he vsed: nay it had bin a lesse offence if amazed with some sudden newes, he had bin incited vnto so hainous an offence; but after so long delay & deliberation at last to effect such a matter, betokeneth a bloudy mind & obdurate in wickednes, as he shewed himselfe afterward to haue, not sparing the rest, whom before time he held most dear: who although they were lesse to be pitied in that they iustly suffered, yet was it an argumēt of his like cruelty in that he abstained not frō their deaths also: but we will speak hereof hereafter.

R r 2

THE

The year of the
world, 3961. be-
fore Christ's birth

Tyro is by his
son and a Bar-
ber accused to
haue practised
treas against
the king.

Tyro with
300. captaines
are accused
before the
people, and
slaine.

Alexander &
Aristobulus
strangled at
Sebastè and
buried in A.
lexandrium.

The cause of
these calami-
ties was desti-
ny and Gods
prouidence.

Wherein A-
lexander and
Aristobulus
were offend-
ed.
Herods shame
full error not
to be excused.

THE XVII. BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 17. Booke.

- 1 Of Antipaters malice, who was Herods sonne.
- 2 Of Zamaris the Babylonian Iew.
- 3 Of Antipaters treacherous praesises against Herode his father.
- 4 How Herode sent Antipater vnto Caesar.
- 5 Of Pheroras death.
- 6 How Pheroras wife was accused for intending to poyson the king, and how Herode knew Antipaters praesises against him.
- 7 How Antipater was condemned to die, and imprisoned.
- 8 Of Herodes sicknesse, and the sedition amongst the Iewes.
- 9 Of Antipaters death.
- 10 Of Herodes death, his testament and funeral.
- 11 How the people began a sedition against Archelaus.
- 12 Of the sedition of the Iewes against Sabinus, and how Varus punished the authors thereof.
- 13 How Caesar ratified Herodes testament.
- 14 Of the false Alexander.
- 15 How Archelaus being againe accused, was banished vnto Vienna.

CHAP. I.

Of Antipaters malice, who was Herods sonne.

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs Nativity, 3.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. Antipater after he had made away his brothers, grew hatefull both to the souldiers and the people.

Antipater gouerned the kingdom with his father.

Antipater with his fathers death.



After that *Antipater* had made away his brothers thorow the extreame impietie and vnbridled furie, wherewith *Herode* their father was incensed and whetted against them; yet incontinently obtained hee not that which vndoubtedly he hoped for. For being deliuered and discharged of that feare he conceiued, least his brethren should bee partakers with him in the kingdome, he found it a difficult & dangerous matter for himselfe to finde the meanes how hee might obtaine the kingdome: so strange and hainous a hatred had all the nation conceiued against him. On the other side, in shewing himselfe proud & lofty, he more & more whetted & encreased that hatred which the souldiers had foreconceiued against him, in whom notwithstanding the security of the kingdome consisted, if it should fortune so to fall out that the people should attempt any alteration. All which mischiefs were begotten by his own sins, & the vnnatural murder of his brothers. Naithels he gouerned the kingdome with his father, liuing in no lesse authority then himselfe: *Herod* also reposed more confidence in him euen in those things, for which he was worthy to lose his head. For the king conceiued that in confirmation of his good affectio towards him, *Antipater* had accused his brethren, as vnder resolution to continue his father in security, & not for any hatred he bore as wel vnto the, as to his father; though indeed he hated the for his fathers sake, being transported with fury. But all these were but as it were many subtill stratagems to insinuate himselfe into *Herods* counsailes & fauours: & these did he craftily make vse of, to cut off the occasion least any should preuent or accuse him of that which hee pretended to doe, & that *Herod* might be deprived of all meanes & maner of reliefe, if so be *Antipater* should bend his forces against him. For the treason he comploted against his brothers, proceeded from the hatred he bare vnto his father: but at that time was he the more egged on to prosecute his intended purposes, without any delay or procrastination. For if *Herod* should happen to die, it was a matter most assured that the kingdome should be his; and should his life continue any longer time,

The yeare of the world, 3961. before Christs birth.

Antipater spared no cost to winne his fathers friends.

Antipater could not deceiue his aunt.

Herode compelled Salome to marry Alexas.

Glaphyra sometimes Alexanders wife is sent backe to Archelaus king of Cappadocia. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 2. Herode bringeth vp his sons children.

Antipater hateth his brothers children.

Antipater laboureth his father to breake off the marriages he intended.

Herodes nine wives.

A time, and the practise *Antipater* went about should be discouered, seeing himselfe inuironed with these dangers, he should be inforced to make his father his enemy. For which cause he vied verie great bouny and liberality to all those that were about his father: and thorow the great largesse he bestowed vpon them, hee strangled and extinguished that hatred which all of them bare vnto him: and aboue all things he continued himselfe in credite with those friends, which *Herode* had at Rome, by sending them diuers presents, & namely to *Saturninus*, who was gouernour of Syria. He hoped also by bribes and rewards to draw his fathers brother into his faction, and to corrupt the kings sister also, who was married to one of the kings most esteemed friends in court. Furthermore, hee was a subtil and politike man in entertaining those men with colourable and cloaking shew of friendship, with whom hee conuersed, and to draw himselfe into credit with them: contrariwise, he was sufficiently practised to dissemble his malice and discontents, which he had conceiued against any man. Notwithstanding all this, hee could not deceiue *Salome* his aunt, who of long time before had founded his inclination, & who was not so simple as to suffer herselfe to be deceiued; but had already by all cunning meanes that might be, preuented his malice, although she had a daughter married vnto his vncl, by the mothers side. This daughter was first of all wedded to *Aristobulus*, and afterwards by *Antipaters* meanes espoused to his vncl. For *Callias* her husbands sonne had married the other. But neither could this affinitie colour the matter so much, but that his malice was discouered; neither could that former congauntie extinguish the deserved hatred conceiued against him. *Herode* constrained *Salome* (who thorow amorous passion had thought to haue married herselfe to *Syllaus* the Arabian) to marrie with *Alexas*, and that by the mediation and perswasion of *Julia Caesars* wife, who aduiled *Salome* not to refuse that marriage, for feare lest he should prooue her vtter enemy; for that *Herode* had made an oath, that if *Salome* condescended not to marry *Alexas*, he would neuer make account of her: For which cause she followed *Julias* aduile, who was *Caesars* wife, and counselled her also to her profit and preferment.

At the same time *Herode* sent his daughter to king *Archelaus*, who had beene married to *Alexander*, presenting him a dowrie out of his owne treasure, lest there should any different arise betweene them, and he himselfe most carefully brought vp his sonnes children. For *Alexander* had two sonnes by *Glaphyra*, and *Aristobulus* begat on *Bernice Salomes* daughter, three sons and two daughters. These sometimes would he present and commend vnto his friends, and bewailing the misfortune of his sonnes would beseech God that no such ill fortune might befall their children, but rather that they might encrease in vertue and acknowledge their education and bringing vp, with all dutifull respects vnto their parents. He prouided them also each of them with a wife, at such time as they were ready for marriage, namely, the daughter of *Pheroras* for the eldest of *Alexanders* sonnes; and the daughter of *Antipater* for *Aristobulus* eldest sonne; and one of *Aristobulus* daughters was married to *Antipaters* sonne; and the other hee espoused to *Herode* his owne sonne, whom he had begotten of the daughter of the high priest. For it is lawfull in our cuntry, and according to our custome, to haue diuers wiues at one time. The king procured these marriages thorow the compasion hee had of those Orphelins, thinking by the mutuall alliances to cause *Antipater* to be their friend. But *Antipater* conceiued no lesse hatred

E toward the children, then he had done malice towards their fathers. For the care that *Herod* had of them increased his hatred, in that he pretended to be the greatest among the brethren; and he especially feared lest when they should grow to mans estate they would resist his power, being assisted by king *Archelaus*, as his sonnes in law; and *Pheroras* who was a Terrarch should do the like, for that he had married his sonne to *Alexanders* daughter. And so much the more was he incited, because all the people had compasion of these Orphanes, and had conceiued a hatred against him, who neuer ceased to expresse his malice against his brethren. He therefore deuised all the means that were possible to disannul those decrees, which his father had resolved vpon to this effect, being verie loth that they should euer liue to be partners with him in the kingdome. So that at last *Herod* condescended to *Antipaters* demaund, which was, that he might marry *Aristobulus* daughter, and his sonne be espoused to *Pheroras* daughter; and thus were the promised and forementioned marriages wholly cut off; yea euen against *Herods* former decree. At that time *Herod* had nine wiues, namely *Antipaters* mother, the high priests daughter, by whom he had a sonne that bare his name, and a daughter of his brothers, and a cousin of his owne, by whom he had no children. He had another wife also, that by nation was a Samaritane, by whom he had two sonnes *Antipas* and *Archelaus*; and a daughter called *Olimpias*, who was afterwards married to *Ioseph* the kings cousin. As for *Archelaus* and *Antipas* they were brought vp at Rome, with a

certaine priuate friend of his. Moreover, hee espoused one that was called *Cleopatra*, that was borne in Ierusalem, by whom he had *Herode* and *Philip*, which *Philip* was brought vp at Rome. By *Pallas* he had *Phaſaelus*: by *Phedra* and *Helpis* he had two daughters, *Roxana* and *Salome*. As touching his eldest daughters, *Alexanders* sisters by the mothers side, whom *Pheroras* had refused to take in marriage, hee matcht the one with *Antipater* his sisters sonne, & the other he wedded to *Phaſaelus* his brothers sonne, and this was *Herods* progeny.

CHAP. II.

Of Zamaris the Babylonian Iewe.

Herode buildeth a castle in the region of the Trachonites, and maketh Zamaris the Iew that came from Babylon go-governor thereof.

After this, intending to assure his estate in the country of Trachonite, he resolved to build a borough of the bigness of a Citie in the midst of the country, as well to warrantize his country as to be in better readines to repulse his enemies, and to repulse them with more expedition. And hauing intelligence that a certaine Iewe was come from Babylon with five hundred archers on horsebacke, and about one hundred of his kinsmen, and had aduened to passe Euphrates, and was in the country adioyning Antioch neere vnto Daphne in Syria, where *Saturnine* generall of the Roman army had giuen him a Castle, called *Valatha* to inhabit, he sent for him and his followers, promising him to giue him both lands and lordships in the signorie of Batanea, which confineth on Trachonite, intending that hee should make head against those that would assaile him, and promising him that both his land and his souldiers should be exempt from all tributes, and payments of customes. This Babylonian Iew was induced by these offers of his to come, and take possession of the place, where hee builded a borough called *Bathyrta*. This man opposing himselfe against the Trachonites defended them of the country, and those Iewes that came from Babylon to Ierusalem to offer sacrifice, from all incursions and robberies of the Trachonites: and diuers that obserued the religion of the Iewes resorted vnto him from all places; so that this country was very well peopled, by reason of the enfranchisement of the Tribute which continued during *Herods* life time.

But *Philip*, who succeeded him, exacted afterward some small tribute of them, & that but for a little while. But *Agrippa* the great, and his sonne of the same name, vexed them very grievously with taxations; yet permitted them to enioy their liberty, whose successors the Romans imposed many grievous tributes vpon them, yet continued their freedome, of whom hereafter wee will more particularly and largely discourse in due place, & in proceſse of my history. Now this Iew *Zamaris*, to whom *Herod* had giuen the possession of his country, died, after he had liued virtuously, and left a vertuous offspring behinde him, amongst whome was *Iacim* renowned for his dexterity on horsebacke, who with his troupe of horse was of the king of Babylons guard. This *Iacim* died when he was very olde, & left his sonne *Philip* to succede him, a man valiant in armes, and addicted to all sorts of vertue, as much as any one that hath bene renowned in writing: for which cause king *Agrippa* loued him and put his trust in him, and committed the trust and training of his souldiers vnto him, who led them also forth if any occasion of seruice was proffered.

Iacim and Philip the sons of Zamaris.

CHAP. III.

Antipater conspireth against Herod.

Hedto & Rufinus, chap. 3.

After the estate & affaires of *Herod* were thus disposed, all mens eies were fixed vpon *Antipater*, after that *Herod* had permitted him to intend his particular profit. This permission was granted him vnder the hope that his father had, that he would be true to him selfe faithfully, & affectionately towards him: but hee abused his authority more audaciously then could be expected; for he traiterously coloured his conceited malice, & easily drew his father to beleue him in whatsoever he said. He was feared by all men; not onely for his force & authoritie; but for his subtilties and policies. But above all the rest, *Pheroras* respected him most, and was in like manner as greatly esteemed by him. For *Antipater* had circumuented him by the meanes of certain women, who fauoured his faction: for *Pheroras* was commanded by his wife, his mother & sister in law, notwithstanding that he hated them, by reason of the outrage they had offered to his daughters who were virgins; that he should be enforced to assemble all things, because he could doe nothing but that they were alwaies found about him, and had such mastery of his affaires, that they wrought him to performe whatsoever they pleased. To these likewise was *Antipater* neerly tied, both of himselfe and by his mother: for these four women

Pheroras deceived by women.

A women were of one mind and affection in all things, and spake as it were by one mouth: yet was *Pheroras* at odds with *Antipater* vpon some slight mislikes, and she that wrought this debate betwixt them was the kings sister, who had of long time espied at their drifts, knowing that the friendship they bare one another tended to the ouerthrow of *Herod*: neither refused shee to expresse what her opinion was therein. And they knowing wel that the king disliked this their inward familiaritie, and that he was priue to that which they pretended, which was his vtter ruine, resolved between themselves to refraine their publique familiaritie, & to make a shew that they were at odds one with another: to which intent they reproched one another, especially at such time as they were either in *Herods* presence, or there was any one with them, who (as they thought) would certifie him thereof. But in secret they intermitted not their accustomed friendship, and continued their intercourses with more priuie affabilitie, & such was their ordinary demeanour & behaviour: yet was not *Salome* ignorant heereof, neither when they first deuised this drift, neither afterwards when they put it in execution: for the diligently noted all things, and aggravated the same in her reports to her brother, whom she informed of their secret assemblies & banquetting, vrging their secret consultations, which (as shee said) had no other issue but his ruine, except vpon their discouerie he sought to repress them in time. Further, that for the present they behaved themselves like enemies in outward shew, & all their speeches tended to disgrace one another; but that in secret they were friends, & that in priuate they entertained their amitie, & promised each other their mutuall assistance to strengthen themselves against those to whom they were loth their friendship should be discouered. These things obserued, shee with all diligence signified the same vnto her brother, who of himselfe had already many probabilities thereof. But he durst not make shew thereof, because he knew that his sister was a woman too much addicted to reproachfull accusation. There was amongst the Iewes a sect of people that were called Pharisees, who were too much addicted to selfe opinion, and boasted themselves to be the exactest obseruers of the law in all the country, to whom these women were very much addicted, as to those who were much beloved of God, as in outward appearance they made shew for. These were such as durst oppose themselves against kings, full of fraud, arrogancie, & rebellion, presuming to raise war vpon their motions, and to rebell and offend their princes at their pleasures: whereas therefore all the nation of the Iewes had sworn to be faithfull to *Cesar*, and to the estate of the king; these onely refused to take the oath, & of this sect there were to the number of six thousand. For which cause the king

Salome discouereth to Herode the conspiracies of the Ladies and others.

The Pharisees subtil and arrogant.

The Pharisees would not sweare obedience but were fined. Pheroras wife perceieth their fine, for which benefit they promise her the kingdom. Bagoas, Carus and others are put to death by Herode.

D hauing imposed an amercement vpon them, *Pheroras* wife paid it for them; for which cause they pretending to gratifie her, and being esteemed for such as were skilfull in foretelling such things as were to come, by reason of their often communication with God, foretold her that God had decreed to bring the kingdom of *Herod* and his posteritie to an end, & would bring to passe that the crowne should descend to *Pheroras* and his sonnes. *Salome* had got an inkling heereof, and had told *Herod* no lesse: & how they likewise corrupted euery one of his Courtiers; for which cause he put those to death amongst the Pharisees, who were the principall authors of this aduise; and with them also the Eunuch *Bagoas*, and *Carus* who was his darling, and one of the goodliest men of that time. Hee afterwards cut off all those amongst his household seruants, who were of the Pharisees faction: For *Bagoas* was bewitched with that hope by them, that he suffered himselfe to be called the father and benefactor of the king, who should be established according to their prediction, and who should haue the government of all things, and should be strengthened by marriages, and descent of his lawfull and naturall children.

But after that *Herode* had punished those amongst the Pharisees, who were conuicted to haue bene of the conspiracie, hee assembled a councill of his friends, before whom hee accused *Pheroras* wife, and ripped vp the outrage that was done vnto his daughters, as it hath bene declared, ascribing the same to the pride of this woman, & obiecting it for a crime against her, for thereby shee had injured his honour. Besides this, he accused her that she had of set purpose stirred vp mutinies, and by all meanes possible both in word and in effect, contrarie to all law of nature, shee stirred vp debate betwixt him and his brother; and that the fine that he had imposed vpon his adheraries was satisfied at her charge: so that no iot of that conspiracie was contriued without her priuie and consent. For which causes (said hee) brother *Pheroras*, it shall not be amisse for you of your owne accord to drue such a wretched woman from you, before you bee requested, and the sentence be pronounced against her, otherwise she will be the cause to kindle a vvarre betwixt you and mee. For if at this present you will continue the friendship and brotherhoode betwixt you and mee, separate your selfe from her: in so doing I will account you for my brother, and you shall lose nothing by the affection which I beare vnto you. For the bond of brotherlie it

Hedto & Rufinus, chap. 4. Herode accuseth Pheroras wife, and commandeth him to put her away.

loue

The year of the world 3961, before Christs birth

Pheroras refused to put away his wife. Herod interdicted Pheroras and Antipater their private meetings, and forbiddeth the Ladies no less.

loue cannot continue safe and vniolate, vnlesse you put her away. Now although *Pheroras* was moued with the importance and waight of this discourse; yet said he, that for the loue he bare vnto his wife, hee would forget nothing of that dutie which consanguinitie required at his hands in regard of his brother: but that he had rather die then liue without her company, whom he loued more dearly then his life. *Herode* although hee tooke this answer of his brothers for a most grievous iniurie, yet forbore he to discouer his displeasure towards him: hee onely forbade *Antipater* and his mother, and in like manner *Pheroras*, to frequent the one with the other any more. Hee commaunded the women likewise that they should giue ouer their familiar entertainements the one with the other, which all of them promised to performe. Yet this notwithstanding vpon fit opportunities and occasions, they visited one another, and *Antipater* & *Pheroras* feasted one another by night. The report also went that *Antipater* had the company of *Pheroras* wife, and that his mother was the meanes and minister of their private meetings.

CHAP. III.

Herode sendeth Antipater vnto Caesar.

Herod sendeth Antipater to Caesar.

Antipater accuseth Syllaus at Rome before Caesar. Arcas accuseth Syllaus, for killing Phabatus and others.

A traitor that sought the kings death, is apprehended.

Antipater suspecting his fathers dislikes, and fearing least his hatred should by increase bring him into hazard, he wrote vnto his friends in Rome, requiring them to write their letters vnto *Herod*, requesting him to send *Antipater* vnto *Caesar*, with all expedition as was possible. Which beeing brought to passe, *Herod* sent him thither with diuers roiall presents, and gaue him his testament and will with him, wherein he had bequeathed the kingdome to *Antipater*. And if it should happen that *Antipater* should die before him, then bequeathed he the same to his sonne *Herod*, whom he had by the high Priests daughter. About the same time *Syllaus* the Arabian repaired to Rome, notwithstanding hee had neglected those things that *Caesar* had giuen him in charge. Him did *Antipater* accuse before *Caesar*, for the same defaults wherewith he was charged by *Nicholaus*. *Syllaus* also was accused by *Arcas*, for murdering diuers of the best account in the citie of Petra, contrarie to his mind: amongst the which was *Sohemus* (a man of much vertue and honour) and *Phabatus*, *Caesars* seruant, of which crimes *Syllaus* was accused vpon that occasion which ensueth: There was a certain man of Corinthus, who was one of the kings guard, and such a one as he put very great trust in: him did *Syllaus* perswade by store of money and bribes, to kill *Herod*; which hee promised to performe. *Phabatus* made priuie to *Syllaus* mind, hee presently told it to the king, who caused him to be apprehended and tortured; who confessed the whole matter. Hee laid hands also on two Arabians, perswaded by this Corinthians confession; one of which was a man of command in his countrey, and the other was *Syllaus* chiefe friend. They being examined, confessed that they came thither to sollicite and egge forward with many exhortations the Corinthian to execute the murder, and to asist him if he stood in need of them. Which being fully approoued by *Herod* before *Saturnine*, he sent them to Rome, there more amply to be proceeded against, and so to be punished.

CHAP. V.

Pheroras death.

An oath solemnly obserued.

Pheroras in his sicknesse is visited by Herod, & being dead, is honourably buried by him.

Herod, perceiuing that his brother *Pheroras* did constantly continue his affection towards his wife, hee commaunded him to retire himselfe into his owne dominion: whereupon hee willingly departed to his Tetrarchy, protesting by many solemn othes that he would neuer more returne into the Citie, vnlesse hee were assured that *Herode* was dead. Not long after it hapned, that the king falling sick, hee was sent for to receive certaine secret instructions, as fro the mouth of a dying man; but *Pheroras* would not obey him in regard of his oath. This notwithstanding *Herode* dealt more kindly with him, and continued his loue and affection towards him: for he came vnto *Pheroras* as soone as he heard of his first sicknesse, and being vnfit for alio; and after hee was deceased, hee sent his body to Ierusalem, and honourably entombed him in that place, and grievously lamented his death. This was the beginning of *Antipaters* mishaps, who at that time was departed to Rome. For it was Gods pleasure that at last he should be punished for the murder of his brethren. This matter wil I discourse of at large, that it may serue for an example vnto many kings, how they ought to practice & follow vertue in all their actions.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. VI.

Pheroras wife is accused, and Herode is aduertised of Antipaters conspiracies.



B

C

D

E

F

After *Pheroras* death, two of his freemen, who were Taphnites by birth, and such as *Pheroras* in his life time both inlie trusted, and dearly loued, came vnto *Herode*, requiring him not to suffer his brothers death to passe vnpunished, but to make diligent enquire of that vnfortunate & vnexpected misadventure. *Herod* lent a willing eare to their sute, perceiuing that the matters they importuned him in, were likely and very credible. Whereupon they told him, that *Pheroras*, the day before his vnexpected sicknes, had suppt with his wife, and that hauing receiued an vnaccustomed poison with his meat, he was dead. That this poison had beene brought thither by a woman of Arabia, who in her speech protested that it was some potion to increafe loue, but in effect it was to bring *Pheroras* to his end. For the women of Arabia amongst all others are skilfull in poisons, and are great Sorcerers, and she that was charged with this fact, was esteemed a great friend and fauourer of *Syllaus* best beloved. That *Pheroras* mother and his wives sister went into those quarters vpon purpose to buy that poison, and returned backe, and brought this woman with them the day before the supper. The king moued by these words of theirs, tortured both those maid-seruants of theirs, who were their bond women; as also certaine other of their free seruants. Now when the fact could not be extorted, by reason that none of them confessed the same; at length, shee that was last of all put to her triall, ouercome by the paines she endured, said nought else, but that shee praised God that *Antipaters* mother might feele the like torments, sith shee was the cause of all those mischiefes which they endured.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. Pheroras freemen accuse his wife for poisoning him

Herod tortures the Ladies bondwomen, & foundeth out Antipaters & their secrets.

These words of hers made *Herode* the more eager and inquisitiue, so that by force of tortures hee wrought out all the secrets of these women, their banquets, their secret assemblies, and those verie words that *Herod* had spoken apart betwixt his sonne and himselfe, which had beene reported vnto the women that *Pheroras* entertained: namely, that he would giue him one hundred talents, provided he would vse no conference with *Pheroras*. Moreouer, they reckoned vp the hatred that *Antipater* bare vnto his father, the complaints that he made vnto his mother of the too long life and continuance of his father: for that in regard of himselfe hee was already wexen old; so that although the kingdome should fall into his hands presently, yet could he receiue but verie little contentment thereby. Moreouer hee alledged, that diuers brothers and brothers children were brought vp together with him, so that he might not securely hope for any thing, for that already if he should fortune to die, the kingdome was to descend not to his sonne, but to his brother: besides this, he was accustomed to accuse the king of diuers cruelties committed by him, & of that murder which he executed vpon the persons of his children. That for feare least he should practise his tyrannie against those that remained, *Antipater* had found out the deuise to bee summoned to Rome, and *Pheroras* withdrew himselfe into his Tetrarchy.

These words, which as he knew had reference to that which his sister had often informed him of, were not by him held incredible; so that beeing pressed with the malice of *Antipater*, hee sought *Doris* his mother from his presence, spoiling her before her departure of all her ieuels, which were valued at many talents: and from that time forward he shewed himselfe more fauourable towards those women of *Pheroras* household. But nothing did more where *Herodes* displeasure against *Antipater*, then did a certaine Samaritane, who was also called *Antipater*, who had the ordering of the affaires of *Antipater* the kings son. For he being brought in question and tortured, declared amongst other things, that *Antipater* had mixed a mortall poison, and deliuered the same to *Pheroras* his vnle, commanding him to practice the kings death in his abience, and by that meanes least suspected. That this poison was brought out of Egypt by one called *Antiphius*, *Antipaters* friend. That it was sent to *Pheroras* by one called *Theudion*, *Antipaters* mothers brother. That this poison was kept by *Pheroras* wife, & was committed by her husband to her custodie. She being examined by the king hereupon, confessed no lesse, & hastning forth as if she intended to fetch the same, shee cast herselfe downe headlong from the top of the house: yet did she not murder her selfe, because she fell vpon her feet. Now after shee was recovered out of her swoone, & the king had promised all securitie both to herselfe & her familie, if so be she would discouer the truth; and contrariwise threatened her with extreme torments, if she obstinately continued in concealing these treasons, she sware that she would discouer all things according as they were

Herod thrusteth Doris, Antipaters mother out of his palace. Antipater the Samaritane, declareth how Antipater the kings sonne had provided poison for his father.

The yeere of the world 3961. before Christs birth 2.
Pheroras wife cōfesseth that she hath the poison, & calls her selfe down headlong from the rooſe.

were acted, and as many men thought at that time shee told nothing but the truth. That poysen (said she) was brought by *Antiphilus* out of Egypt, and bought there by the meanes of a brother of his, who was a Physitian. After this, *Thendion* brought it to our house, and I hauing receiued it from *Pheroras* hands, kept the same, but bought by your sonne *Antipater* to poison you that are his father. Now therefore after that my husband fell sick, and you in kindeſſe came to visit and comfort him, he beeing moued with compaſſion, and conquered by your brotherly kindeſſe, by your good affection and louing care in giuing order for his health, called mee vnto him, and said: O wife, *Antipater* hath circumuented me, whilst by his pestilent counsailes and poisoning practices he desireth to cut off his father, and depriue me of a kind brother. Now therefore, such as I perceiue there is no part of my brothers louing and naturall affection diminished towards mee, wherewith he was wont to entertaine me, and that my latest houre of life approacheth, God forbid, that being ready to sleep with my fore-fathers, I should present them with a ghost foiled and sweltred in my brothers blood: Dispatch therefore, & burne this poison before mine eyes. Here vpon said she, I presently brought it forth according as my husband commaunded me, and burnt the greatest part of the poison, and the rest I referred, that if after my husbands death your Grace should vſe me vnkindly, it might serue me to escape those extremities that would beride me.

The yeere of the world 3962. before Christs birth 2.
The king putteth away his wife, and blot- teth his sonne out of his testa- ment.
He degradeth Simon, & en- slateth Mat- thias in the priesthood.
Archelaus and Philip are ac- cused by Anti- pater means.

After she had spoken thus, she brought forth before them all the poison, and the boxe wherein it was kept. After her, another of *Antiphilus* brothers, and the mother to them both, confessed no lesſe, being constrained thereunto by force and violence of torture, and acknowledged the boxe. The kings wife also, who was the daughter of the high Priest, was accused for confederacie and concalement of all these treasons. For which cause *Herode* put her away from him, and raised his sonnes name out of his testament, wherein he had bequeathed him the kingdom after his decaſe. He displaced also his father in law *Simon* the son of *Boethus* from the priesthood, & placed *Matthias* the sonne of *Theophilus*, who was borne in Ierusalem, in his stead. In the meaneſpace *Bathilus*, *Antipaters* freeman returned from Rome; who beeing tortured, confessed that he brought a poison with him to deliuer it to *Antipaters* mother, and *Pheroras*, to the end that if the first poi- son were not effectually enough to dispatch the king, they might make vſe of this other, to cut him off speedily. There came letters also to *Herods* hands from his friends in Rome, written and deu- ided by *Antipaters* means, to accuse *Archelaus* and *Philip*, for that very often they had refreshed the memorie of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* death, contriued by their father; and for that they la- mented the miserable fate of them, who were innocently betraied; and that now also they them- selues were called back into their country for no other cause, but vpon their arriual to bee made partakers of their brothers miserable destinie. These things did *Antipaters* friends certifie *Herod* of, in that by many and mightie presents he wrought them thereunto. He himſelfe also wrote vnto his father colourably, after a manner excusing the young men, and imputing their words to their indiscretion and young yeeres. Meane while, he busied himſelfe in accusing *Syllaus*, & court- ed the chiefeſt Romans, buying diuers ornaments and iewels to present them with, to the valew of two hundred talents. And it is to be wondred at, that ſo great matters being brought on foot against him ſeauen moneths at least before his returne into the countrey of Iudæa, that no ink- ling thereof came vnto his eares. But the cause partly was, the diligent ſearch and watch that was kept vpon the high waies, & partly the hatred that all men had conceiued against *Antipater*. For there was not any that would put themſelues in hazard to procure his securitie.

CHAP. VII.

Antipater is condemned, and cast into prison.

Hedio & Ruf- finus, chap. 6.
Herod writeth friendly let- ters to Anti- pater, and cal- leth him home from Rome.

Herode concealing his displeasure, answered *Antipater* his sonnes letters (wherin he gaue him to vnderstand, that as soone as he had dispatched his affaires as it behooued him, he should returne) charging him to hasten homeward, for feare least during his absence, some vnexpected inconuenience might betide him. He likewise after a temperate manner com- plained vnto him of his mother, promising notwithstanding to remit the fault vpon his returne, and by all meanes hee made shew vnto him of much kindeſſe, fearing least he apprehending any suspicion should defer to hasten his returne homeward, and lingring too long at Rome, should con- triue some traiterous stratageme, to the preiudice of himſelfe, and the ouerthrow of his king- dome. These letters did *Antipater* receiue in Cilicia, and already had he receiued others at Ta- rentum,

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Celenderis in Cilicia.

rentum, by whom he vnderstood of *Pheroras* his vnles death, wherewith he was fore grieved; not for the loue he bare to *Pheroras*, but for that he died before hee had murdered his father; accord- ing as hee had promised him. As soone as hee came to Celenderis a Citie of Cilicia, hee grew doubtfull whether he should returne or no, and grieuouſly was he distracted by his mothers dif- graces, who was banished from the court. Sundry also were the opinions of his friends in this behalfe: for some of them counsailed him to stay, and expect the euent of these troubles in some place: other some on the other side, aduised him to delay no longer his returne into his countrey, for that vpon his arriual hee might easily ſatistie all those obiections and accusations that were inforced against him, because his accusers had nought else to strengthen their cause with, but his absence: This latter aduise liked him best; so that hee tooke himſelfe to sea, and at last arri- ued in the Port of Sebaste, so called, and builded by *Herode*, to his great charge in honour of *Cesar*.

Sebaste a haue builded by Herod in ho- nor of Cesar. Antipater vpon his returne is ſatied by no man.

And now already it manifestly appeared that *Antipater* was vpon his downfall: For no man came out to salute him, no man entertained him; as they did vpon his departure, when as all of them accompanied him with praises and happy acclamations: but contrariwise, they boldly and openly ſpake against him, and bitterly cursed him, telling him that he was iuſtly punished for the wickedneſſe he had committed against his brothers.

About the ſame time *Quintilius Varus*, who was sent to ſucceed Saturnine in the gouernment of Syria, was at Ierusalem, and drew thither at that instant vpon *Herods* request, to aſſiſt him with his counsailes in his present and weightie occasions. Now whilst these two ſate and conſulted to- gether, *Antipater* came in before any man expected him, and in that purple garment and roialty that hee was accustomed to vſe, entered the palace. The guard of the gates ſuffered him to enter in, but they excluded all those that were with him. This ſiſt of all affrighted and appauled his ſpirits, in that he already perceiued into what calamities he was fallen; & now also when he drew neere his father, he thrust him from him, accusing him of the murder of his brethren, & repro- ching him with that intent he had to poison him, telling him that the next day *Varus* should both heare and iudge all his miſdeemeanours.

Quintilius Varus gover- nor of Syria.

He altogether amazed at the greatneſſe of that vnexpected miſchiefe, which he both heard and ſaw, departed preſently from them wholly amazed, and in the way met with his mother and his wife (which was *Antigonus* daughter, who had been king of the Iewes before *Herode*) by whom he was aduertised of all that which had hapned, and for that cause more diligently prepared him- ſelfe for his triall. The next day *Varus* & *Herode* ſate in iudgement, accompanied by their friends on both ſides; thither also were cited the kings kinned and his ſiſter *Salome*, and certaine others, who could diſcouer his ſecret practices; some of which had been tortured, and namely *Antipaters* mothers ſeruants, who a little before his arriual, had beene apprehended with a letter to this ef- fect: That he should take heed that he returned not into the country, because his father was made priue to all his practices, and that for the present he had no other refuge but onely to *Cesar*, and to take care likewise least he should fall into his fathers hands.

Herod calleth his sonne in queſtion be- fore Quinti- lius Varus.

Here vpon *Antipater* humbling himſelfe on his knees before the king his father, besought him not to condemne him before his cause were heard, but to ſuſpend his iudgement vntill ſuch time as he had heard his iuſtifications. But *Herode* after hee had commaunded him to withdraw him- ſelfe into the miſt of the court and aſſembly, deplored his infelicities in begetting ſuch children, and bewailed his miſhap, that in his old age he was reſerued for an *Antipater*. After this, hee re- koned vp the cares hee had ſpent in their education and institution, and how bountifully he had beſtowed vpon him as much riches as he required: hee furthermore alleadged, that none of all these fauours could preſerue him from falling into the lapſe of the loſſe of his life by their policie, to the intent that they might iniuriouſly poſſeſſe the kingdom before either the law of nature, or the will of their father, or their owne rights could challenge the ſame. But about all the reſt, hee wondred at *Antipater*, with what hope hee could poſſibly be puffed vp to attempt ſo audaci- ous and wicked an enterpriſe. For by his testament hee had made him the heire of his kingdom, and in his life time also had made him equall parraker of his dignitie, glorie and power: that hee receiued annually fiftie talents of reuenewe, and to furniſh his voiage for Rome, had three hundred talents giuen him. Moreover, hee accused him for his ſlaunderous accusations against his murdered and ſlaughtered brothers: who if they had been wicked, why did he imitate them? but if they were innocent, why without cause produced hee his ſlaunderous accusations against those, who were his naturall brethren? For in his owne reſpect hee had neuer found any thing against them, but by his report: neither had he giuen ſentence against them, but by *Antipaters* aduice;

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Antipater an-
swer to his fa-
thers obiectio

Nicholas Da-
mascene pro-
secureth the
kings accusa-
tion.

advice, who for the present were absolved by him, because hee was become the heire of their pa-
tricide. In vttering these words he beganne to weepe, being vnable to vrge his griefes any fur-
ther; for which cause he besought *Nicholas Damasene*, who was his deere friend, and conuer-
sarily with him, and was priuie to all that which had passed, to prosecute the rest that apper-
tained to the inquest and approbation of his crime.

But *Antipater* turning himselfe towards his father, began to iustifie himselfe, vrging the same
testimonies and fauours that his father had shewed vnto him, and the honours he had receiued at
his hands, which he would neuer haue shewed him if he had been vnworthy of the same, and had
not by his vertue deserued these fauours. He alleadged also, that by his vertue hee had prevented
all that which might haue hapned, and that where the cause required his labour or diligence, hee
dispatched all things with his owne industrie; that it was vnlikely that he, who had deliuered his
father from those treasons, which were intended against him by other men, should himselfe at-
tempt the like: and as farre from probabilitie that he should goe about to extinguish that vertue
(whereof euē vntill that day he had giuen testimonie) to the end that alwaies hereafter he might
be defamed for such an indignitie. For long before this time he was named and entituled to succeed
him, and to enioy those very honours whereof already he partooke no small part; vvhich by hee
protested that it was vnlikely, that hee, who might enioy the halfe of all that his father had, in all
securitie, vertue and honour, should desire the whole with infamie, and danger; yea and with in-
certitude to obtaine the same; considering in especiall, that the punishment which had befallen
his brothers (whom he had both disclosed & accused at such time as they were hidden) was pro-
ceeded by him, who, if he had listend, might haue concealed them in secret, and whose wickednes
towards their father (after it was approued) he himselfe had reuenged vpon them: neither (as he
said) repented he himselfe of that which he had done: for that action of his might be an argument
to approue how incorruptly he loued his father. And as touching that which he had dealt in at
Rome, *Cesar* himselfe was witnesse thereof; who could be no more deceiued then God himselfe:
whereof those letters bore record, which were written by him; which in equitie should be of no
lesse force, then the slanders of those who sought to set them at oddes: the most part of vvhich
obiections and reproches had beene comploted and deuised by his enemies, who haue had the
leisure to pursue the same during his absence, which they could not haue performed in his pre-
sence. Finally he auowed, that all those confessions were false which were extorted by torture,
in that it ordinarily falleth out, that such as are put to the triall, confesse many things by force of
torment that are vnture, to satisfie them that put them thereto: briefly without all fauour, he of-
fered himselfe to the rack in iustification of his innocencie. Vpon these his protestations, all the
councell & assistants were confounded. For all of them had great compulsion of *Antipater*, who
was wholly drowned in his teares; so that his very enemies beganne to pittie him. And *Herode*
himselfe made it appeare, that hee seemed in some sort to be altered in his opinion: notwithstanding
he endeoured to conceale the same.

But *Nicholas*, according as he was requested, prosecuted that accusation which the king had
begunne, vrging all things to the vttermost, and producing all the witnesses, and those manifest
prooues, that were gathered from their examinations who were tortured. In especiall, he amply
discourfed of the kings vertue, which he had fatherly expressed in the education and instruction
of his children; for vvhich he had beene so vnkindly and vnaturally requited. Moreover, that
his first childrens foolish rashnesse was not so much to be wondered at, for that being young, they
had beene corrupted by the malice of their counsellors, and had blotted out of their hearts all the
lawes of nature, rather through ambition of rule then desire of riches: But that *Antipater*s bold-
nesse was both wonderfull and wicked, who more cruell then the cruellst beastes (who toward
their benefactors acknowledge each good turne) was nothing mollified by his fathers so great in-
dulgence; neither terrified by his brothers calamitie, but that he must needs emulate the in their
crueltie. And thou thy selfe (said he) *O Antipater*, wert the Iudge of their attempted treasons, by
thy inquisition they were indicted, thou didst execute the iustice against them being conuicted.
Neither do we disallow that thou didst prosecute them with iust indignation, but rather admire
thee for that thou imitatest their intemperance: and we easily gather that those acts of thine were
not atcepted for thy fathers securitie, but intended for thy brothers ouerthrow, that by detesting
their malice, thou mightst insinuate thy selfe into the allowance & good liking of thy father and
thine, that afterwards thou mightest more cunningly and securely bring him to his end, which at
length thou hast attempted to performe. For whilst thou adiudgest thy guiltie brothers to death,
and sparest their confederats, thou makest it manifest in all mens eyes, that thou art in good liking
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A liking with them, whose assistance thou mightest hereafter vse in oppressing thy father. Thou
hast therefore taken a double pleasure worthy thy manners; the one openly, as if reioicing and
glorying, that by thy brothers death thou hast achieved a matter of honour: the other secretly,
by endeavouring with greater wickednes, but more secret fraud to make an end of thy father; the
reucenger of whose iniuries thou pretendedst to be. For if thou haddest truly detested their ma-
lice, thou hadst neuer esteemed the same to be worthy of thy imitation: For thou hast not cut
them off for committing such capitall offences, as were answerable vnto thine, but for that they
had a more iust and rightfull title to succede in the kingdome then thou hast: And thou hast
thought good to mixe the murder of thy father with the slaughtered bodies of thy brothers, for
feare least thou shouldst be sodainly conuincid in thy conspiracies against them, and to the end
B that the punishment which thou well deseruest to suffer, should light vpon thy vnfortunate fa-
ther, proiecting with your selfe such a parricide, and so rare and hainous a murder, that to this
day the like thereof hath not been heard of amongst men. For thou being his sonne hast practi-
sed these treasons, not only against thy father, but against him that loued thee about measure, and
did thee good beyond hope, with whom thou hast actual participation of the gouernment of
the kingdome, and who had appointed thee his heire in the same, being no waies hindered, either
for the present, or in times past, to participate the pleasure of soueraigntie, and being assured of
the hope of succession both by the will and writings of thy father. But you haue measured the
course of your affaires, not according to *Herods* vertue, but according to your owne appetite and
malice, intending to deprive such a father of his part, who granted you the whole; and seeking
C in effect to murder him, whom in words you pretended heretofore to protect from injury. And
not content of your selfe to practise these treacheries, you haue poisoned your mother also with
no lesse corruption, and in steed of the loue that should haue beene amongst brethren, you haue
filled your familie with mutinies and hatreds: And after and besides all these things, thou hast
beene so audacious, as to call thy father beast; being of thy selfe more malignant then those
beasts that are most venomous, vsing thine owne venome against thy dearest friends, and such as
haue best deserued at thy hands, strengthening thy selfe with his guard, & diuers treacheries both
of men and women against one olde man, as if thy cursed minde alone were not sufficient to sa-
tisfie thy hatred. And now after so many men and women slaues and free men tortured for
thy cause, after the open and manifest testimonies of thy parties in the conspiracie, thou art so im-
D pudent as yet to contradict the truth: and thou that lately hopedst to deprive thy father of his
life, dost now as much as in thee lieth, endeavour to abolish that law that was instituted against
malefactors in thy kind, herewithal *Venus* equitie, & all whatsoeuer iustice is in the world. Dost
thou therefore accuse the of falsehood, who were examined in torments, to the end thou mightest
endanger their credit, who were the prelersuers of thy fathers life? shall wee beleene thee more
then them in their torments? Wilt thou nor (*O Venus*) deliuer the king from the iniuries of those,
who are his own flesh & blood? wilt thou not put this wicked beast to death, who hath murdered
his brothers to pretend a loue towards his father, and who hath at last beene discovered to be the
most mortall enemie of them all, to the intent that at one instant hee might establish the king-
dome in himselfe? Thou knowest that Patricide is no priuate crime, but a publike injury to life
E & nature, which is no lesse loathsome in the thought, then it is in the act: which who so punisheth
not, is of himselfe guilty of an injury offered to our common mother nature.

Patricide that
publike injury
of life and
nature.

After these speeches, he annexed certaine points as touching *Antipater*s mother, which tho-
row feminine frailty had beene blabbed out by her, to wit, that she had asked counsaile of South-
siders and diuiners, to whom the kingdome should befall: And that shee had offered sacrifices,
and made prayers for the death of the king. And moreover he declared what lasciuious pranks
Antipater had plaied with *Pheroras* women, in banquetting and amorous and wanton dalli-
ances. The informations likewise that were presented by such as were tortured, with sundry re-
somonies of diuers men, some suborned; the other found out to be incontinently produced and
confirmed. For each man seeing that *Antipater* was exposed to the accusations of those men,
who had the gouernment in their hands, and that the good fortune that had long time accompa-
nied him, had openly deliuered him into the hands of his enemies, they manifestly discovered
the insatiable hatred which they had conceiued against him, whereas before time the feare that
they had of him inforced them to be silent: yet was he not so much burdened with other mens
hatreds, as with his owne wickednes, namely his deadly hatred against his father, his breach of
amicie amongst his brethren, whereby he filled the kings household with seditions and murders,
of some comploted, and acted by other some; neither giuing place to hatred according to
F justice,

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Antipater accused by all men.

Varus giueth Antipater licence to iustifie himselfe. Antipater sheweth by his protestations, and inuocations of God to iustifie himselfe.

The poison is ministred to a condemned man, and it killeth him. Herod & Rufinus, chap. 7.

Herod imprisoned his son and sent embassadors to Caesar to certify his abuses. Antiphilus letter to Antipater.

Acemes letter to Antipater.

iustice, nor to amity according to good affection, but according as it might stand with his profit. Which for that diuers men perceived long before that time, they iudged of euents according as they had reason, & the rather because that being void of hatred, they spake but their opinions. And whereas heretofore they had cried with a lowd voice against him, at such time as they were shut vp; at this time when they were depriued of their feare, they declared all things, that they knew. And whereas there were diuers produced of the mischiefes committed by him, yet seemed there nothing to be fained, for that the accusers neither spake in fauour of the king, neither concealed any thing for feare of perill, but condemned all *Antipaters* wicked actions, and iudged him worthy of death & punishment, not so much for his fathers security as of his own demerit. Neither did they onely accuse him, who were by iustice tied thereunto, but diuers voluntary witnesses also brought in their euidence; so that although hee was a very cunning dissembler, and colourer of his lies, and most impudent in his assertions, yet durst he not once open his mouth or mutter against the same.

As soone as *Nicholas* had finished his discourse and accusations, *Varus* commanded *Antipater* to answer to those crimes, that were objected against him, if he had any thing to alledge, that he was not guilty of those forsaits or hainous crimes that were laid vnto his charge. For of himselfe he desired nothing more, and knew well that *Herode* his father desired no lesse; then that he should iustifie himselfe, and maintaine his innocencie. But hee humbling himselfe vpon his face, and lowly bending his body to the ground, besought God, who was the searcher of all hearts, to approue his innocency by some euident signe, how he had neuer attempted any thing to his fathers preiudice. For this is the custome of all wicked men, that as often as they attempt any hainous act, they engage themselves in all wickednes, without any respect of Gods iustice; & when as by their misdeeds, they are fallen into perill, then call they God to their minds, by whose inuocation and testimony they desire to be deliuered, making a shew that they commit all things to his determination. The like whereof at that time happened in *Antipater*: who, whereas before time disposed all his actions in such sort, as if there had beene no God that had the ouersway of humane affaires; at such time as iustice ouertooke him, and hee was disurnished of the benefit of the lawe, had his recourse to Gods power, alledging that he was referred by God to this end, that he might diligently intend his fathers safety. Hereupon *Varus*, when as by often questionings he could wrest nothing from him, but that he onely cried vpon God, seeing that otherwise there would be no end of these debates, hee commanded the poison to be brought forth before them all, that he might make experience of what force it was: which being presently brought vnto him, & ministred to one that was condemned to die, it presently killed the man. Which done, he arose and departed out of the counsell and the next day went to Antioch, where for the most part he was wont to haue his residence, for that it was the chiefe citie of the Assyrians. But *Herod* presently commanded his sonne to be put in bonds, no man knowing what talke had beene betwene him and *Varus* vpon his departure, but all mens opinion was that the king did nothing in imprisoning him, but by his counsaile. When as therefore he had fast bound him, hee sent vnto *Caesar*, & wrote his letters vnto him, as touching *Antipater*, sending certaine appointed messengers, who by worde of mouth might certify him of his curled treasons.

At the very same time there was a letter intercepted, sent by *Antiphilus* to *Antipater*, which *Antiphilus* remained in Egypt: which letter being opened by the king, was written to this effect. I haue sent you *Acemes* letter, hazardng thereby mine owne life: for you know that I am in danger of the displeasure of two mighty families, if I should be discovered. As for your selfe, be thinke you well of your affaires in this respect. Such were the contents of this letter. The king made diligent search for others also, but he could finde none: for *Antiphilus* seruant, who had brought that which was read, denied that he had any other. But whilst the king was in this doubt, one of his seruants and friends perceived that the inside of the messengers vnder-coat was newly sewed: for hee had two garments the one vpon the other, and coiciding that the letters might be hidden in the fould thereof, as indeed they were, he ripped the same, and found them. The tenour thereof was this: *Acme* to *Antipater*, Health: I haue written the letters to your father, according as you gaue me instructions, and haue counterfeited the copy of my letter; as it had been sent by *Salome* my mistris. I assure my selfe, that when he hath read the same, he will punish *Salome* as one that hath practised treason against him. But that letter that was supposed to haue been written by *Salome* to *Acme*, was of *Antipaters* inuention, and written in *Salomes* name, according to his inuention, and in *Acmes* stile. The contents were these: *Acme* to king *Herode*, Health: Whereas I haue an especiall care, that nothing be concealed from thee that concerneth thy

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A thy security; hauing found a letter of *Salomes* written against thee vnto my Lady, I haue not without danger taken the copie thereof, & sent it vnto you, in which the required that she might haue licence to marry *Syllaeus*. Teare this copy, least thow the knowledg of the same, I grow in danger of my life. Now in that which she had written to *Antipater*, she had discovered that she had written these words to *Herode*, according to that commandement he had giuen her, as if *Salome* had conspired to worke some treason against him. She sent also the copy of those counterfeit letters in the name of *Salome*, and sent them vnto her mistris to worke treason.

This *Acme* was a Iewe borne, and chambermaid to *Iulia*, *Caesars* wife, and did that which is aboue written for the loue which she bare to *Antipater*, whom hee had hired by great summes of money, to the end, that she should asist him to execute the mischief, which he practised against his father & against his aunt. *Herod* made almost desperate by the great mischiefes of *Antipater*, was stirred vp on the sodaine to shorten his daies, for that hee was the onely meane that stirred vp these great tempests of sedition in his kingdome, & who not only practised against his father and his aunt, but against his sister also; and had in like sort corrupted *Caesars* family. *Salome* also incensed him the more, breauing her breasts and offering her selfe to all deaths, if any such like matter might be duely proved against her. For which cause *Herod* lent for *Antipater*, commanding him to speake freely all that which he had to say without feare. But he hauing nor one word to answer for his defence, *Herod* said vnto him: Since that on all sides thou art compassed, and surprised in thy wickednes, delay not, but discover those that are of thy confederacy. Whereupon he laid all the fault vpon *Antiphilus*, and named none other. At that time *Herod* being wounded by extreame griefe, would haue sent *Antipater* to Rome vnto *Caesar*, that hee might receiue his iudgement from him, but afterwards he feared least by the interest of his friends he should escape the danger, for which cause he kept him bound & fettered in prison, as he had done before. And in the meane while sent certaine messengers with letters to *Caesar*, to accuse his sonne, and to declare wherein *Acme* had been his confederate, producing the copie of the letters. These embassadors therefore resorted to Rome, instructed in those things they were to answer to those interrogatories that should be offered them, and with them he sent these letters.

Herode inflamed with hatred against his sonne.

Antipater layeth all the fault vpon Antiphilus.

CHAP. VII.

D Herodes sicknesse and the sedition amongst the Iewes.



Eane while *Herod* fell sicke, and made his will, and appointed his yongest sonne to succeede in the kingdome, for that through *Antipaters* instigations he had conceived a hatred against *Archelaus* & *Philip*. Hee lent also one thousand talents vnto *Caesar*, & five hundred to his wife, and to his children, friends and freemen. He bestowed also money, rents, & lands vpon his own children: he gaue his sister *Salome* an ample possession, for that she had alwaies perseuered in louing him, & had neuer offended him. And hauing lost all hope of recovery, for that he was about 70. yeeres olde, he became very tutchie & froward in whatsoeuer his affaires. The cause hereof was, that opinion he had conceived, that he waxed contemptible, & that the whole nation tooke pleasure in those mishaps which befell him: which some of those who were fauoured by the people, made him the rather beleue vpon this occasion which ensued. Amongst those that were most learned, among the Iews, *Iudas* the son of *Saripheus*, and *Matthias* the sonne of *Margalothus* the most excellent interpreters of the lawes & ordinances of the country (and for this cause were in greatest estimation among the people, by reason that they instructed & trained vp the youth; for all those that desired to obtaine vertue, spent all their time with them) vnderstanding that the kings sicknesse was dangerous, they incensed the yonger sort, counsailling them to ouerthrow all those workes that the king had caused to be made contrary to the law and custome of the country; to the ende, that they fighting for piety, might obtaine the reward that attendeth the same. For in that the king had enterprised and done many things contrary to the law, diuers vnaccustomed miseries had befallen him, & namely that sicknes wherewith he was detained. For *Herod* had done diuers things contrary to the ancient lawe; against which *Iudas* and *Matthias* exclaimed openly. For hee had erected ouer the portall of the great temple, an *Egle* of gold of great valew. Now the law prohibiteth that they, who pretend to liue according to the same, should nor in any sort erect any image, nor represent any figures of liuing creatures whatsoeuer. For this cause these doctors counsailed them to pull down that *Egle*: telling them, that although the matter seemed to want

Herod & Rufinus, chap. 8. Herod falling sicke maketh his Will and leaueth the succession of his kingdome with his friends and kinsfolkes. Herod impatient in his old age and wonderous wayward. The year of the world, 3962. after Christs birth.

A golden Eagle vpon the great gate of the temple.

no peril, yet ought they rather to prefer an honest death before a pleasant life, if so be it be imployed for the defence of their countrey lawes and religion. For in so doing they should obtaine immortall praise for the present, and a memorable and eternall glorie in time to come; neither that they should protract the execution thereof for feare of danger, since death was a thing that might not be avoided; so that since by the generall course of nature, they must needly die, it should become them brauely to forsake their liues with praise and honour in embracing vertue. For to die in the execution of some noble exploit (which cannot be achieved without hazard or danger) their children should be richly rewarded with the fruits thereof, & their other parents that should outlive them (of what sex so euer) should reape the fruits of that glory which was honourably achieved by them. In these or such like words encouraged they the yong men.

The yong men
pulling down
the golden ea-
gle hew it in
pieces with
their axes.
Lucas and
Matthias with
forty other
yong men
being brought
to the kings
presence
iustifie their
actions with
ioy and the
king sendeth
them bound
to Iericho.

Herod assem-
bleth the
gouernours
of the Iewes, &
expostulatech
with them
about this
commotion.

Matthias
deprived of
the high priest-
hood & Iozar
is assigned
his place.
Ioseph & Elmi
for one day
high priest.
Matthias and
Iudas burned.

The Eclipse.

About that time there was a rumour spread, that the King was dead, which gaue very great furtherance to the doctors resolution. For at high noone they went vp into the temple, they pulled and hewed downe the Eagle with their axes, in the sight and assembly of a great number of people that were in the temple. Now when the tidings hereof came vnto the eares of the kings captaine, he fearing least some further and more fatall tumult might be raised, drew out a strong company of souldiers with him, to repulse those that were assembled to hew downe the Eagle: and charging the rude and disarmed multitude, who were gathered together, he easily slew and disperfed the most; as for those forty yong men that valiantly addrested themselves to resist, he apprehended them, and with them the authors of this sedition *Iudas* and *Matthias*, who thought scorn to submit themselves, and led them to the king; who demanding of them how they durst deface the sacred image: they answered, that long before that time they had resolved it, and that I now according as they had resolved, they had like valiant men performed the same. For we (said they) maintaine the honour of God and the doctrine of our lawe, whereof we are disciples: neither ought you to admire that with contempt of your ordinances we haue preferred the lawes of our forefathers, which *Moses* hath left vs in writing, according as he was suggested and taught them by God: neither doe we refuse any death or punishment which thou shalt inflict vpon vs, being assured in our consciences, that we suffer not for our impiety, but piety sake. Thus spake they all of them, continuing the like constant boldnes in their answers, as they had shewed in their actions, being also ready, constantly to endure any punishment for that which they had attempted. Hereupon the king commanded them to be bound, and sent them to Iericho: then calling before him those principall Iewes, who had the gouernment vnder him; and being brought into their assembly vpon his pallat, by reason of his weaknes, he recited vnto them the number of his trauels he had endured for their sakes: in like maner, how vpo his great charges he had repaired and reedified the temple; whereas the *Asmonians* for the space of 125. yeeres, wherein they reigned, could not performe such a building in the honour of God. Moreouer, he signified vnto them, how he had adorned the same with precious gifts, for which he hoped that after his death his memory and glory should suruiue. After this he expostulated with them for what cause they abstained not from offering him that outrage during his life time? And why at noone daies & in the sight of all the people, they had laid hands on those prelates which he had dedicated vnto God, and had taken those things away violently, which though in words they appertained to him, yet in the effect if the act were wel examined, they had taken from God. The gouernours suspecting his cruelty, and fearing least his vnbridled passion should vrge him further, by which means they might be assured of some seuerer punishment, answered him: that those things were not done by their consents, and that in their opinion the iniury ought not to be let slip without punishment. At that time *Herod* shewed himselfe more fauourable towards the rest, but hee caused *Matthias* to be deprived of the priesthood, as one in part who had bene the cause of that which had hapned; & in his place substituted *Iozar* one of his wiues brethren. During the priesthood of this *Matthias* it hapned also, that another high priest was elected that very day, wherein the Iewes did vsually celebrate their fast. For *Matthias* the night before the day of the fast, seemed in his dreame to haue had the company of his wife; and whereas for this cause he was vnfit to offer the diuine sacrifice, he had *Ioseph* the sonne of *Ellemus* appointed him to be his assister and substitute, by reason of his alliance. *Herod* therefore deposed *Matthias*: and as touching the other *Matthias*, who had mooued this trouble, both he and his companions were by his commandment consumed with fire.

This very night the moone was eclipsed, & *Herods* sicknes grew more vehement. For God punished those sins which he had committed. For he was inflamed with a lent or slow fire, which to the outward sense seemed not so vehement, but inwardly searched & afflicted all his entrails: he

A had also a rauinous and an vnnatural appetite to his meat, which might no waies be satisfied. Besides that, he had an vlcer in his bowels with a strange and furious colicke. His feet were swolne with moist and shining flegme, and his stomacke was no lesse affected alio. His members rotted and were full of crawling wormes, with a filthy & no lesse troublesome Priapisme, accompanied with an intollerable stench: besides all this, he had a strong conuulsion of his nerues, and shortnesse of breath. For which cause it was a generall opinion amongst holy men, and such as had the knowledge of prophecy, that the king was thus punished for his infinite impieties and sinnes committed against the maiesty of God. And although he was tormented with an vsupportable sicknes, yet had he hope to escape: and for that cause he sent for Physitions from all places; and refused none of those remedies which they thought behoouefull for him. He therefore past ouer Jordan and went into the hot bathes of Calliroes, the waters whereof are potable, besides other vertues they haue against all other kind of sicknes: this water ditchargeth it selfe into the lake calphatice. Being there it was thought good by his physitions, that hee should refresh himselfe in those waters: There being let by them into a bathing tubbe filled with oyle, he waxed so sick, that they held him for dead. Whereupon all his houshold seruants wept and grievously lamented; and all his familiar friends crying out and bewailing him, with their great noyse caused him to come to himselfe: and seeing himselfe wholly out of hope to escape, hee gaue order that there should a distribution be made to euery soldier the summe of fifty drachmes, and he offered great presents to their captaines & his friends. Afterwards he returned to Iericho, where a melancholy humour possessed him, which made him vntociable, and displeased against all men; so that seeing that he must needly die, he bethought him of this facinorous action that foloweth. For the noblest men among the nation of the Iewes, resorting vnto him from all parts (vpon his commandment vnder the expresse penaltie of losse of life to whoeuer should neglect the same) the king shewed himselfe to be displeased, as well against those whom hee thought guilty, as against them who had giuen him no occasion of discontent. For he caused them to be shut vp in a place called the Hippodrome, which was the tilt-yard to runne horses in, and sent for his sister *Salome*, and *Alexas* her husband; telling them that his end was at hand, for that his griefes did incessantly torment him: which as he said he ought to beare patiently, because it was an end that should happen to all men. But that which most grieved him was, that he saw himselfe deprived of those mournings and lamentations, which a king deserued. For he was not to seeke of the Iewes affections, neither how his death was desired and longed for by them, since that in his life time they presumed so farre as to reuolt, and dishonour & deface those gifts, which he had bestowed vpon the commonweale. It therefore behooued them to afford him some solace in that his bitter anguish, for that if they refused not to perform that which he had contriued in his mind, the lamentation of his death should be magnificent, & as great as any king euer had: and the pleasure and laughter that might accompany his death, should be abated by their sorrow, who should vnfaignedly lament for the whole nation. He therefore willed them that at such time as he should giue vp the ghost, they should cause the Hippodrome to be inuironed by his soldiers, as yet vnaduerstified of his death (which he would not haue published before this execution were ended) and to command them to shoot their arrows at those that were shut vp therein. And that when they had slaine them all after this maner, they should make him triumph & reioyce in a double ioy; first, for that in his death his commandment should be ratified by effect: secondly, for that he should be honoured by a memorable lamentation. Thus weeping, he besought his kinsfolke for the loue they bare vnto him, and for the faith they bare vnto God, that they should not suffer him to die frustrate of this last honour: & they protested that they would not transgresse any point of this his commandment. Hereby a man may coniecture, what his nature was, who tooke pleasure in these about named impieties, and who through the desire he had of long life, hath after this sort dealt with those of his blood: and it may be coniectured by these his last commandments, that he had nothing in him that sauoured any humanitie: for that departing out of the world hee had such a mind, that all the nation and all such as were most affectioned towards him, should be driuen to sorrow and desolation; commanding that in euery house one should be slaine, yea such as had not in any sort offended him, and were not accused of any misdeed committed against any other: whereas they that haue any vertue, finding themselves at that state, haue been accustomed to lay aside the hatred which they haue before time borne vnto their enemies.

Antipaters dearb.

Letters are
sent from Rome
that Acmè was
executed by
Cæsars com-
mand, & that
he had autho-
rithorie to vse
Antipater at
his pleasure.
Herod calling
for a knife and
an apple, in-
tendeth to slay
himselfe.
Achiab with-
holdeth his
hand.
Antipater
shinking his
father to be
dead, dealeth
with his kee-
per for his de-
luerie, which
Herod hear-
ing of, com-
mandeth him
to be slaine.

XV Hisst he deliuered these instructions to his kinred, he receiued letters from those Embassadors which he had sent to Rome vnto *Cesar*: the effect whereof was, that *Acme* was put to death by *Cesars* command, who was displeased with her for that she had been of *Antipaters* conspiracie, who was remitted to *Herods* pleasure like a king and father to vse him, as best pleased him; either to exile and banish him; or if it so pleased him, to put him to death. *Herod* receiuing these newes, recouered his spirits a little thorow the pleasure he receiued in the contents of those letters, both of the death of *Acme*, as of the power that was granted him to punish his sonne. But beeing assailed afresh with grievous dolours, & vrged with a desire to eate, he called for an apple and a knife: for before time he was accustomed to pare his apples himselfe, and to cut a little; and afterwards to eate it: when as therefore he had gotten hold of the knife, hee looked round about him, determining to giue himselfe a mortall wound therewith, and had surely done it, had not *Achiab*us his nephew hastily stept within him, & staid his hand, and called for assistance. At that time the sorrow and lamentation was renewed in all the palace, as if the king had been already dead; and *Antipater* certainly belieuving that his father was departed, began to hope (and confirmed no lesse in his words) that beeing deliuered out of prison, he should obtaine the possession of the kingdom without any difficultie: & deuised with the Gaoler as touching his deliuerance, offering him great presents both in hand & hereafter, as if there had bene no other question but of that. But so farre was the Gaoler from obeying that which *Antipater* demanded, that hee presently went and certified the king what his intent was, and what offers he had made him. *Herod*, who had already conceived a sinister opinion of his sonne, hearing what the Gaoler had said, beganne to exclaime, and to beat his head, although hee was almost at the vttermost gasp: and lifting himselfe vp vpon his elbowes, he commanded that one of his guard should presently haste and kill him; and that done, that he should be buried in the Castle of Hircanion without any honour.

CHAP. X.

Herods will, death, and buriall.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10. Herods will is changed.

His legacie to
Cæsar and Iu-
lia his wife.

Herods mutable & strange
fortune.
Salome and
Alexas after
the kings
death, dismiss
the Iewes that
were shutte
vp in the Hip-
podrome.

After this, hauing changed his mind, he made a new testament. For he appointed *Antipas* Tetrarch of Galilee and of Peræa, whereas before that he had instituted him for his successor in the kingdom. He created *Archelaus* king; hee gaue the prouinces of Gaulonites, Trachonites, Batanea and Paneade to *Philip* his son, and *Archelaus* brother by the mothers side, to be Tetrarch ouer those places. Hee gaue his sister *Salome Iamnia, Azot and Phasaelis*, with fiftie thousand crownes of gold. He prouided also for his other kinsmen, that all whom he left rich in money, which he gaue them, & reuenewes which he assigned them. Hee gaue *Cesar* ten millions of drachmes in siluer, amounting to the sum of eleuen hundred thousand francs, besides a great quantitie of gold and siluer plate, and of precious moueables. To *Iulius Cæsars* wife, and to certaine others, he bequeathed fife millions of drachmes, amounting to fife hundred & fiftie thousand francs, or thereabouts. After he had in this manner disposed all things, some fife daies after hee had caused *Antipater* to be executed, he departed this life: hauing reigned after *Antigonus* death, for the space of thirtie and foure yeeres, and thirtie and seauen yeeres after he was elected and approued king by the Romans: a man without respect cruell, & seuerer towards all men; slaue to his wrath; Lord of the lawes; yet so fauoured by fortune, as no man more; for from a priuate man he became a king, and beeing inuironed with many perils, hee alwaies happily escaped, and he liued also a very long time. And as touching his family and children, in this also in his owne opinion was he happy, in that hee ouercame his enemies and aduersaries: but in my opinion, he was most vnfortunate.

But before the kings death was thorowly known, *Salome* and *Alexas* discharged thofe that were locked vp in the Hippodrome, and fent euery one of them home vnto his owne houfe, telling them that the king commaunded them to depart and follow their household affaires, and till their land : vvherein they performed a moft noble action, and benefited the whole nation with an efpecial good turne. After that the kings death was bruted abroad, *Salome* and *Alexas* caufed all the men of warre to be afsembled in the Amphitheater in *Iericho* . and firft of all they caufed

Herodes

The year of the
S world, 3963, af-
ter Christs birth

1.
Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 11.
Herods thank-
giving, to his
armie and te-
stament read,
& Archelaus
is applauded

by the people.
Alias, cap. 12
Herods corps
is buried with
great pompe
and solemnity
in Hetodion.

The German
and French
served vnder
Herod.

Archelaus
banquetteth
the people.

A *Herods* letters to be read, which were addressed to the souldiers, in which he gaue them thanks for the fidelitie and good will which they had expressed towards him, praying them to continue the same to *Archelaus* his sonne, whom he had appointed to be their king after him. That done, *Ptolomey*, to whom the king had committed the custodie of his seale, recited his testament, which was to take no effect except that *Cesar* approued the same. Thereupon all of them began to applaud and honour *Archelaus* for their king. The men of warre flocked about him in troupes, accompanied with their capitaines, promising him to serue him with no lesse will and affection, then they had done his father, praying God to yeeld him his assistance.

they had done his father, praying God to yeeld him his assistance.
At that time also the kings herse was prepared, and *Archelaus* gaue order that his obsequies should be most royally performed, and bestowed all the furniture that was requisite for that funerall and princely enterrement. Hee was caried out in a gilded litter, distinguisht with diuer precious stones, the cover thereof was of azure colour. The dead body was apparelled in a purple raiment, hauing a diademe vpon his head, ouer which there was sette a crowne of gold, and a scepter was couched in his right hand. About this litter marched a great number of his children and kinsfolke; and after them followed the men of warre, disposed in bands and troupes, according to the manners of euery nation. The first of these were the Archiers of his guard: after them went the Thracians: and lastly marched the Germans, and Galathians; all of them in their warlike habiliments and discipline. After them followed all the army, marching in order in like manner as when they were addressed to battell, each one vnder his corporal and captain. Next thes followed fife hundred of his household seruants, bearing perfumes, & all these in this equipage marched to the Castle Herodion, distant some eight stades or furlongs off. For there was hee entombed, according to the tenor of his testament. Thus died *Herod*. *Archelaus* continued his mourning for seauen daies space in honour of his father. (For the law of the country ordaineth no lesse.) And after he had feasted the people, and laid aside his mourning apparell, he ascended vnto the temple. All the way as hee went, all the people with shouts and acclamations cried, God saue the king; and with praies and praises honoured him to their vttermost; and hee being conducted vp to a high station and state, which was made for the purpose, and placed in a throne that was embellished with gold, entertained the people very graciously, taking pleasure in their acclamations and congratulations that they bestowed vpon him. Hee gaue them thanks also for that they had blotted out of their remembrance the iniuries, that his father had doone vnto them protesting in his owne behalfe, that he would enforce himselfe to requite their kindnesse, with a intire affection. Helikewise told them, that for the present hee accepted not the stile of king, because the honour was bequeathed him with this condition, that *Cesar* should ratifie his fathers testament. For this cause, although the souldiers that were in Iericho enforced themselves to set the diademe vpon his head, yet would he not accept that vncertaine honour, because it was resolued whether *Cesar*, who was the principall partie in the gift, would grant him the gouernment or no.

ment or no.

Hee alledged likewise, that if his affaires succeeded according to his desire, hee would not according as his honour commaunded him, forgette their loue, or leaue their good affection vnrequited. And that in the meane while, hee would enforce himselfe by all means to further those things that concerned them, and entertaine them with more kindeesse then his father had done.

E But they, according as it is the custome of the common people, thinking that those that enter into such dignities, declare and open their minds at the first day, the more *Archelaus* spake kindly and curteously vnto them, the more they applauded him, and presented him with diuers petitions, for certaine grants & donations from him. Some of them cried out vnto him, that he should cut off some part of their taxes and tallages, which they paid annually: Othersome cried vpon him, to deliuer those prisoners that were committed by *Herod*, of whom diuers had pined a long time in prison: Others instantly vrged him to cut off those tributes which had been imposed by him vpon bargaines and sales, which was to pay the halfe of the bargain. Whereunto *Archelaus* did not in any sort contradict, struing to the vttermoost of his power to please the people, for that he knew full well that their good affection would be no small aduantage toward him in the confirmation of his kingdome.

F That done, hee sacrificed vnto God, and afterward fell to banquetting and entertainment of his friends.

Archelaus promisseth that with *Cæsars* approbation hee will carefully intend the desires & profits of the people.

CHAP.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 12.
al. 13.
The ſeditious
people bewail
Matthias, and
thoſe that
were executed
with them.



Eane while, certaine men among the Iewes that were deſirous of innouation, in their priuate conuenticles bewailed *Matthias* and his confederates, whom *Herode* had put to death, and condemned for raiſing & defacing the golden Eagle: for that incontinently after their deceaſe, they had neither been publiquely honoured, nor lamented for, by reaſon of the feare that the people had conceived of *Herod*. For which cauſe at that time they required with lamentations and great cries, that their obſequies might be ſolemnized; and as if the dead bodies had received ſome contentation by their teares & tempeſt of exclaymes, they vttered many hainous and diſgracefull ſpeeches againſt *Herod*; & af- ſembli-
ſembling themſelves together, they required *Archelaus* to doe them iuſtice againſt thoſe, that during *Herods* life were in authoritie; and eſpecially they demanded, that the high Prieſt, who vvas aduanced by his father, ſhould bee depoled, and that another more lawfull and vpri-
might be placed in his ſteed, to offer and exerciſe the high Prieſts place. Now, though *Archelaus* was ſore diſpleaſed at theſe their violent proceedings: yet notwithstanding, hee conformed him- ſelfe to their good likings, in that he was with all expedition to repaire vnto Rome, to vnderſtand and attend *Caeſars* pleaſure. He therefore called for the Generall of his army, willing him to per- ſwade them not to ſecke a reuenge for thoſe men, who were dead, notwithstanding they vvere their friends; becauſe whatſoeuer was done, was done according to law; and that no enquire-
might be made thereof, except to the great preiudice of his reputation, and hazard of his ſtate, in regard of the incertaintie of the time: that it was more expedient for him to ſtudie for the main-
tenance of peace, vntill ſuch time as beeing eſtabliſhed in the kingdome by *Caeſars* conſent, hee ſhould returne backe againe vnto them, and that then hee would conſult with them for the com-
mon profit, according to their iuſt demands, wiſhing them for the preſent to containe them- ſelves, and to take heed leaſt they ſtirred vp ſedition.

They would
be reuenged
on Herods
friends, and
would depole
the high prieſt
The year of the
world, 3964. af-
ter Christs birth,
2.

When he had thus inſtructed his Generall, he ſent him vnto them. But they cried out with a loud voice, and would not ſuffer him to ſpeake: but for feare of danger and death, they put him to ſilence. And if any other were ſo forward as to ſpeak vnto them, and perſwade them to ſome moderation, and to alter their ſiniſter reſolutions, hee was alſo in danger; for that they had this per- ſwaſion, that all things ought rather to bee ordered according to their pleaſures, then by the au-
thority of their ſuperiours: ſuppoſing that although during *Herods* life time they had been depri-
ued of their deereſt friends, it ſhould be now a matter vnworthy their courages, after his death to be cut off from the priuiledge to demand their reuenge. For they were tranſported with their owne opinions, and held all that for lawfull and vpri-
ght, which was in any ſort conformable to their pleaſures, without foreſeeing the danger that might happen thereby: ſo much vvere they pleaſed to be reuenged on thoſe, whom they reputed to be their enemies. Now, whereas diuers were ſent by *Archelaus*, to conſult with them; and diuers came vnto them, not as meſſengers fro him, but as friends and louers of peace, of their owne motion, with an intent to pacifie them, they would not permit any of them to ſpeak; and thorow their rage thereaſe a great tumult, which had growne to a further extremitie, if a greater number of people had ioyned themſelves with them.

Sedition at
the feaſt of the
Paſſeouer.

At that time fell the feaſt of vnleavened bread, which is called Paſcha, which is a memoriall of their deliuerance out of Egypt, at which time all men doe moſt willingly preſent their ſacrifi-
ces, and a greater number of beaſts are ſlaine at that feaſt, then at any other time. To this ſole-
mnitie alſo an infinite number of people aſſembled from all parts, to honour God: whereby theſe ſe-
ditions (ſuppoſing that they had gotten a fit opportunitie) lamented *Judas* & *Matthias*, who were the Expoſitors of the law, and kept themſelves within the temple, whither they had gathered
good ſtore of victuals, which they were not aſhamed impudently to begge for. But *Archelaus*,
feare leaſt their rage ſhould produce ſome more grieuous effect of miſchiefe, ſent out a band of
armed men, with a captaine, and a regiment of a thouſand men, to repreſſe their head-long furie,
before the reſt of the people were infected with their follies; and to bring them likewiſe vnto
him, whom they found to bee the forwardſt in that commotion. Againſt thoſe the ſeditious
cried out, with great clamors, and incented the people againſt them, ſo that all of them ruſhed in
vpon the men of warre, and ſlew diuers of them. The reſt of them eſcaped with their captaine,
yet not without diuers wounds. That done, they which were within the temple returned againe
to their diuine ſeruice.

A Now *Archelaus* ſuppoſing that his whole fortune was endangered, except hee repreſſed the
rage of the multitude, he ſent out all his footmen with a certaine number of horſemen, to preuent
leaſt they that were without ſhould yield aſſiſtance to thoſe, who had taken vp their lodging in
the temple, and to put thoſe to the ſword, who hauing eſcaped the violence of the footmen, ſup-
poſed themſelves to be in ſecuritie. Theſe horſemen ſlew about three thouſand men, the reſt re-
tired themſelves into the mountaines that were neere adioyning. Hereupon *Archelaus* made pro-
clamation, that each one ſhould repaire vnto his owne houſe. For which cauſe they departed and
abandoned the feaſt, for feare of greater miſchiefe; notwithstanding they had ſpleen enough, as
it is the ordinarie cuſtome of the ignorant multitude.

Three thou-
ſand Iewes
ſlaine.

After this, *Archelaus* accompanied with his mother, betooke himſelfe to ſea, and led with him
B *Nicholas* and *Ptolomey*, with diuers other his friends, committing the gouernment of all his houſe-
hold and kingdome to his brother *Philip*: with him alſo departed *Salome*, *Herods* ſiſter, leading
with her her children. There went alſo diuers other of his kinned, who ſaid that they would all of
them labour for *Archelaus*, that hee might obtaine the kingdome, but in effect it was to contra-
dict him with all their power: & in eſpeciall, to vrge that againſt him with great vehemencie, that
was done in the temple. *Sabinus*, *Caeſars* Viceroy in Syria, poſting into Iewrie to take charge of
Herods money, met with *Archelaus* in *Caeſarea*. But *Varus* arriuing in the meane while, detained
him from finiſhing that voiage; for *Archelaus* had ſent for him to come thither by *Ptolomey*, and
Sabinus willing to doe *Varus* a pleaſure, wold not ſeize the fortrefſes of Iewrie; neither ſealed vp
Herods treaſures, but left them in *Archelaus* poſſeſſion, vntill ſuch time as *Caeſar* had giuen order
C for the eſtate; and after he had made this promiſe, he ſtaied in *Caeſarea*.

Archelaus re-
pairs to Rome
and many of
his faction
follow him.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 13.
al. 14.

After *Archelaus* had ſette ſaile towards Rome, and *Varus* was departed for Antioch; *Sabinus*
went to Ieruſalem, where he ſeized the kings palace: and calling before him the kings Agents, &
the Capitaines of his garrifons, he required them to deliuer vp their Caſtles into his hands. But
they, according as *Archelaus* had commanded them, continued the poſſeſſion in their accuſto-
med manner, according to the kings direction, pretending to keepe the ſame in *Caeſars* behalfe.
At the ſame time, *Antipas* *Herods* ſonne trauailed to Rome likewiſe, vnder the hope to be elected
king, in regard of *Salomes* promiſes; and for that he better deſerued the ſame then *Archelaus*, co-
ſidering that in the firſt teſtament, which ſhould be of more force then the later, hee had been ap-
pointed king. He led his mother alſo with him, & *Ptolomey* the brother of *Nicholas*, who had bin
D one of *Herods* moſt eſteemed friends, and was well affected to further & ſer forward his title. But
eſpecially he was ſtirred vp to ſecke the kingdome by *Ireneus*, a man very eloquent; & to whoſe
charge in regard of his ſufficiencie, the affaires of the kingdome had been committed. For which
cauſe, although he were perſwaded to giue ouer the kingdome vnto his elder brother, vwho was
confirmed in the kingdome by his fathers teſtament, yet would hee not giue eare thereunto. But
Antipas no ſooner arriued in Rome, but all his kinsfolke reuolted from *Archelaus*, vnto him, nor
ſo much for the loue they bare him, as for the hatred they had conceived againſt *Archelaus*: and
aboue all, for the deſire they had to recouer their libertie, & to draw themſelves vnder a Romane
Gouernour. For they thought that if there were any contradiction, that *Antipas*, for whoſe they
endeuoured to procure the roialtie, ſhould bee more profitable vnto them then *Archelaus*. *Sabi-
nus* alſo by his letters accuſed *Archelaus* to *Caeſar*: but *Archelaus* by *Ptolomey* exhibited vnto *Cae-
ſar* a ſupplication containing his right and title to the kingdome, his fathers teſtament, and the
account of the money which *Herod* his father had ſealed vp, together with his ring, & expected
the iſſue.

Antipater, Sa-
lomes ſon, ac-
cuſeth Archela-
us before
Augustus Cae-
ſar.

But when hee had read theſe letters, and thoſe which *Varus* and *Sabinus* had ſent him, and vn-
derſtood what ſummes of money he had left, and what the annuall reuenue was, and how *Ant-
tipas* challenged the kingdome, & appropriated it to himſelfe, according as his letters made men-
tion: he aſſembled all his friends to haue their aduiſe thereupon. Amongſt them was *Caius* the
ſonne of *Agrippa* and his daughter *Iulia*, adopted by him, whom he cauſed to ſitte in the chiefeſt
place: which done, he commaunded the aſſiſtants to ſpeake what they would touching this mat-
ter. At that time *Antipater* *Salomes* ſonne, a man very eloquent, & a great aduerſarie to *Arche-
laus*, ſpake firſt ſaying, that it was a mockerie for him at that time to ſpeake of the kingdome,
conſidering that before *Caeſar* had granted it him, hee had already ſeized the forces of the ſtate;
F when as vpon a feſtiuall day he had ſlaine ſo many: who although they had deſerued that puniſh-
ment, yet ought the iuſtice thereof to haue been referred to a lawfull power; and not to haue bin
vſurped by him, either beeing king with *Caeſars* preiudice; whoſe authoritie he had contemned;
or by being a priuate man, which was a greater ouerſight: For which cauſe hee vnderſeuerd lie at
this

this time hoped for his approbation, whom already as much as in him lay, hee had deprived of the title and authoritie of his allowance. Moreover, hee objected against him; that of his own authoritie he had changed certaine chieftaines of the armie, and that hee had seated himselfe in the royall throne, and like a king had determined certaine causes, & had granted certain demands of the people: finally, that he had left nothing undone, which he might haue performed, had *Caesar* confirmed his title. He alledged also, that they who were inclosed in the Hippodrome, were dismissed by him, and diuers other acts, partly true, partly probable, in regard of the ambition of young men, who desirous to gouerne doe ordinarily commit such things: besides this, his neglect in mourning for his father, and withall, his reare banquetts all night long: at that verie time his father died; whereat the people beganne to mutine, seeing the small regard he had of his fathers death, from whom he had receiued so great goods and honours. How all the day long he made a shew of his sorow and teares in his paullion, but all the night rooke pleasures like a king; and being such, if *Caesar* should grant him the kingdom, he would behaue himselfe no lesse vnkindly towards him, then he had done towards his most kind father. That it was no lesse then a heinous crime in him, to delight himselfe with songs and dances at his fathers death; as if he had beene his enemy: That he now came to *Caesars* prelence, to the intent to obtaine the kingdom by his consent, whereas already he had behaue himselfe no otherwise then if he had already bene established king by his authoritie. But most of all he exaggerated the slaughter he had committed in the temple, & the impietie perpetrated to neere to the feast of Easter, at which time diuers both strangers and citizens had been slaughtered after the manner of sacrifices, and the temple filled with carcasses, not by a stranger, but by him, who vnder the colour of religion desired the gouernment of the kingdom, to the end hee might satisfie the vniustice of his nature, in exercising each way his tyrannie towards all men: for which cause his father neuer thought, nor euer dreamt to substitute him king in his place. For hee knew both his life and disposition, and by his former testament (& that of greatest force) had ordained his aduersarie *Antipater* to be king. For he had been allotted the kingdom by his father, not when his mind was dead before his bodie, but while both his iudgement was sound, and his body in health. Yea although at that time *Archelaus* father had such a conceit of him, as in his later testament & bequest he pretendeth; yet that hee had already declared what kind of king hee was like to be, who contemned *Caesars* authoritie in confirming the kingdom, and being as yet a priuate man, doubted not to murder the citizens in the temple. This said, *Antipater* (to giue greater credit to his words, bringing diuers of his kindred as witnesses of that he had said) ended his Oration.

Nicholaus executeth Archelaus.

Whereupon *Nicholaus* arose, and alleadged in *Archelaus* behalfe as touching the slaughter, that it was to be imputed to their impietie, who could not bee restrained from their tumults and uprores, before *Archelaus* was enforced to appease the by force, alleadging that they were so much the more guiltie, for that they had not onely exercised their malice, but also had enforced others to attempt so heinous a reuenge against them: for their insolencie seemed in appearance to concerne *Archelaus*; yet in a sort their contumacie pertained to *Caesars* ruine. For those that had been sent by him to appeale and redresse their sedition, were against all law and right charged & slaine by them, without respect of God, or regard of the solemne feast: whose defence *Antipater* was not ashamed of, without respect of equitie, so that hee might satisfie that hatred which hee bare vnto *Archelaus*. That therefore it was their fault, who first of all abstained not from iniurie, but whetted those swords, which were drawne in maintenance of the peace, against their owne bosomes. He enforced all other things also, whereof they had accused *Archelaus*, against themselves, saying, that none of these things were done without their consents: and that the offence was not so grievous, as they intended it should be esteemed, to the end they might discredit *Archelaus*. So great a desire was in them to hurt their kinsman, a man both well respected, and affected by his father, as also kind and officious towards them in all things that concerned them. As for the testament, that it was made by the king when he was in perfect estate of mind and body, and of greater force then the former, because the authoritie and confirmation thereof was ascribed to *Caesar* the soveraigne of the world.

Further, that *Caesar* would not imitate them in that wrong they did vnto *Herod*, who (being during his life time bountifully graced by him, by many benefits) do now after his death, goe about to violate his last and truest testament: but that rather like a friend & confederate hee would confirm his will, who like his faithful and sworne welwiller had committed all things to his trust. For that there must needs be a great difference between their malice and *Caesars* vertue & faith, which was renowned thorow the whole world. For which cause hee would not iudge his decreeto be

inco-

inconsiderately past, who left his succession to his well deserving sonne, and referred all things to his trust. For that it was vnlikely that he should erre in the choise of his successor, who had so discreetly submitted all things to *Caesars* iudgement. After this manner *Nicholas* also finished his discourse. Hereupon *Caesar* courteously railed *Archelaus*, who lay prostrate & humbled before his feet, telling him that he was most worthy to be king, by giuing an apparant testimony, that hee was constant in his resolutions; pretending that he would do nothing but that which should be answerable to *Herods* testament, & *Archelaus* profit; and seeing the young man was confirmed in some good hope with this his promise, he determined nothing more for that time: but dismissing the counsell, he debated with himselfe whether he should ratifie the kingdom to *Archelaus* only, or diuide it amongst *Herods* kinred, especially since all men had need of his assistance.

CHAP. XII.

The Iewes mutinie against Sabinus, and how Varus punisheth the authors of the sedition.



Before *Caesar* had determined any thing certainly in this behalfe, *Marthalce Archelaus* mother died of a sicknes, and *Varus* the president of the Iewes in Syria, had sent letters, which certified the emperor of the rebellion of the Iewes. For after *Archelaus* departure, all the nation was in an uprore. To pacify which, *Varus* resorted thither, & punished the authors of the same, & after he had in this sort appeased all things, he returned to Antioch, leauing a regiment of soldiers in Ierusalem to restraine the factious in vocations amongst the Iewes: yet preuailed he nothing by this his policy. For as soone as *Varus* was departed, *Sabinus* who intended *Caesars* affaires, remaining in that place, grievously burthened the Iewes, trusting to that power that was left him, & supposing that he was already enabled to withstand the multitude. For he armed diuers souldiers, and made vse of them to oppress the Iewes, and to prouoke them to sedition. For he enforced himselfe to surpris their fortresses, and forcibly to make search after the kings treasures, for his priuate lucre and couetousnes sake. When as therefore the feast of VV hitontide was come (which is one of our festiualls) diuers thousands from all parts repaired to Ierusalem, not only for religion sake, but also for the despise & hatred they had conceiued against those violences & iniuries, which *Sabinus* had offered them. And not only were those of *Iudea* grievously offended (but diuers also resorted out of *Galilee* and *Idumæa*, from *Iericho* and the cities situate on the other side of *Iordan*, desiring all of them to be reuenged on *Sabinus*.

Marthalce Archelaus mother dieth. Varus pacifieth the sedition at Ierusalem.

And diuiding their campe into three bandes after this manner, the one part of them tooke vp the Hippodrome, and of the other two the one seized the southerne quarter of the temple, and the other the easterne, & the third, which was in the Hippodrome were planted to the westward, where the kings palace stood; and thus prepared they all things that were necessary to set vpō the Romans whom they had besieged on all sides. At that time *Sabinus* fearing their number, and resolution, who were resolved either to die or to ouercome, sent present letters vnto *Varus*, requiring him with all expedition to send him a supply, because the regiment that was left by him, was in great danger; and must needs utterly perish without his speedy rescous: as for himselfe he withdrew into the tower and dungeon of the castle *Phaelus*, which was a fortress which was builded and so called in honour of *Herods* brother, who was slaine by the Parthians; and from the top thereof made a signe to the Romans, that they should fall out vpon the Iewes, being afraid to trust himselfe to his own friends, and supposing that the rest ought to expose their liues to danger in maintenance of his seruice. The Romans hauing made this fallie, there arose a desperate skirmish, wherein the Romans diuers waies had the vpper hand; yet were nor the Iewes any waies discomfited, notwithstanding they had lost many men, but wheeling about so long till at last they seized the outward galleries, and those that encompassed the temple, and in that place there was a hot assault: for they slung downe stones with their hands & slings, and there were certaine archers mixed amongst them; who in that they had recouered a place of advantage, grievously gauled the Romans which were below, in that they had no meanes to auoid their shot, but were in such sort exposed thereunto, as their enemies had the better. And with this disadvantage fought the Romans a long time, till at length sore aggrieved at this their present indignity, they secretly fired the galleries & porches, without any discovery of those that were therein: which fire brought thither by many, and fed with such matter, as would speedily flame, incontinently tooke holde of the rooffe, because the rooffe was couered with pitch and waxe, and guiled vpon the waxe; so that these great and excellent buildings were burnt downe to nothing in a moment, and they that were resorted thither were all of them consumed before they were aware. For some of them fell with the rooffe of the Galleries; other some

Alias, chap. 15. Sabinus auarice raiseth a great sedition in Ierusalem, at the feast of Pentecost.

A most bloody battell fought betwixt the Romanes and Iewes neere vnto the temple.

Diuers Iewes are slaine and burned in the rooffe of the porches.

Gratus cōflic-
with Simon.
Simon behea-
ded.
The Iewes al-
most enraged
in rebellion.
Athronges
strong in body
and goodly in
 stature, at-
tempteth roy-
all dignitie.

About the same time also, the roiall palace of Amathat, that was fast by Iordan, was burnt by men of as bad disposition as *Simon* was. And thus thorow the whole nation ruigned this raging rebellion, for that the countrey had no king, who by his vertue might gouerne and moderate the people, for that the strangers, who were sent to repress these mutinies, did rather incense them thorow their violence and auarice. For a certaine obscure and base man (neither esteemed for vertue, nor worthy regard for his riches, but beeing a shepheard vtterly vnknowne before time, and onely famous for his huge stature and strength) called *Athronges*, was so audacious to aspire to roiall

At this time was all Iudaea full of robberies, and as many seditious assemblies as drew together, so many kings were there elected, who were raised to the utter ruine of the common-weale. Amongst the rest, the Romans were they that smarted least, but the murders were executed against those that were out of the country. But *Varus* vnderstanding by *Sabinus* letters, in what dangers they were, and fearing the utter overthrow of his third legion, hee tooke with him the two other (for to the uttermost, in Syria there were but three) and with the assistance of the kings and Terrarches he hasted into Iewry, to relieue those that were besieged, commanding those that were sent out before he dislodged, to meete him at Ptolemais, and passing by the Citie of the Berythians he receiued a thousand, & five hundred soldiers at their hands, to attend him in his war. *Aretas* also, who was Lord of Petra, drawing himselfe into confederacy with the Romans, in regard of that hatred he bare toward *Herode*, lent him horsemen and footmen. When all these forces were assembled at Ptolemais, he deliuered a part thereof to his son, and one of his friends, commanding them to make warre vpon the Galileans, who bordered vpon that Citie: who entering that region, and putting all those to flight, whoeuer durst make head against him, he took *Sephoris*, and selling the inhabitants vnder the speare, he consumed the Citie with fire. *Varus* himselfe marching towards Samaria with his army, violence not the Citie in that hee knew it was free from the contagion of the seditious, but he pitched his campe in a certain village, which was *Ptolomies* possession called *Arus*. The same did the Arabians burne, reuenging themselves on *Herods* friend for his sake, and marching onward the Arabians spoiled also an other village called *Sampho*, and for that it was strongly fortified burned the same. Besides, in that journey nothing escaped their hands, but they put all to fire and sword. For both *Emmaus* was burned by *Varus* commaund, and in reuenge of his souldiers that were slaine in that place, it was left desolate and void of inhabitants. From thence drawing neere to Ierusalem, those Iewes that besieged the legion on that side, vpon the foudaine view and approach of the army of the Romans, I fearfully fled, giuing ouer that siege which they intended. But those Iewes of Ierusalem, being grievously reprobred by *Varus*, alleaged in their excuse, that the people in regard of the feast were assembled in that place, and that the warre was not begun by their consent, but vnderaken by their boldnesse who resorted thither from diuers places; and that they were so faine off from assailing the Romans, as they rather seemed to bee besieged by them. And long before this, *Ioseph* king *Herods* nephew, *Gratus* and *Rufus* with their souldiers were gone out to meet *Varus*, and those Romans that had sustained the siege, had done no lesse. But as touching *Sabinus*, hee

457
The year of the
world, 3965. be-
fore Christs birth
y 3.

c) Azbronges and
his brethren
taken.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 16.

Arus burned
by the Arabi-
ans.
Sampho and
Emmaus
burned.
V A R V S
repaireth to
Ierusalem, and
deliucreth the
Region that was
besieged.

The year of the world, 3969, before Christs birth 3.

The punishment of the conspirators.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 16, al. 17.

The year of the world, 3969, before Christs birth 4.

The embassy of the Iewes to Rome. Archelaus and the embassadors of the Iewes appeared before Caesar. Philip Herods kinne.

The embassy of the Iewes to Rome. Archelaus and the embassadors of the Iewes appeared before Caesar. Philip Herods kinne.

would not appeare in *Varus* presence, by stealing away pitiouly out of the Citie, hee fled vnto the seaward. The *Varus* sending a part of his armie thorow the whole region, sought out the authors of this sedition, and those that were noted men in the action; some of which, who were most guiltie, were punished: the rest were deliuered. Now of those that were punished for this occasion, there were about two thousand crucified; and that done, seeing that his army stood him in little need, hee dismissed them. For diuers disorders and outrages, contrarie to *Varus* expresse command, were acted by his souldiers, who sought after nothing more then to increase their meanes by other mens miseries. And hearing that ten thousand Iewes were assembled together, he hastned to apprehend them: but they not daring to hazard their fortune in a fight with him, by *Achiabius* aduice submitted themselves. But *Varus* hauing pardoned the people for this their rebellion, sent all those that were the ringleaders thereof to *Cesar*, who discharged diuers of them. But he chastised certaine of *Herodes* allies, and such as bare armes with them: for that neither in regard of kindred, nor respect of iustice, they had abstained from rebellious insurrection. After that *Varus* had in this sort appeased all the troubles in Iewrie, and left the first legion in garrison in Ierusalem, he returned to Antioch.

But *Archelaus* was crossed in Rome by another occurrent that arose vpon this occasion: Certaine Embassadors of the Iewes resorted thither by *Varus* permission, requiring that it might be lawfull for them to liue according to their owne lawes: these presented themselves, to the number of fiftie, and were backt by eight thousand Iewes, that inhabited the Citie. And when as *Cesar* had assembled the councell of his friends, and chiefest citizens in *Apollos* temple, which he had builded to his mightie charge, thither resorted the Embassadors, who were followed by a troop of Iewes; & *Archelaus* also attended by his friends. But the kings kindred neither stood by *Archelaus* in regard of the hate they bare him, and yet disdained they to assist the embassadors, for that they were ashamed in *Cesars* presence to oppose themselves against their nearest friend and kinsman. *Philip* also was present at that time, who by *Varus* perswasion resorted thither out of Syria, especially to the intent to plead for his brother, to whom *Varus* wished al good fortune: besides that, hoping not a little that if the Iewes should obtaine the libertie to liue according to their lawes, it might come to passe that the kingdome being diuided amongst *Herods* children, he might also light on some part thereof. After therefore the Embassadors of the Iewes had obtained licence to propose their demands, pretending with themselves wholly to extinguish the royalty: they began to rippe vp *Herodes* disgraces, alleadging how onely in name he had beene a king; whereas otherwise he had vied all the tyrannous practices that the most wickedest person could haue inuented toward the destruction of his nation; and that not content with these, he had of his owne head praetised and inuented new. Neither that it needed them to reckon vp how many hee had deprived of life, when as the estate of those that were aliue was farre more desperate; whome hee not onely affrighted with perpetuall terror and feueritie, but also with iniurious hands had not abstained from their goods. By which meanes it came to passe, that he not only builded, but beautified forraine Cities inhabited by forraine nations, to the ende hee might the rather verily spoyle those by exaction, which were situate and seated in his owne Countrey: and that he enforced his nation to extreame pouertie, which hee receiued in most happy estate, whilest hee spoiled those nobles of their estates, who vpon weake probabilities were condemned to die, or granting them life deprived them of their possessions. Furthermore, whereas yeerely tributes were imposed on euery one; yet secretly was the rauinous & covetous desires of his friends and courtiers to be satisfied, yea and of his seruants also, who had the authority to exacte these things, that by this meanes they might redeeme their iniurious vexations. As for the deflowring of virgins, and the scornfull betraying of a matrons chastitie, they couered them vnder silence, for that it is a great comfort to those that suffer such outrage, if their disgraces be but knowne to a fewe. In briefe, that *Herod* had in no other sort gouerned, then as if the government of them had been committed to a most savage beast. For which cause, whereas in times past that nation had been afflicted with many calamities and murders, yet that there is no example extant amongst their monuments of antiquitie, that may be compared with their present calamitie vnder *Herod*. For which cause vpon iust respects they had with one consent named *Archelaus* their king, supposing that whatsoeuer king might befall them, he would alwaies demean himselfe more affably then *Herod* had done; and that to honour *Archelaus* they had mourned with him for his father, to gratifie him in other things, to the intent they might tie his good affection vnto them: But hee without delay and all at once had made manifest to the whole nation, what opinion they were to conceiue of him, notwithstanding that as yet he was not confirmed king (for that it lay in *Cesars* hands

The year of the world, 3969, before Christs birth 4.

Nicholas ex-cuse's Herode and Archelaus.

A hands to bequeath it, yea or no) and as if hee had been affraide least he should assuredly be acknowledged for his fathers sonne, he had shewed an example of his vertue, moderation & good government, that he would vie towards his subiects, by the first act which he hath committed, not onely against God, but also against men. For in the temple it selfe he hath caused three thousand of his owne countrein to be slaine. And how can he choose but be iustly hated, who besides his other cruelties, obiecteth against vs the crime of rebellion and murinie? The effect of their request therefore was this, that they might not any more be gouerned by a king, nor any such like government, but that they might be annexed vnto Syria, and submit themselves vnto those gouernours that should be sent thither. That in so dooing it should truly appeare whether they were seditious, and addicted to chaunges, or whether they would liue in peace at such time as they had fauourable gouernours. After the Iewes had spoken to this effect, *Nicholas* discharged the kings of those accusations that were obiected against them, and namely *Herod*, who (as he said) had neuer beene accused all his life time; and that it was no reason that they who iustly accusing him, might haue caused him to be punished during his life time, should now addresse their accusations against him after he was dead. And as touching those things that were obiected concerning *Archelaus* actions; it ought to be imputed to their insolence, for that engaging themselves in matters contrary to lawe, and hauing begun to murder those who sought to appease the tumult, they accused such as had kept them in obedience. Besides this, he obiected against them, that they were addicted to alterations, and tooke pleasure to stirre vp seditions; for that they knew not what thing it was to obey iustice and the lawes, and that there was no nation in the world so headstrong as that of the Iewes; for that they would haue the vpper hand ouer all. Thus spake *Nicholas*.

CHAP. XIII.

Cesar confirms *Herods* testament, and appointeth his children to be his successors.

When *Cesar* had heard these things, he dismissed the assembly. But som few daies after, hee desirous to make an end of this matter, declared *Archelaus* not king, but Lord of halfe that government that appertained to *Herode*, promising him to bestow a royall dignity vpon him, if so be he behaued himselfe vertuously, according as it became him. As for the other moitie, he diuided it betweene two, giuing a feuerall part thereof to each of *Herods* sonnes, *Philip* and *Antipas*, who debated with his brother *Archelaus* for the whole kingdom. The same *Antipas* also had the countrey on the other side of Iordan, and Galilee, with two hundred talents of annuall reuenue. As for *Philip* he had Bathanea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, and part of the palace that was called by *Zenodorus* name, with one hundred talents. As for *Archelaus*, he had Iudæa, Iudæa & Samaria, which were discharged of the fourth part of the tributes by *Cesar*, for that they had not ioined themselves with the rest of the people during the time of the sedition. Besides that, *Archelaus* had the tower of Straton, Sebaste, Ioppe and Ierusalem. For Gaza, Gadara, and Hippon were cities of Greece which *Cesar* had dismembred, and adioyned to Syria. *Archelaus* had five hundred talents of yeerely rent out of his countrey. Thus was the patrimony diuided among *Herods* sonnes. As for *Salome*, besides that which her brother had giuen her in his will, which were the Cities of Iamnia, Azot, Phasaelis, and halfe a million of siluer mony, *Cesar* granted her a royall house in Ascalon; so as she receiued, in the whole, sixty talents of annuall reuenue, and had her house allotted her within the dominion of *Archelaus*. All other of *Herods* kinred, receiued that which was bequeathed vnto them by his testament. Two of his daughters that were vnmarried, were endowed by *Cesar* with a quarter of a million of siluer mony which he gaue them, beside their fathers portion, and they were married to *Pheroras* sonnes. Moreouer he gaue *Herodes* sonnes, all that which he had giuen him by his testament, amounting to the sum of one thousand & five hundred talents; contenting himselfe onely to receiue some fewe moueables, not so much for their value, as in remembrance of the king, who had giuen them.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 18.
Alias, chap. 17
The false Alex-
ander.

After these things were in this sort disposed by *Cæsar*, a young man and a Jew borne, brought vp in the Citie of Sidon, by a certaine Romane libertine, intruded himselfe into *Herods* kinred, for that all those that beheld him, reported he resembled *Alexander Herodes* sonne, who was slaine by him; and by this meanes, he began to aspire vnto the kingdome: wherupon calling to him a companion, who was his owne countreiman, & a long beaten courtier, and his craftmaster, and fit to execute any dangerous or desperate actions, he by his instructions fained himselfe to be that *Alexander Herods* son, who was deliuered from death by the meanes of a certaine friend, who had the charge to see him executed; who executing others in their steedes, deliuered both him and his brother *Aristobulus*, and that they were both escaped in this manner. Becing puffed vp by these toys, he fayled not to deceiue other men; and as soone as he came to Crete, as many Iewes soeuer as hee fell in conference with, he perswaded them no lesse: and getting much money at their hands, he sailed into the Isle of Melos, where he gathered a great summe of money vnder pretext that he was of the kings blood. And now hoping that he should recouer his fathers kingdome, and that he should remunerate those who were beneficiall vnto him, hee hasted towards Rome, accompanied with his friends in great pompe. And being arriued at Puteol, he there also was entertained with no lesse fauour by those Iews whom he deceiued by his colourable title, and diuers others, who had bin *Herods* friends & familiars came vnto him, and entertained him as their king. The cause hercof was the natural dispositiō of men, who take pleasure in false reports, together with the report of his resemblance. For they that had frequented very familiarly with *Alexander*, held it for a matter most assured, that he was the man, and none other, and affirmed vnto other vpon their othes that it was he; so that this rumor at last came to Rome. And all the Iewes that dwelt there came forth to meet him, saying, that it was Gods handy work, that he was after that sort preserved beyond all mens expectation: and they greatly reioyced in his mother *Mariammes* behalfe, from whom he was descended; and he was carried in a litter thorow the streets with all the apparell of a king, the charge wherof was defraied by those who were his friends. He was attended with a great multitude of men, and honoured with great applause, as it ordinarily falleth out at such time as beyond all expectation any one is found to haue bin miraculously preserved. When this newes was brought to *Cæsars* cares, he gaue small credite thereunto, perswading himselfe that it was a hard matter to deceiue *Herode* in a cause of so great importance: notwithstanding conforming himselfe in some sort to the opinions of men, he sent a certaine free-man of his called *Celadus*, who had very familiarly conuersed with *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* during their infancy, giuing him in charge to bring *Alexander* vnto him, to the end he might see him; which he did, and was neuer the wiser in discovering him. This notwithstanding *Cæsar* was not fully deceiued. For, although he resembled him somewhat, yet was not he so neerely like him, that he could deceiue those who narrowly obserued him. For this counterfaite *Alexander* had hard hands, in that he had beene accustomed to laboor, which the true *Alexander* could not haue in regard of his tender and delicate education: and contrariwise this man was of a rough skin & hard flesh. *Cæsar* therefore discovering the trechery both of the counterfaite scholler and lying master, and how they accorded in their confident iustifications, he enquired of them what was becom of *Aristobulus* who was secretly hiddē with him, & for what cause he presented not himselfe to enioy the honor that appertained to those, who were so nobly descended? It was answered him, that he remained in the Isle of Cyprus, for feare of dangers, to which they are exposed who saile by sea, to the end that if any misfortune should befall them, all *Mariammes* race should not be extinguished, but that at leastwise *Aristobulus* might be left aliue. Whilest hee auowed these things, and the author of this fable iustified no less, *Cæsar* drawing the yong man aside, said vnto him: My friend, if thou wilt not deceiue me, thou shalt haue this recompence, that thou shalt not be punished. Tell me therefore what thou art, and who hath emboldned thee to practice this fraud: for this malice is so great that it surpasseth thine age: wherupō being vnable to conceal the truth, he disclosed the trechery to *Cæsar*, how & by whom it was contriued. At that time *Cæsar* being loth to fulfill his promise that he had past to this false *Alexander*, and seeing that in times past he had trauailed with his hands, he caused him to be enrowled among the number of his laylers to row, & caused the other that induced him to this fraud to be put to death, contenting him-

The false Alex-
ander cometh
to Rome.The false Alex-
ander cannot
deceiue Cæsar.The false Alex-
ander is con-
demned to tug
at an oare.

A selfe that the inhabitants of *Melos* had lost their charges, which they had empioied vpon this false *Alexander*, who had a shamefull end, as it hath been heretofore declared.

461
The yeare of the
world, 3966. af-
ter Christs birth
4.

Archelaus is accused anew, and afterwards banished, and sent into Vienna.



After that *Archelaus* had taken possession of that Soueraignty that was allotted him, hee came into Iudæa, where he deposed *Ioazar* the son of *Baithus* from the high priesthood, accusing him to haue fauoured the seditious, and established *Eleazar* his brother in his place. After this he reedified the Palace in Iericho, and sumptuously adorned it, drawing away the halfe of those waters which serued the borough of Næara: and conuaying them thorow a field which he had planted with palm trees, he builded a borough in that place, which he named *Archelaus*, and contrary to the lawes of his country he married *Glaphyra* *Archelaus* daughter, who had been his brother *Alexanders* wife, by whom also he had diuers children, notwithstanding the lawe of the Iewes forbiddeth a man to marry his brothers wife. Neither did *Eleazar* enioy the priesthood any long time: but during his life time, *Iesus* the sonne of *Sias* was substituted in his place.

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 19.
The Priest-
hood is taken
from Ioazar, &
deliuered to E-
leazar, & from
him to Iosiah
the son of Sias.
Archelaus build-
ed.

The tenth yeare of *Archelaus* gouernment, the chiefeest gouernours among the Iewes and Samaritanes vnable any longer to endure his cruelty and tyranny, accused him before *Cæsar*, and especially after they had vnderstood that he had transgressed *Cæsars* commaund, who had charged him to behaue himselfe graciously towards them. Which when *Cæsar* vnderstood, he was sore displeased, and caused *Archelaus* agent to be called before him, who was then at Rome; and sent for *Archelaus* also: & esteeming it too base an indignity for him to write vnto him, Go (sayd he) vnto him with all expedition, and bring him vnto me without delay. He posting forward with all diligence, at length arriued in Iudæa, where he found *Archelaus* banquetting with his friends, and hauing certified him of *Cæsars* pleasure, he incited him to hasten onward of his way. As soone as he came to Rome, after that *Cæsar* had heard certaine of his accusers and his iustifications, he banished him, and confined him in the Citie of Vienna in France, and confiscated all his goods.

Archelaus
banished and
confined.

But before *Archelaus* was sent for to Rome, he reported vnto his friends this dreame which ensteth. Him thought that he sawe tenne eares full of wheat, and very ripe, which the oxen broufed vpon, and as soone as he awoke he conceiued an opinion that his vision prefiged some great matter. For which cause he sent for certaine soothsayers, who made it their profession to interpret dreames. Now whilest they were debating one with an other (for they differed for the most part in their exposition) a certain man called *Simon* an Essæan, hauing first of all obtained security and licence to speake, said that the vision pretended, that a great alteration should befall in *Archelaus* estate, to his vtter disgrace. For the oxen signified afflictions, in respect that those kinde of creatures do ordinarily trauell and as touching the change of estate it was signified by this, in that the earth being laboured by the trauell of the oxen, retained not the same estate: and as touching the ten eares of corne, they signified the like number of yeers. And therefore when as one sommer should be ouerpast, that then the time of *Archelaus* soueraignie should be at an end. Thus interpreted he this dreame. And the first day after the vision thereof, his factor *Archelaus* by *Cæsars* commandement came into Iury to summon him to Rome. Some such like matter hapned to *Glaphyra* his wife also, the daughter of king *Archelaus*: she (as we haue said) married *Alexander Herods* sonne when she was a maid, and brother to this *Archelaus*; who beeing slaine by his father, she was married the second time to *Iuba* king of Mauritania: and he also being dead, the liuing with her father in Cappadocia was married to *Archelaus*, who put away *Mariamme* his wife for the loue he bare vnto *Glaphyra*. She liuing with *Archelaus*, was encountred with such a dreame: She thought that she saw *Alexander* fast by her, who cherishing and embracing her, checked her saying: *Glaphyra*, Thou approuest the truth of that prouerbe, which saith, Women haue no loyalty. For hauing giuen me thy faith, and married with me at such time as thou wert a Virgin, and born children by me, thou hast forgotten and neglected my loue, thorow the desire thou hast had to be married the second time. Neither hast thou contented to haue done mee this wrong, but hast taken vnto thee likewise a third husband, lewdely and impudently intruding thy selfe into my family; and being married with *Archelaus*, thou art content to admit my brother for thy husband. This notwithstanding I wil not forget the loue that I haue borne

Simon the
Essæan inter-
preteth Arch-
elaus vision;Glaphyras
dreame.

borne there, but will deliuer thee from him, who hath done thee this reproach, by retaining thee for mine owne, as heerebefore thou hast been. After that he had told this vision to certaine women that were her familiars, she died very shortly after. Which accident I haue thought good to register in this place, in that I was to intreat of those kings; and otherwise the matter seemeth to be a signall example containing a most certaine argument of the immortalitie of soules, and Gods providence. And if any one deeme these things incredible, let him reserue his opinion to himselfe, and no waies contradiet those, who by such euents are incited to the study of vertue. Now when the gouernment of *Archelaus* was annexed to Syria, *Cyrenius*, who had been Consul, was sent by *Cesar* to taxe Syria, and to dispose of *Archelaus* house.



THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 18. Booke.

- 1 *Cyrenius is sent by Cesar into Syria and Iudaa to taxe the people, Coponius is made gouernor of Iudaa, Iudas the Galilean raiseth up new troubles.*
- 2 *What and how many Sects there were among the Iewes.*
- 3 *The Tetrarches Herod and Philip build Cities in honour of Cesar.*
- 4 *The sedition of the Iewes against Pontius Pilate.*
- 5 *That which hapned to the Iewes that were dwelling at Rome in Pilates time.*
- 6 *Of Vitellius his arriuall in Ierusalem, and how he receiued commission from Tiberius Cesar, to make warre against Aretas, after he had receiued hostages of Artabanus.*
- 7 *Herod the Tetrarchs warre against king Aretas, and his overthrow.*
- 8 *Agrippas voyage to Tiberius, where he is accused and shut in prison. He is deliuered after the death of Tiberius, by Caius his successor.*
- 9 *How Herod the Tetrarch was banished.*
- 10 *The sedition of the Iewes and Greekes at Alexandria.*
- 11 *Caius sendeth Petronius into Iudaa to make warre against the Iews, if so be they refused to receiue his statue.*
- 12 *That which hapned to the Iewes that were at Babylon, and of the two brethren Asinæus and Ananæus.*

CHAP. I.

Cyrenius is sent by Cesar into Syria.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1.
Cyrenius is sent by Cesar into Syria to execute iustice in that place. Coponius Pretect of Iudaa.
The taxation of the people of the Iewes.



Cyrenius the Roman Senator hauing executed all degrees, offices, and dignities vntill such time as hee obtained the Consulship (a man of great reckoning and estimation) was sent into Syria by *Cesars* direction, to doe iustice among the people, and to sesse and taxe each mans goods: with him was sent *Caponius* a capitaine of a company of horsemen, who was appointed to haue the commaundement of all Iewry. *Cyrenius* therefore came into Iudaa, which was already annexed vnto Syria, to taxe the goods of the inhabitants thereof, and to confiscate *Archelaus* substance. And although at the first the Iewes thought but hardly of this descriptio, yet notwithstanding without contradiction they submitted themselves, being perswaded thereunto by the counsell of the high Priest *Isazar* the sonne of *Bathus*, M by whose aduice they suffered themselves to be taxed without contradiction. But after this there arose a certaine Iewe called *Iudas* the Gaulanite, borne in the towne of Gamala, who hauing a certaine man called *Sadoc* the Pharisee confederate with him, laboured to stirre vp the people to rebellion: allending that the description was no other thing, but a manifest confession of their seruitude, exhorting all the nation to maintain their libertie, and putting them in hope that they thereby should happily establish their estates, and enioy their goods with security; and besides this,

Alias, chap. 3.

A this, obtaine both honour and glory in prosecution of such an enterprife. Moreover, that God would not afford them a more assured way to settle their fortunes then by this meanes, namely, if they would employ themselves in the execution of their desseignes, and if hauing conceived in their minds haucie and noble attempts, they forbore not to finish the same, notwithstanding the execution cost them their liues. These speeches of theirs were entertained by the people with great pleasure, and by the same they were the more confirmed & hartned to rebellion. So that there was no kind of euill which these men let not abroach, yea the whole nation was replenished with such miseries, that it is impossible to recount them: for the wars therein continued with such fury, that it was impossible to restraine the violence thereof; so that they neither spared friends, nor respected enemies, but were wholly giuen ouer to the spoyle. There rained nothing but robberies & murders of noble personages, who entertained one another vnder pretence to establish the estate of the common-weale, but in effect for their priuate profit sake, whereby the cities were replenished with seditions & murders, in which the inhabitants slaughtered one another, after a strange manner of furie, and desire they had not to spare any that was of their contrary faction. They were afflicted with forraigne enemies and famine; yet none of these could pacifie their furie, but that they furiously rased Cities, shed innocent blood, till at length the horrible mischiefe rooke such a head, that they consumed the temple of God, and burned all the beautifull buildings. So dangerous a thing is it to change the customes and manners of a countrey. For *Iudas* and *Sadoc* hauing introduced and raised a fourth sect, and tying the Sectaries to their command, filled the whole common-weale for the present with many troubles, and produced the roots of these mischiefs, which afterward branched abroad from this vnaccustomed sect. For which cause I thinke it not amisse to discourse briefly of these sectaries opinions, whereby so many euills haue fallen vpon our nation.

Slaughters, thefts, seditions and famine in Iudaa.

The temple of Ierusalem burnt.

Iudas & Sadoc authors of the fourth sect.

CHAP. II.

How many, and what sects there were among the Iewes.

D Here were three sects among the Iews, of long continuance and antiquity: that of the Esscians; that of the Sadduces; and that of those who were called Pharisees. Of these I haue spoken in our second book of the wars of the Iewes; and yet now I thinke it not amisse to speake somewhat of them in this place also. The Pharisees vse a very austere and strict kinde of life, and addiect not themselves to any delicacy, but diligently follow that which their reason induceth them vnto. They honour their elders, neither dare they reply or reproach them for their admonitions. They attribute all things vnto fate, and yet they take not an assent of will from man, supposing that God tempereth all things in such sort, that by his ordinance & mans will all things are performed either good or euil. They beleeue also that the soules of men are immortall; and that vnder the earth they receiue iudgement of honour or disgrace, according as they haue addicted themselves to vertue or vice in their life times: the one to liue in perpetuall prison; the other to rise againe very shortly. For which cause they are in great estimation among the people: and all that which appertaineth to the seruice of God, whether they be praiers or sacrifices, all things are done according as they giue direction. So ample a testimony yeeld the Cities of their wisdom, temperance & honest life. But the Sadduces are of that opiniõ, that the soules of men perish with their bodies. They obserue no other thing but that which is in the law, and hold it a vertue to dispute with their masters, as touching the decrees of their sect. Their opinion is entertained by very fewe, yet such, who for the most part are men of the best reckoning; yet entermeddle they not in any case with any affaires; and when they are aduanced to any honours, either with their owne good liking, or with constraint, they are enforced to allow of that which the Pharisees shall propose, otherwise the common people will not endure them. The Esscians attribute vnto God the gouernment and disposition of all things. They say that the soules of men are immortal, and all the vttermost of their indeuour and delight is to maintaine iustice and equite. They send their offerings vnto the temple, yet sacrifice they not with other men, by reason they vse more sacred and different ceremonies: for which cause they are secluded out of the common temple, and sacrifice apart. Otherwise they are men of most reconciled behauiour, and such as are wholly addicted in trimming & laboring their fields. They haue one custom which is worthy admiration, & such a one as is not to be found amongst any other, either Greeks or Barbarians, that make any reckoning of vertue, which they haue not practiced

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 11.
Three sects of the Iewes: of whom mention is made in the second booke of the Iewes.
The Pharisees doctrine.

The Sadduces opinion.

The Esscians profession.

The Esscians life and manners.

The year of the
world, 3973. af-
ter Christs birth
11.

Plisi among
the Danes Iu-
das Galileus
the author of
the fourth sect.

Gesius Florus
injuries.

practiced for a little while, but euen from all antiquitie; which is, that they possesse their goods in common: neither doth the richest among them make more vic of his possessions then he hath least of all. They are at least foure thousand in number, who neither haue wiues nor slaues, supposing that women are the occasion of iniustice, and that slaues do arise by mutinies: and li- uing apart by themselves, they serue one another: and choose out certaine vpright men among their priests to gather the fruits & reuenews of their lands, to the end they may be sustained and nourished thereby: In a word, they follow the same course of life that they do, who are called Plisi among the Danes. The fourth sect was founded by *Iudas* of Galilee, which accordeth altogether & in all things with the Pharisees, but that they are extremely iealous of their liberty; acknow- ledging but one onely God, Lord & master of all things, and had rather both themselves with their dearest childrē & kinsfolke endure the most grievous and bitter torments that may be ima- gined, then cal any mortal man their Lord. Of which constancy of theirs I forbear to discourse any further at this time, for that it is sufficiently known to diuers, who haue bene eye witnes- ses therof: neither feare I least any one should suppose those things to be incredible, which I haue said of them; but contrariwise, that I haue spoken lesse then they themselves make evident in contemning their grievous tortures & punishments, which courage and magnanimity of theirs increaced very mightily amongst our nation, being kindled by the most hainous injuries which were offered vs by *Gesius Florus* our gouernour, by which means at length it came to passe that they reuolted and rebelled against the people of Rome. Thus much as touching the sects among the Iewes.

CHAP. III.

The Terrarches Herod and Philip build Cities in honour of Cæsar.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 3.
Anan the son
of Seth made
high Priest in
Iozars place.
Alis, chap. 6.
Sephoris chief
city of Galilee
Betaramphtha,
called Iulias.
Pancas.
Bethsaida.
Mens bones
scattered in the
temple.
The year of the
world, 3974. af-
ter the birth of
Christ, 12.
Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 4.



After that *Cyrenius* had confiscated *Archelaus* goods, & finished the valuation of every mans estate (which hapned 37. yeeres after *Antonies* ouerthrow by *Cæsar* in the Asi- an battell) he deposed *Iozar* from the priestly dignity, by reason of that sedition which the people stirred vp against him, and established *Ananus* the sonne of *Seth* in his place. But *Herode* and *Philip* tooke each of them the possession of their Terrarchy, and disposed of the affaires therof. *Herod* inclosed Sephoris with a strong wall, and made it the chiefest Citie and ornament of all Galilee: he fortified also another Citie called Betaramphtha, & named it *Iu- lias* in honour of *Iulia* the Emperour *Cæsars* wife. *Philip* repaired Paneada situated nere vnto the fource of Iordan, and called it Cæsaria: he repaired also the borough of Bethsaida nere vnto the lake of Genazereth, and gaue it the dignity of a Citie, both for the number of the inhabi- tants as for other preheminences, and called it *Iulia* by *Cæsars* wiues name. As for *Coponius* the gouernour in Iudæa, who (as we haue sayd) was sent with *Cyrenius*, in whose time there hapned that which followeth. At the feast of vnleauened bread, which we call Pascha, the custome was that the Priests opened the temple gates about midnight: at which time certain Samaritans, who secretly entred into Ierusalem, as soon as the gates were open, spred mens bones amidst the por- ches, and ouer all the temple: wherby it came to passe, that the Priests began to keep a more di- ligent watch, then they had done before time.

Some little while after, *Coponius* returned to Rome, and *Marcus Ambiuus* succeeded him in the gouernment. In his time *Salome* king *Herods* sister departing out of this life, bequeathed vnto *Iulia* the Citie of Iamnia and all the lands and countrey round about: she gaue her also Phasæ- lis situate in the Plaine, and *Archelaus* where there are diuers date trees, bearing most excellent fruit. After *Ambiuus*, *Annius Rufus* had the commaund, vnder whom died *Cæsar* the second Romane Emperour, after he had reigned fifty seuen yeeres, sixe moneths and two daies, and had *Antonius* his copartner in the monarchy for the space of foureteen yeeres. He liued in the whole seauenty seuen yeeres.

After *Cæsar* succeeded *Tiberius Nero* the son of *Iulia* his wife, who was the third Roman Em- perour. He it was that sent the sifst gouernour into Iudæa, whose name was *Valerius Gratus*, who succeeded *Annius Rufus*. This *Gratus* deposed *Ananus*, and appointed *Ismael* the sonne of *Fa- bius* high Priest. And after his decafe (for he liued but a little while after) *Eleazar* the son of *A- nannus* was made high Priest. A yeer after this, this *Eleazar* also was deposed, and the Priesthood was giuen to *Simon* the son of *Camithus*: who continuing in this dignitie for a yeers space & no lōger, *Ioseph* called *Caiaphas* succeeded after him. After *Gratus* had behaued himself thus, he re- turned to Rome, after he had remained in Iudæa for the space of 11. yeeres. After him came

Pontius

The year of the
world, 3975. af-
ter Christs birth
17.

The year of the
world, 3990. af-
ter Christs birth
32.

Tiberias build-
ed.

Phraates king
of the Parthi-
ans slain by the
treason of
Phraates his
sonne.
Thermusa
Phraates
mother.

Phraates
slaine,

Herod sent for
by the Parthi-
ans, and slaine
in hunting.

Vonones king
of the Parthi-
ans put to
flight by Arta-
banus.

Pontius Pilate and succeeded him in the gouernment. But *Herod* the Tetrarch being entertained into *Tiberius* friendship, builded a Citie in honor of his name, & called it *Tiberias*. He planted it in the fruitfullst part of Galilee, hard by the lake Genazereth, & neer vnto the natural barhes in the borough called Emmaus. This Citie was peopled by strangers, who resorted thither from all parts, and by diuers of the countries of Galilee, some of which were constrained to inhabit the same. Some of those likewise, who were in authority repaired thither, and from all coun- tries there flocked many, who were not assuredly held for men of free condition, all which he in- franchised, and gaue them great giftes, vnder that condition, that they should not abandon the Citie. To some of them he gaue houses already builded, to other some lands very apt to be til- led, knowing that the habitation of such a place was contrary to the lawes and customes of his country, and the ordinances of the Iewes; for that *Tiberias* was builded in a place full of sepul- chers: and our law saith, he that conuerfeth in those places is held vnclane and defiled for the space of seuen dayes.

At that very time died *Phraates* king of Parthia, being traiterously slaine by his sonne *Phraa- taces*, for this cause. After that *phraates* had gotten many lawfull children, he took vnto him an Italian woman to his concubine, called *Thermusa*, whom with other presents *Iulius Cæsar* had sent vnto him. After he had begotten on hir his son *Phraataces*, he was so much besotted with hir beauty, that he tooke her to his wife, and held her in high estimation. She that might perswade him vnto all that whatsoever she list, enforced her selfe to the vttermost to make her son king of Parthia: and seeing that she might not attaine thereunto, except shee had first found out the

meanes to deliuer her selfe of *Phraates* lawfull children, shee perswaded him to sende them hostages to Rome. In a word, they were presently sent away, because *Phraates* in no sort had the power to contradiēt *Thermusas* wil, and only *Phraataces* was brought vp in the affairs of estate; who thinking the time too tedious and long if he should expect the kingdome whilest his father were dead, conspired against him by the instigation and furtherance of his mother, with whom (as it is thought) he committed incest. In effect, being equally attainted of these two hai- nous crimes, both for the murder of his father, as his incest committed with his mother, he was generally hated by his subiects, who rebelled against him before such time as he was settled in his kingdom. By this means was his fortune overthrowen, and he died. The noble men among the Parthians perceiuing, that it was impossible for them to maintain their policy without a king, and that their king ought lineally to descend of the race of the Arsacians (because by custom they

might not choose any out of another stock) & supposing that their ordinances had too much al- ready bene contradicted, and that it would redound to their great dishonour if the kingdome should be continued in the hands of such a man, who was descended from an Italian concubine, they sent Embassadors to require *Herod* to come and be their king, who otherwise was in hatred with all the people, and accused of extreame cruelty. In a word, he was an vnsofiable man, and extremely cholericke, notwithstanding he were of the bloud of the Arsacides: they therefore flocked about him, and killed him at a banquet made at a certaine sacrifice (for the custom of the Parthians was, that euery one bare his weapon) or as the common report was, that he was slain at such time as he was a hunting. For this cause, they sent Embassadors to Rome, requiring that

one of those that were hostages there might be their king, and one *Vonones* was sent vnto them, who was preferred aboue all his brethren. For hee seemed to be capable of that high degree of honour, as to commaund two of the greatest soueraignties that were vnder the sunne; the one of his owne nation; the other of a forraigne dominion. But the Barbarians, who are by na- ture mutable and most impatient of indignitie, shortly after repented themselves: for they dis- dained to execute the commaund of a slave; for so called they a pledge, saying, that the Parthi- ans had not a king giuen them by right of warre, but that which was the most outrage that might befall them, by iniury offered them in time of peace. For which cause they speedily sent for *Ar- tabanus* king of Media, who was of the race of the Arsacides. To this request of theirs he wil- lingly condescended, & came vnto them with his army. And *Vonones* marched forward to make

head against him. At the first encounter, although the common sort among the Parthians fa- uoured *Artabanus*; yet was hee overcome and fled to the mountaines of Media. But not long after, hauing assembled a greater army, he once more set vpon *Vonones* and discomfited him, at which time *Vonones* retired himself with some horsemen of his into Seleucia. But *Artabanus* ha- uing made a great slaughter of those that fled, and wholly abashed the minds of the Barbarians, he retired himselfe to the Citie of Geseiphon, with those people that accompanied him, and was afterwards made king of Parthia. *Vonones* arriued in Armenia, and at the first sought to make himselfe

The yeare of the world, 3990. after Christ, 28. Vionnes submitteth to Syllanus gouernor of Syria, Orodus king of Armenia, Antiochus king of Comagena.

Germanicus poisoned by Pilos means.

himselfe king ouer that nation, sending to this effect certaine Embassadors to Rome: but *Tiberius* repulld his suit in respect of his cowardice, but the rather for that *Artabanus* by an expresse Embassage had threatned him with warre. For they of greatest power among the Armenians (who are those that dwell about the floud Niphates) maintained *Artabanus* title; and *Vionnes*, destitute of all hope to obaine the kingdom, yeelded himselfe to *Syllanus*, who was Gouernor of Syria, and in regard that he had bin brought vp at Rome, he was kept in Syria: and *Artabanus* gaue Armenia to *Orodus*, one of his sons. *Antiochus* king of the Comagenes dyed also at that time, and there fell a debate betwixt the commons and the nobility; so that both parties sent their Embassadors to Rome. The nobles required that the forme of their gouernment might be changed into diuers signiories; and the people requested that they might be honoured by a king, as they had been accustomed. The Senate decreed that *Germanicus* should be sent to settle the affaires in the East, fortune therby presenting him with the occasion of his ruine. For, at such time as he arriued in the East, and orderly disposed all things, he was poisoned by *Piso*, whereof he died, as it is declared in another place.

CHAP. IIII.

The rebellion of the Iewes against Pontius Pilate.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. al. chap. 8. Pilate bringeth Caesars statues to Ierusalem, and vpon the peoples instant motion transterreth them to Caesarea.

The yeare of the world, 3997. after Christs birth 35.

Pilate seeking to draw certain springs of water to Ierusalem shireth vp a rebellion.

The yeare of the world, 3998. after Christs birth 36.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6 al. chap. 9.

Iesus Christ crucified by Pilate. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 7. Alia, chap. 10.

Pilate Gouernour of Iudæa led his army from Caesarea to Ierusalem, where he winced them with an intent to bring in *Caesars* statues, & standards into the City, in contempt of our lawe which forbiddeth vs to make images. For which cause, those Gouernours that were before him, were wont to make their entries into the Citie without such pictures or paintings. *Pilate* was the first, who vnawares and by night entred Ierusalem, bringing with him his images. Which when the people vnderstood, in great multitudes they resorted to Caesarea, beseeching him for many dayes, that hee would transport those images into some other place. But when as *Pilate* denied them to perform their request, because the matter would redound to *Caesars* dishonour, and the Iewes also ceased not to sollicite him; some sixe dayes after commanding his souldiers to lie in ambush in a readinesse, hee fate him downe in the Tribunall within the Hippodrom, making vse of the opportunity of the place, for that it was most fit for a stratagem. There being virged once more about the same businesse, hee gaue a signe to his souldiers to beset them, threatening them with death, except they would presently giue ouer their suite, and repaire euery one of them with all speed to their owne houses. But they prostrating themselves vpon the earth, and offering their naked throats, tolde him, that they rather desired to die, then to see their lawes violated, which were with so great iudgement and reason propofed vnto them. *Pilate* amazed at the confidence they shewed in the conseruation of their laws, sodainly caused *Caesars* images to be transported out of Ierusalem into Caesarea, and out of the sacred treasury he made certaine conduits of water, that had their fountaine heads more then two hundred stades off. But the people took no pleasure in those conduits, and diuers thousands of men assembled themselves exclaiming against *Pilate*, endeavouring thereby to make him giue ouer his enterprise. Some of them also vttered diuers iniurious speeches against him, as if ordinarily falleth out amongst an vnbridled multitude. But he causing them to be hemmed in by a great number of his souldiers, attired in a popular habite, as soone as they began to exclaime against him, gaue a signe to his souldiers: they as it was before time commanded them, made vse of their maces, and without distinction either of the persons or the offenders, fell on all those whom they had encompassed; and so vnmercifully laide on them, who were naked and disarmed, that some of them were slaine, other some grievously hurt: and after this manner was the tumult and sedition appeard.

At that time was *IESVS*, a wife man, if it be lawfull to call him a man. For he was the former of diuers admirable works, and the instructor of those who willingly entertain the truth: and he drew vnto him diuers Iewes & Greeks to be his followers. This was *CHRIST*, who being accused by the princes of our nation before *Pilate*, and afterwards condemned to the crosse by him; yet did not those who followed him from the beginning, forbear to loue him for the ignominie of his death. For hee appeared vnto them aliue the third day after, according as the diuine Prophets had before testified the same, and diuers other wonderfull things of him: and from that time forward the race of the Christians, who haue deriued their name from him, hath neuer ceased.

At that time also there fell out another accident, which very sore troubled the Iewes, and in the

The yeare of the world, 3998. after Christs Nativity, 36.

A the temple of *Isis* at Rome there were many shamefull acts committed. But I will first of all recount the accident in the Temple of *Isis*: and then will I declare that which befell the Iewes. There was in Rome a Ladie called *Paulina*, renowned both for the nobilitie of hir house, as also thorow her studie and exercise in vertue. Besides this, shee was verie rich, and with her riches beautifull, and in her flowing yeers; and notwithstanding a verie mirror of chastitie. Shee was married to a certaine noble man called *Saturnine*, that equall her in all those her excellent perfections. A certain young man called *Decius Mundus* one of the knights of greatest account at that time, fell in loue with her. But she was of that disposition, that it was impossible for him to corrupt her by presents: And the more shee refused those infinite presents which hee sent vnto her, the more was *Mundus* heart inflamed with ardent affection; so that to enioy her but onely one night, he offered her two hundred thousand drachmes, amounting in our English money to some fixe thousand pound; yet for all this hee could not overcome her. For which cause being vnable to endure this his vnfortunate loue, hee thought best to pine himself away for want of sustentance, thereby to deliuer himselfe from the tyranny of that passion, wherewith hee was afflicted: Finally, that he confidently resolved, hee constantly put in execution. Now there was a certaine free woman that belonged to *Mundus* father, whose name was *Ide*, expert in all sorts of subtilties, who being sore aggrieved to behold the young mans resolution, whom she saw wholly addicted to a desperate death, she addrest her selfe vnto him, and encouraged him with hope, promising him to bring him to *Paulinas* speech, by the meanes of a certaine bribe which shee intended to offer. He reioicing verie much at her motion, demanded what summe would serue her: C who requiring nothing more then fiftie thousand drachmes to obtaine *Paulina*; he furnished hir presently. When as by this means she had quickened the young mans spirit, and receiued all that which she demanded, she shaped not the same course which others had kept that had the solicitation of the matter before, seeing she saw that money would not tempt her; but knowing that she was deeply deuoted to the seruice of *Isis*, she practised this subtil and vnexpected policie. Shee addrest her selfe to certaine priests of the temple, and vpon great hopes and offer of greater presents, and paying them down vpon the present twentie and fixe thousand drachmes, and promising them as much more vpon the performance of the bargaine, shee disclosed vnto them the passionate loue which the young man bare vnto *Paulina*, exhorting them to worke so wisely that he might enioy her. They bewitched with this huge present they had, and hoped to receiue, promised her to worke the feat. Whereupon the eldest among them resorted to *Paulina*, and ha- D uing free access vnto her presence, he required that he might haue conference with her in secret: which when he had obtained, he tolde her that hee was sent vnto her by God *Anubis*, in that the God was surprised with her loue, and desired that shee would come vnto him. *Paulina* tooke great pleasure in this his discourse, and tolde her familiars how she had bene honoured with the amorous solicitation of a God, and certified her husband how *Anubis* would banquet and lie with her. Whereunto he consented, knowing how great his wiues chastitie was. She therefore repaired to the temple, and after she had slept, and the time was come wherein she was vsually accustomed to lay her downe to rest, and the gates were lockt vp by the priests that were therein, and the lights likewise were taken away; *Mundus*, who was hidden within, failed not to accost E her: who thinking that it was the God *Anubis*, satisfied his desires all the night long; and in the morning betimes before the priests, who were priuie to this trecherie, were stirring, hee retired himselfe. *Paulina* also early in the morning repaired to her husband, and certified him how *Anubis* had appeared vnto her, and boasting her selfe among her familiars what conference hee had vsed with her. But some of them beleued her not, in regard of the manner of their entertainment; the rest were altogether amazed, supposing those things to bee no wayes incredible, at such time as they behought themselves of the Ladies chastitie. Some three dayes after this act was committed, *Mundus* meeting with *Paulina*, laid vnto her: You haue saued mee two hundred thousand drachmes, wherewith you might haue augmented your treasure, and this notwithstanding you haue not failed to satisfie my request: neither am I grieved that you haue F contemned me vnder the name of *Mundus*, since that vndertaking *Anubis* name I haue accomplished my desire, and this said hee departed. But she presently amazed with the mans audacious impudence, tore her garments, and hauing told her husband of all this subtil circumuention, she requested earnestly his assistance, and that he would not forsake her in the prosecution of her reuenge: who presently certified the Emperour of each particular thereof. Now when *Tiberius* had diligently vnderstood, how all things had happened, by the inquisition and examination of the Priests, he condemned them and *Ide*, who had bene the inuenter and comploter of this

Tiberius causeth *Isis* priests and *Ide* to be hanged, and banished *Mundus*.

The year of the
world, 3999. af-
ter Christs birth,
36.

this treason against *Panlino*, to be hanged: he pulled downe the temple also, and cast *Anubis* statue into Tyber, and banished *Mundus*; supposing that he ought not to be more grievously punished, considering that the fault which was committed by him, proceeded from extreame love. Behold here the insolence committed in the temple of Isis, by the priest that appertained to that temple. Now intend I to declare that which hapned to the Iewes that were at that time in Rome, according as heretofore I both purposed and promised.

CHAP. V.

Of that which befell the Iewes that were at Rome in Pilates time.

Fulvia Saturnina wife deliv-
ereth gold &
purple to foure
Iewes to be sent
to the temple
in Ierusalem,
they conuert it
to their own v-
ses, which when
Tiberius knew
he commanded
all the Iewes to
be thrust out of
Rome.

Here was a certaine Iewe, that hauing beene accused for the breach of the lawes of his country, and fearing to be punished for the same, fled from thence, being without respect, a man of a most mischieuous behaiour. He dwelling at that time in Rome, professed himselfe to bee an expounder of *Moses* lawe, and drawing vnto him three other no lesse reprobates then himselfe, he followed his ordinary profession. *Fulvia* a Ladie of much honour became their scholer, and had embraced the religion of the Iewes, whom they had perswaded to send certaine purple and gold to the temple of Ierusalem: which after they had receivede at her hands, they conuerted it to their owne vse, as before that time they had determined to doe. *Tiberius*, who was informed hereof by *Saturnine* his familiar friend, and *Fulvia* his husband, who had discovered the same vnto him, commanded all Iewes whatsoever to depart out of Rome. Of these the Consuls chose out and enrowled to the number of foure thousand men, whom they sent into Sardinia: and punished diuers of them that refused to beare armes, for feare they should transgresse the ordinances of their country. So that by reason of the loose behaiour of foure wicked persons, all those of our nation were driuen out of the Citie of Rome.

Neither was the nation of the Samaritanes exempt from this trouble: for a certaine subrill companion, who sought by all the means he might to inroche vpon the peoples fauour, perswaded them to withdrawe themselves with him to the mount *Garizim* (which they supposed to bee the holiest amongst all their mountaines) in which place, he auowed he would shewe them the sacred Vessells buried in a certaine place, where *Moses* had laide them: and at that time they being gathered together in armes, by his perswasion encamped themselves in a borough called *Tirathaba*, where they entertained those that repaired thither to adioin themselves with them, to the ende they might ascend the mountaine with the greater companie. But *Pilate* prevented them, and got vp before them with his horsemen and footmen: who charging those that were assembled in the borough, put them to flight; and slaying some, and putting the rest to flight, led away a great number of them prisoners with him. *Pilate* executed the chiefeest ring-leaders amongst them, and those also of greatest force amongst the fugitiues. The tumult of these Iewes being published abroad, and their misfortune made knowne, the Senate of Samaria addressed themselves to *Vitellius* who had bin Consul, and who at that time gouerned Syria, before whom they accused *Pilate* for the murder of those whom he had slaine, saying, that they assembled not in *Tirathaba* to rebell against the Romans, but to warrantize themselves against *Pilates* tyranny. Whereupon *Vitellius* sent *Marcellus* his friend, to take charge of Iudaea, commanding *Pilate* to returne to Rome, and to satisfie the Emperor in those things whereof the people had accused him. Herupon *Pilate*, after he had sojourned ten yeeres in Iewry, repaired to Rome, hauing no means to contradict that commandement that *Vitellius* had given him. But before he arrived there, *Tiberius* was departed and dead.

CHAP. VI.

Vitellius cometh to Ierusalem.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8.
sl. 13.
Vitellius com-
meth to Ieru-
salem, forgiv-
eth the Iewes
their tribute, &
commiteth the
charge of the
high priests
garments to
them.
The high
priests vest-
ments returned
in the castle of
Antonia.

As soone as *Vitellius* came into Iudaea, he went vp to Ierusalem and celebrated there the feast of the passouer, and after he had been magnificently entertained in that place, he forgave the Citizens the tribute of all those fruits which were sold. He deliuered them also the ornaments of the high priests, with all the rest of the priestly furniture within the temple, committing the charge thereof vnto the priests, according as in times past they had the same. But at that time they were laid vp in the castle of Antonia for this cause which followeth. *Hircanus* the high priest the first of that name (for diuers haue been so called) hauing builded a tower nere vnto the temple, did for the most part make his residence therein, and there kept his

The year of the
world, 3999. af-
ter Christs Na-
tinitie, 37.

A his vestments that were committed to his charge, the rather for that he onely had the authoritie to put them on, and returne them into their place at such time as hee came downe into the Citie, and put vpon him his accustomed rayment. His sonne and his sonnes sonnes entertained the same custome, till such time as *Herode* being exalted to the kingdom, and seeing this tower to bee strongly fixed, builded the same most magnificently, and called it Antonia, in honour of *Antony*, who was his great friend. And hauing found these vestments in that place, hee retained them with him, assuring himselfe that the people would attempt nothing against him. *Archelaus* his sonne and successour in the kingdom, kept the same course that *Herode* had done. But after that the Romanes had obtained the sovereignty thereof, they kept the high Priests ornaments in their hands, and reserved them in a place builded for the purpose, vnder the scale of the Priests: and the prefect of those that kept the sacred treasure, lighted the lampe euerie day in that place. This euerie leuenth day before the feast, doth the prefect deliuer into the high priests hands, and after it was purified he put it on to doe diuine seruice, and the next day after the feast hee returneth it againe to the same place where it was kept before: which custome was obserued thrice euerie yeere in the time of a fast. But *Vitellius* returned those ornaments into the hands of the Priests, according to the auncient orders, leaving them to bee vled at such time as neede required, commanding the prefect to trouble himselfe no more about the place, where they should be kept. After he had done this fauour to the nation of the Iewes, hee dispossessed the high Priest *Ioseph* surnamed *Caaphas*, and advanced *Jonathan* the sonne of *Ananus* to that dignitie, and afterwarde returned to

Vitellius ad-
vanced *Jonathan*
the son of
Anani to the
Priesthood,
and degradeth
Ioseph surna-
med *Caaphas*.

C Antioch.

At that time he receiued letters from *Tiberius*, by which he commanded him to capitulate and conclude a friendship with *Artabanus* the king of the Parthians (whose harred hee suspected, and feared least being seized of Armenians, hee should worke further displeasure to the state of Rome) willing him to assure the league by hostages, and namely with *Artabanus* sonne. After *Tiberius* had written these letters about mentioned vnto *Vitellius*, hee perswaded the kings of Iberia and Alania by great store of money, that with all expedition they should make warre against *Artabanus*. But the Iberians would not bee drawen thereunto, yet suffered they the Alaines to march thorow their country, and opened them their gates of the mount *Caspian*, to giue them passage to invade *Artabanus*. Thus once more was Armenia conquered, and the country of the Parthians was filled with warre, whereby the chiefeest among them were slaine, and all their estate was spoyled and disordered. The kings sonne also was slaine in those conflicts, with diuers thousands of his men of warre. Moreover *Vitellius* having sent money to a certaine kinsman and friend of *Artabanus*, pretended to corrupt him to make *Artabanus* away. But *Artabanus* perceiuing the plot that was intended against him, and seeing that he could not escape, because it was attempted by a great number of the best accompted nobles within his court, ceased to passe any further: and seeing himselfe most apparantly inuironed, and thinking that vnder colour of friendship he was fraudulently betrayed, he thought it better to retire himselfe into the prouinces of the higher country, and there to saue himselfe, rather then to put himselfe in hazard, and resort vnto them who had already betrayed and forsaken him. Arriuig in

The Parthians
lose Armenia.

Such things as
hapned betwixt
Vitellius and
Artabanus.

E that place he assembled a great number of souldiers of the countries of Danes, and Swethians: and hauing fought against them who opposed themselves against him; he recovered his estate. When *Tiberius* had tidings hereof, hee wrought the meanes to draw *Artabanus* into friendship with him: which when *Artabanus* had notice of, hee willingly admitted; so that *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* met together nere Euphrates, and by the means of a bridge that was builded vpon the riuer they debated the matter together, being each of them attended by their guards. After that they had concluded the peace, *Herode* the Terrarch feasted them in a verie magnificent Pavilion, erected in the midst of the foud, not without his great cost. And not long after, *Vitellius* sent *Darius*, *Artabanus* sonne in hostage to Rome, with diuers presents; amongst which there was a man seuen cubits high, a lew borne, who was named *Eleazar*, who was called a Giant by reason of his greatnes. That done, *Vitellius* returned to Antioch, and *Artabanus* to Babylon. But *Herode* desirous to be the first who should aduertise *Caesar* of the receite of these hostages, sent expresse messengers with letters, by which hee fully satisfied him of all that which had hapned, omitting nothing for the Consul to certifie: so that after *Vitellius* letters were brought vnto him, and that *Caesar* had already certified him of the true information that *Herode* *Vitellius* letters had giuen him, *Vitellius* was sore troubled: and suspecting least hee had receiued a greater iniurie then the matter made shewe for; hee conceiued in his heart a secrete despayre,

Artabanus re-
turned to his
kingdome by
the Danes and
Swethians.
A league be-
twixt *Vitel-
lius* & *Artabanus*.
Herods banquet
in the midst of
Euphrates.
Artabanus
sendeth *Tibe-
rius* his sonne
in hostage, and
a lew borne
cubits high.
Herode aduer-
teth the em-
perour of all
things before
that *Herode*
Vitellius let-
ters came to
his hand.

The year of the
world, 3999 af-
ter Christs birth.
37.

Herod & Ruf-
finus, chap. 9
also p 13.
The year of the
world, 4000 af-
ter Christs
natiuitie, 38.

which continued vntill such time as *Tiberius* was dead, and *Caius* obtained the Empire. At that time also died *Philip Herods* brother, in the twentieth yeere of *Tiberius* raigne, after hee had raigned himselfe for the space of seuen and thirtie yeeres, in *Trachonitis*, *Gaulonitis* and *Bathanza*. During all the time of his government, hee behaued himselfe verie peaceably, and farre from busines. For he made his ordinarie abode within his owne dominion. He walked being accompanied with a small number of his chosen seruants, and had that seat caried after him wherein he was accustomed to sit and doe Iustice: and therein sat he to the ende that if any one presented himselfe, and required his assistance, hee might without delay doe him right. For vpon the first motion, the seat was placed in that part where the plaintiffe met him; and being seated therein, he examined the cause, punishing those that were guiltie, and absolving the innocent. He died in *Lyade*, and was buried in the sepulcher which hee himselfe had caused to be built, and his obsequies were performed with great solemnitie and maiestie. And for that he left no heires males behind him, *Tiberius* seized his estate, which hee annexed to the government of *Syria*, ordaining that the tributes that were gathered in his Tetrarchy, should be kept within the bounds of the same region.

CHAP. VII.

The warre of Herode the Tetrarch against king Aretas, and his overthrow.

Herode the
Tetrarch put-
teth away A-
retas daughter
and marrieth
Herodias his
brother Herods
wife.

Herods wife
returneth into
her owne coun-
try.

Herode armie
discomfited
the Arabians.

Tiberius com-
mandeth Vi-
tellius to make
warre against
Aretas.

Herod & Ruf-
finus, chap. 10.
al. 14.

Meane while *Aretas* king of *Arabia Petrea*, and *Herod* fell at strife, the one with the other, for this cause that enlueth. *Herode* the Tetrarch married *Aretas* daughter, with whome hee had liued married a verie long time. Afterwardes taking his iourney towards *Rome*, he lodged with *Herode* his halfe brother by the father side (for *Herode* was the sonne of *Simons* daughter, which *Simon* was the high priest) and there being surprised with the loue of *Herodias* his brothers wife, which was the daughter of *Aristobulus* their brother, and sister to the great *Agrippa*, he was so bold as to offer her some speech of mariage: which when she had accepted, the accords were made betweene them, that at such time as hee should returne from *Rome*, he should displace her, and lead her away with him, with conditions, that he should banish *Aretas* daughter farre from him. After he had ratified those couenants, hee made his voyage to *Rome*, from whence he no looner returned and performed that for which he went, but his wife (who had some priuie notice of the conuentions which were made betwixt him and *Herodias*) before hee suspected that she knew thereof, required him to send her to the castle of *Macheron*, which was the frontire towne betwixt *Herodes* and *Aretas* countries, without certifying him any waies of her intent. *Herode* without suspect easily condescended vnto her request, thinking she was ignorant of his drift: but she long before that time had taken order with the gouernour of *Macheron* (which at that time was vnder her fathers government) to prepare all thinges for her iourney, where being arriued the speedily posted into *Arabia*, vnder the conuoy of those gouernours, who receiued & conducted her the one after the other. As soone as she arriued in her fathers court, she incontinently certified him of *Herods* resolution, whence arole the beginning of this discord betwixt them. As soone as therefore they had both of them assembled their armies vpon the confines of the country of *Ganalite*, they fought together vnder the conduct of the two generals, to whome they had committed their armies. In this battell *Herods* armie was wholly discomfited thorow the treason that was complotted against him by certaine banished men of *Philips* Tetrarchy, which were in pay with *Herode*. *Tiberius* was certified of all this by those letters which *Herode* had written vnto him: and being sore displeased with *Aretas* for his proud attempt, hee commaunded *Vitellius* to make warre against him, willing him that if he could take him alive hee should send him bound vnto him: but if dead, he should send him his head. Such was the commission that *Tiberius* sent to the gouernour of *Syria*.

Diuers Iewes were of the opinion, that *Herodes* armie was ouerthrowne by the iust vengeance of God, who punished him most iustly, because of the execution which hee caused to be done on *Iohn* surnamed *Baptiste*: For hee had done this man to death, who was replenished with all vertue and who exhorted the Iewes to addict themselves thereto, and to execute iustice towards men, and pietie towards God: exhorting them to be baptized, and telling them that baptisme should at that time bee agreeable vnto God, if they should renounce not onely their

The year of the
world, 4000 af-
ter Christs Na-
tiuitie, 38.

John Baptiste
slaine by
Herode.

Herod & Ruf-
finus, chap. 11.
Vitellius repai-
reth his army
against the
king of Arabia

The year of the
world, 4001 af-
ter Christs birth.
39.

Vitellius repai-
reth to Ierusalem
& displaceth
Jonathan, and
preferreth his
brother,
Caius Caligula
succedeth
after *Tiberius*.

Aretas gather-
eth by augu-
ries that it was
impensible for
the army to
come to *Petra*.
Herods progeny.

A sinnes, but if to the puritie of their bodies they should annex the cleanness of their soules repurified by iustice. And whereas it came to passe that diuers flocked and followed him to heare his doctrine, *Herode* feared least his subiects allured by his doctrine and perswasions should be drawne to reuolt. For it seemed that they would subscribe in all thinges to his aduice, he therefore thought it better to preuent a mischiefe by putting him to death, then to expect some sodaine commotion, which he might afterwards repent. Vpon this suspition *Herode* caused him to be bound, and sent to the Castle of *Macheron*, whereof we haue spoken heretofore, and there was he put to death. The Iewes were of opinion that in reuenge of this so grieuous a sinne, *Herodes* army, against whom God was displeased, had been subiect to their viter ruine and ouerthrow. But *Vitellius* being addressed to make warre against *Aretas*, gathered together two legions, and all those horse or foot that he could assemble amongst those kings, who were the *Romans* allies, and marching towards *Petra* hee staid at *Ptolemais*, because hee pretended to passe by *Iudaea*. Which when the principall nobles amongst the Iewes had notice of, they went out to meet him, beseeching him that he would not passe thorow their country, because it was a custome amongst them not to see any images borne, such as he had of diuers colours in his armie. Whereunto he condescended, and hauing changed his purpose, hee caused his army to march thorow the great Plaine: as for himselfe he came to *Ierusalem* accompanied with *Herode* the Tetrarch and his friends, to offer sacrifice vnto God vpon the next festiual day, where he was most magnificently receiued by all the people of the Iewes. There sojourned he for the space of 3 daies, during which time he disposed *Jonathan* from the high priesthood, and inuested *Theophilus* his brother. The fourth day letters came vnto him that aduertized him of *Tiberius* death, for which cause he commaunded the oath of fidelitie should be ministered to the people in the new Emperour *Caius* be-halfe. Hee called his army backe also, and sent them to their wintering garrison, because it was not lawfull for him to prosecute the warre: by reason the soueraigne estate was fallen vnto *Caius*.

It is said, that *Aretas* hearing newes of *Vitellius* expedition or voyage, and after hee had taken counsell of the Augurs, said, that the army should not finde engines to pierce as farre as *Petra*, because the chiefeaine thereof, or he that had the command of the expedition, or hee that obeyed his ordinance in conducting the same, or he against whom the army was conducted, should die. *Vitellius* therefore retired himselfe to *Antioch*. A yeere before the death of *Tiberius*, *Agrippa Aristobulus* sonne came to *Rome*, to intreat with the Emperour about certaine affaires, according to the power which hee should obtaine at his hands. But before I speake any thing hereof, I will relate *Herodes* progenie, both for that it is pertinent to this present narration, as also that the greatnesse of Gods prouidence may appeare, to the ende that a man may know that neither the number of children, nor any other humane force whatsoeuer it be, can bee auailable without the feare of God: considering that within the space of one hundred or somewhat lesse, it to fell out, that all *Herodes* line, which was verie populous and fruitfull, was extinguished, a very few excepted. Whereby we are giuen to vnderstand, what the miserie of mankind is, and learne to moderate our owne felues. It is also expedient to speake something of *Agrippa*, who amongst all others deserueth admiration, in that being a man wholly drowned in obsecritie and base in birth, hee was exalted to such greatnes, as no one of those that knew him, would euer haue thought his fortune should haue such successe and mightnesse. And although heretofore I haue spoken somewhat of this matter, yet it is requisite that I speake something more expressely thereof in this place. *Herode* the great had two daughters borne by *Mariamme Hircanus* daughter. The one of them which was called *Salampso*, was married by *Herode* to *Phasaelus* the sonne of *Phasaelus*, who was *Herodes* brother. The other called *Cypros* was elpoused to *Antipater* her Cousin, who was *Salomes* sonne, who was *Herodes* sister. *Phasaelus* had fiue children by *Salampso*: Three sonnes, *Antipater*, *Herode*, and *Alexander*; and two daughters, *Alexandra* and *Cypros*, whom *Agrippa* the son of *Aristobulus* married, & *Alexandra* was married to *Timasus* of *Cyprus*, who was a man of great dignitie, and with whom she died without issue. *Cypros* had by *Agrippa* her husband two sonnes and three daughters: *Bernice*, *Mariamme* and *Drusilla*: their two sons were called *Agrippa* and *Drusus*. *Drusus* died verie young: but *Agrippa* was brought vp by his grandfather amongst his other brethren, *Herode*, *Aristobulus* and *Bernice*. These were *Herodes* children, sonne vnto him who was surnamed the Great; *Bernice* was *Cosbarus* daughter, begotten on *Salome* *Herodes* sister: *Aristobulus* died leauing his children vnder age, vnder his fathers charge with *Alexander* his brother, as we haue already recounted. These attaining their full age were in this sort married: *Herode* brother to *Agrippa* was matched with *Mariamme Olympias*.

The years of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 38.
Olympius daughter, who was *Herode* the Great his daughter, and of *Ioseph Herodes* brother: By *C* her he had his sonne *Aristobulus*: *Aristobulus Agrippas* third brother married *Iotape* the daughter of *Sampsigeram* king of the Emelienians. They had a daughter which in like sort was called *Iotape*, which was deafe. These were the children begotten by *Herodes* three sonnes. But *Herodias* their sister married *Herode* the sonne of *Herod* the Great, whom he begot on *Mariamne* the daughter of *Simon* the high priett, by whom *Salome* was begotten. After her birth, *Herodias* in contempt of the lawes of the countrey, married her selfe with *Herode* her husbands brother begotten of the same father, being separate from him during his life time, who was Tetrarch of Gailee. His daughter *Salome* was married to *Philip* the Tetrarch of Trachonitis *Herodes* sonne: who dying without children, *Aristobulus* married her, who was *Herodes* sonne and *Agrippas* brother. They had three sonnes, *Herode*, *Agrippa* and *Aristobulus*. See here the posteritie of *Phasaclus* and *Salampson*. *Antipater* by *Cypros* had a daughter that in like sort was called *Cypros*, which was married to *Alexas Selcius* the sonne of *Alexas*, of whom he begot a daughter called likewise *Cypros*. As for *Herode* and *Alexander*, who (as I said) were *Antipaters* brothers, they died without issue. *Alexander Herodes* sonne, who was slaine by his father, begate *Alexander* and *Tigranes* on the daughter of *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia. *Tigranes* being king of Armenia died without issue, after he had bin accused at Rome. *Alexander* had a sonne called *Tigranes*, after his brothers name, who was sent by *Nero* to raigne in Armenia, who had a sonne called *Alexander*, who married *Iotape* the daughter of *Antiochus* king of Comagena. This *Alexander* by *Vespasian* was elected king in *Leis* a Citie of Cilicia. As soone as *Alexanders* posteritie began to multiply, they fell from their countrey religion to follow the customes of the Greekes. All the rest of kings *Herods* daughters died without issue. Having after this manner reckoned vp *Herods* posteritie, which continued vntill such time as *Agrippa* the great began to raigne, it remaineth at this time to declare what adventures, befell this *Agrippa*, and how hee escaping his dangers obtained at last so great power and dignitie.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 12. *Agrippa* from obicutive obtained great dignitie and power.

CHAP. VIII.

Agrippas voyage to Tiberius, where he is accused and shut in prison, and is deliuered after Tiberius death by Caius his successor.

Agrippa living at Rome, showed his laudh liberalitie groweth into necessitie.

Agrippa be-
 thinketh him
 selfe how he
 might shorten
 his miserable
 life.
Cypros *Agrippa*
 pay wife cer-
 tifieth *Herodias*
 his sister of his
 pueritie and
 requereth her
 assistance.
Agrippa dwell-
 eth at *Tiberi-*
 us.

Herod taunted
Agrippa with
 his pueritie.

*S*ome little time before the death of king *Herode*, *Agrippa* conuersing at Rome, grew in-
 to great familiaritie and acquaintance with *Drusus*, *Tiberius* the Emperours sonne, and
 was beloved by *Antonia* the wife of *Drusus* the elder, by the meanes of his mother *Bere-*
nice, whom *Antonia* held in great estimation, & to whom shee had recommended her sonne. And
 whereas by nature he was of a liberal and high spirit, as long as his mother liued hee would not
 discouer his intent, least he should prouoke her displeasure against him. But incontinently after
Berenice was dead, and hee became Lord of himselfe, partly by his dayly and bountifull enter-
 tainment and liuing, partly by his immoderate liberalities, but especially by his laudh prodigal-
 ity towards *Cæsars* treemen, whose fauour hee hunted after, he was brought into extreame po-
 uertie, and could no more liue at Rome; the rather for that *Tiberius* hauing lost his sonne, forbade
 his friends to come into his sight, for feare least their presence should refresh and encrease the
 sorrow hee conceived for the losse of his sonne. For these causes hee returned backe into Iudæa,
 hauing but badly ordered his estate, spent his money and left himselfe no meanes to satisfie his
 importunate and many creditors. For which cause incertaine how to dispose himselfe, and asha-
 med of his present estate, hee withdrew himselfe into a Castle called *Malatha* in *Iudæa*, be-
 thinking himselfe after some sort to cut off his miserable dayes. Which purpose of his, when *Cy-*
pros his wife perceiued, she endeouored by all meanes to prevent his resolution: shee wrote also
 to his sister *Herodias*, who was married to *Herod* the Tetrarch, certifying her both what *Agrippa*
 had decreed, as also by what necessitie he was enforced thereunto: and she exhorted her, that in
 regard of affinitie she would assist him, and imitate her in this, who, as much as in her lay, re-
 lieued his miserie, although her fortunes were farre weaker then hers. Being therefore sent for
 by his sister and wife, hee was commaunded to dwell in *Tiberias*, and had a certaine summe of
 money assigned him for his maintenance, and for his greater honour was appointed Magistrate
 of that Citie. Yet did not *Herode* continue long time in that minde, although by the meanes he
 had giuen him, he had not satisfied his kinfmans necessities. For being in the Citie of *Tyre* in a
 certaine company, where he dranke immoderately, *Agrippa* esteemed it for an extreame injury
 that *Herode* had vpbraided him with his pueritie, and bit him in the teeth that he maintained him

at

*A*t his charge. For which cause he withdrew himselfe to *Flaccus*, who had sometimes been Con-
 sul at Rome, and for the present was president of Syria, with whom at Rome hee had fallen into
 familiaritie, who entertained by him liued with him, who long before that time had entertained
Aristobulus; who though *Agrippas* brother, yet was he his enemy; yet notwithstanding this dis-
 sention betweene them, *Flaccus* entertained them both with equall fauour. But *Aristobulus* re-
 mitted nothing of his hatred hee bare his brother; neither euer rested he before hee had drawne
Flaccus into dislike with his brother; vpon this occasion. The inhabitants of *Damasco*, contend-
 ing with the *Sidonians* about their demaines, and being to debate their cause before *Flaccus*,
 knowing what interest *Agrippa* had in him, they besought him that he would further their cause,
 promising him a great summe of money; whereupon he addressed himselfe in what hee could to
 further those of *Damasco*. But *Aristobulus*, who had an inkling of this conclusion and promise,
 accused his brother to *Flaccus*; and after inquisition was made, and hee found guilty of the fact,
Agrippa grew out of the presidents fauour, and falling againe into extreame pueritie, hee came
 to *Ptolemais*; and for that he had no meanes of maintenance, hee determined to saile into Italy.
 And for that he wanted money, he commaunded *Marfys* his free-man, that by all meanes what-
 soeuer he should seeke to take vp money vpon interest. He spake vnto *Protus* (who was *Agrippas*
 mothers free-man (who by the testament of his deceased Mistris was left vnto *Antonias* protecti-
 on) that vpon his Masters bill and promise, he would lend him some money. But hee alleading
 that *Agrippa* before that time ought him money, extorted from *Marfys* a bill of his hand; for
 twentie thousand Attique drachmes, deducting out of that sum two thousand and siue hundreth,
 which *Marfys* took for himselfe, which he might the more easily doe, for that *Agrippa* could
 not otherwile chuse. Hauing therefore receiued this money, he went to *Anthedon*, where getting
 shipping he prepared himselfe for the iourney.

But when *Herennius Capito*, who was treasurer of Iamnia, vnderstood of his being there, hee
 sent his souldiers vnto him, to exact three hundreth thousand silver drachmes at his hands; for
 which hee stood indebted to *Cæsars* treasurer during his being at Rome, by which meane hee was
 enforced to stay. Whereupon he made a shew that he would obey their demand; but as soone
 as it was night, hee caused the cables of his shippe to be cut, and cast off, and sailed to *Alexandria*;
 there requested he *Alexander Alabarcha* to lend him two hundreth thousand drachmes in silver.
 But he protested that hee would trust him with nothing. But admiring *Cypros* his wiues constant
 loue towards her husband, and her many other vertues, he vpon her promise accorded to doe
 him kindeesse: whereupon in present money hee payed him five talents in *Alexandria*, and pro-
 mised to deliuer him the rest of the money at *Puteol*, fearing *Agrippas* vnthriftinesse. Thus
Cypros hauing furnished her husband for his iourney into Italy, returned her selfe and her chil-
 dren into Iudæa by land. But *Agrippa*, as soone as hee arrived at *Puteol*, wrote vnto *Tiberius Cæ-*
sar, who liued at *Capreas*, signifying vnto him that hee came to doe his duetie, beseeching him
 that hee would grant him free and fauourable access. *Tiberius* with all expedition returned him
 a verie kinde answer, certifying him that hee would be verie glad to see him safely arrived in *Ca-*
preas. In a word, as soone as hee was arrived, *Cæsar* exprest and made it knowne, that his af-
 fection was answerable to his letters, and both embraced him and lodged him. The next day
E *Cæsar* receiued letters from *Herennius Capito*, who aduertized him that *Agrippa* ought three hun-
 dreth thousand drachmes of silver, which he borrowed and paid not at the time prefixed, and
 that at such time as the appointed time of payment was come he was fled out of the countrey, &
 place of his procurement, and by this occasion had deprived him of the meanes to constrain him
 to make satisfaction. When *Cæsar* had read the letters, he was sore displeased, and commaunded
 those of his chamber, that they should not admit *Agrippa* to his presence, vntill such time as hee
 had discharged that debt.

But hee nothing dismayed at *Cæsars* displeasure, required *Antonia*, *Germanicus* and *Claudius*
 mother, who was afterwards Emperour, to lend him the summe of three hundreth thousand
 drachmes, to the end he might not lose *Cæsars* friendship. Who remembering her *Berenice* *Agrip-*
pas mother, and with what familiaritie they had conuersed together, and how *Agrippa* likewise
 had been brought vp with *Claudius* her sonne, lent him that money: Whereupon hee paying the
 debt, without any contradiction enioyed the princes fauour, and was reconciled to *Cæsar*, that
 he committed his nephew to *Agrippas* charge, commanding him to attend him alwaies, whither
 soeuer he went. Being by this benefit bound and tied to *Antonia*, he began to reuerence her ne-
 phew *Caius*, who was gracious in all mens eyes, and honored in memorie of his parents. At that
 time by chance there was one *Allius* a Samaritan, *Cæsars* free-man, of whom hee borrowed

The years of the world, 4001. after Christs birth, 39.
Agrippa rest-
 reth himselfe
 to *Flaccus*.

Aristobulus
 draweth *Ag-*
rippa into
Flaccus disa-
 iour.

Agrippa by
Marfys means
 borroweth
 money of *Pro-*
tus.

Agrippa whilst
Herennius Ca-
pito extorteth
 money at his
 hands, flieth to
Alexandria by
 night.

Agrippa bor-
 roweth money
 at *Alexandria*.

Agrippa arri-
 ueth at *Puteol*
 & is admitted
 to *Cæsars* per-
 sonce.

Agrippa bor-
 roweth 100000
 silver drach-
 mes of *Anto-*
nia, *Germani-*
cus & *Claudius*
 mother.
Caius comen-
 ded to *Agrip-*
pas charge.
Allius Cæsar
 freeman len-
 deth *Agrippa*
 money.

The year of the world, 4001. after Christ's birth, 39. Hedio & Rufus, chap. 13. Eutychus Agrippa's freema bethinketh him to accuse Agrippa to the Emperor.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

ten hundred thousand drachmes of silver, & paid *Antonia* her due, & kept the rest the more honourably to attend and wait on *Caius*. By whom being intertained with most inward familiarity, it happened one day that riding in the same Coach with him, *Agrippa* wisht (for they two were alone) that *Tiberius* might shortly surrender the kingdom and empire vnto *Caius*, who was each way more worthy then he. These words of his were overheard by the Coachman called *Eutychus*, who was *Agrippa*'s freeman, who for that time spake not a word thereof. But being afterwards accused for stealing *Agrippa*'s garment (as he indeede had done) and brought backe againe after he had fled away to *Piso* (who was the prefect of the citie) he asked him why he fled: who answered, that he had certaine secrets which he desired to reueale vnto *Caius*: that appertained to his profit and safetie: for which cause he was sent by him in bonds to *Capreas*. *Tiberius* according to his dilatorie manner, wherein no King or tyrant euer equalled him, held him prisoner. For neither did he presently admit any Embassadors, neither sent he successours to those, who were gouernours, and prefects of his provinces, when the former were dead; and no lesse negligent was he in yeelding audience to his prisoners. But when his friends at any time questioned with him, why he vsed these accustomed delauies; he answered them, that he deferred the embassadors after that sort, for feare least if he should speedily dispatch them, they should instantly returne with newes; whereby it should come to passe, that hee should be continually troubled in entertaining and dismissing them.

For what cause *Tiberius* changed not his gouernours.

And as touching his offices, he left the in their hands, to whom he had committed the, in regard of his subiects welfare. For naturally all magistracy is subiect to auarice; but in especial strangers induce those, who exercise the same to gather, and ingrosse the more instantly, when as the time of their authoritie is short and of small assurance; whereas if they should continue in the same for a long time, in regard of the game they had made, and the much profits they had raised, they would be afterward lesse greedy to extort further. Now if hee should send others to succcede them on a sodaine, it were impossible for him to content them, notwithstanding their manie bribes: whereas in giuing them time to fill their purses, when they had gotten well, they would abate the furious desire of lucre which they affected before. And to this purpose he told them an example of a poore man that was a Lazier, to whose wounds a great number of flies assembled themselves, and couered the same: at sight whereof some by fortune arriuing there, and hauing compassion of his miserie, and supposing that the cause why they assisted him not, proceeded from their disability, approached neere to helpe him: but hee required them to let him alone. Whereupon they demanding the cause, wherefore he that was hurt refused to be deliuered from so irkefome an euil: he answered them, for that they should do him more wrong, if those flies were driuen away; for that being already full of bloud they pricke mee not (said hee) neither luche mee so earnestly, but giue me some ease; whereas if new should alight on my wound which were hungry, & should seize my flesh in that desperate estate that I am, they would procure my death. For these causes he said; that seeing his subiects already consumed by so many exactions, he thought it a good policie in him, and a better prouision for them, not to send them new gouernours continually, who might after the manner of flies luche them to the quicke, especially if to their innated couetousnesse hee should annex the feare of their sodaine displacing. Now to approue that to be true which I haue declared of *Tiberius*'s disposition, this action of his may suffice to iustifie L me. For hauing bene Emperor for the space of twentie and two yeeres, all those gouernours which he sent into Iury were two, namely *Gratus* and *Pilate* his successours; neither demeaned he himselfe otherwise towards the rest of his subiects of the empire.

Why *Caius* would not giue audience to his prisoners. *Agrippa* solicited *Antonia* to bring *Eutychus* to his answer. *Antonia* vertie much honoured by *Tiberius*. *Antonia* discovered *Seianus*'s conspiracy to *Caius*.

And as touching his prisoners, the reason why he delaied so much to giue them audience, was to the ende, that they who had bene condemned to death, should not speedily be deliuered from those torments, wherewith he threatned them, and which they had deserued by their wickednes. For whilst he kept them in that paine, their misshap increased the more. For this cause *Eutychus* could not obtaine audience at his hands, but was long time detained prisoner. Afterwards in proceffe of time, *Tiberius* transported himselfe from *Capreas* to *Tusculanum*, which was distant from Rome some hundred furlongs. There did *Agrippa* sollicite *Antonia*, to cause *Eutychus* to be called to his answer, as touching the accusation which he pretended against him. Now *Antonia* was in great fauour with *Tiberius*, both in regard of the affinity that was between them (in that shee was *Drusus*'s wife, who was *Tiberius*'s brother) as in respect of her modestie. For the being yong continued in her widowhood, & would not marry with any other, notwithstanding *Augustus* importuned her to wed; but liued alwaies in honour without blame. Besides that, she had done *Tiberius* a great pleasure: for at such time as *Seianus* his friend, and a man in great

OF THE IEWES. THE XVIII. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4001. after Christ's birth, 39.

A great account in those daies (by reason he had the gouernment of the army) practised a conspiracy against him, whereunto diuers of the Senate, and of his freemen, and his men of warre likewise, were accessarie: yet brought the all their intents to nothing. This attempt had taken a great head, and *Seianus* had finished his purpose; had not *Antonia* vied more aduised courage, then *Seianus* did in executing his treason. For hauing discovered the danger that threatned *Tiberius*, she wrote and sent her expresse letters by *Pallas* one of her trustie seruants vnto him to *Capreas*, certifying him in particular the whole proceffe of the conspiracy. *Caius* hauing true vnderstanding thereof, caused *Seianus* and his confederates to bee executed. Although therefore that before that time hee honoured *Antonia* greatly, yet did he afterwards honour her farre more, in such sort as he trusted her in all things. VVhen as therefore she intreated him to giue *Eutychus* audience: *Tiberius* answered, If, said he, *Eutychus* hath falsely obiected any thing against *Agrippa*, it sufficeth that he endure that punishment which I haue enioyned him. But being in the torture he maintaine that which he hath spoken to bee true, it is to be feared least *Agrippa* intending to punish his free man, do rather heape the punishment vpon his owne head. When *Antonia* had reported this answer of his to *Agrippa*, he did the more instantly sollicite her, requiring her that the matter might be brought to triall. And for that *Agrippa* ceased not to importune her, *Antonia* took the occasion, which was this: *Tiberius* being after dinner time caried in his litter, and hauing *Caius* & *Agrippa* before him, the walking foot by foot by the litter, belought him to call *Eutychus* to his triall: whereunto he replied: The Gods (said hee) know that that which I doe, I doe it not of mine owne will, but for the necessitie I am pressed with vpon your request: and hauing spoken C thus, he commaunded *Macron* *Seianus*'s successour to bring *Eutychus* before him: which was performed with all expedition. Whereupon *Tiberius* asked him what he had to say against him, who had enfranchised him. My loueraign (said he) *Caius* that is here present, & *Agrippa* rode one day together in the same Coach, & I sat at their feet. After diuers discourses held betweene them, *Agrippa* began to speake after this manner vnto *Caius*: O said hee, would God the day were come wherein the olde man departing out of this world, would make you gouernour thereof. For his sonne *Tiberius* would be no hindrance vnto you, for him might you make away. Then should the world be happy, and I likewise haue my share in the felicitie. *Tiberius* esteeming this his accusation to be true, and hauing of long time conceiued a grudge against *Agrippa*, for that notwithstanding he had commaunded him to honour *Tiberius*, who was his nephew, and *Drusus* sonne; *Agrippa* D had giuen small regard to his commaundement, and had not honoured him, but was wholly addicted vnto *Caius*. For which cause said he to *Macron*, bind me this fellow. Hee scarcely vnderstanding that which he spake, and no wayes suspecting that he should giue that commaundement in respect of *Agrippa*, deferred the performance vntill such time as he might more exactly vnderstand his minde. VVhen as therefore *Caius* turned into the Hippodrome, and by chance met with *Agrippa* in the teeth: This is he (said he) *Macron*, whom I haue commaunded to be bound, and demanding of him once more by whom he spake: It is *Agrippa* said he. Then had *Agrippa* recourse to submissiue and humble prayers, refreshing the memorie of his sonne, with whom hee had bin brought vp, & alledging the education he had vied towards his nephew *Tiberius*. But he preuailed nothing, but was led away bound in those purple ornaments which he then wore.

Thaumasus. *Caius*'s seruant giueth *Agrippa* drinke, whom he promiseth to procure his freedome.

E At that time it was verie hot weather, and being in distresse of wine he was extremely thirsty, and distressed, yea more then became one of his qualitie. Whereupon espying *Thaumasus* one of *Caius*'s seruants, who caried water in a picher; hee required him to giue him drinke: which when hee had willingly bestowed on him, he dranke, and afterwards said vnto him. This seruice thou hast done me in giuing mee drinke, shall do thee good one day. For as soone as I shall escape out of these bonds, it shall not be long before I obtaine thy libertie at *Caius*'s hands, for that thou hast not neglected to do mee seruice in this my imprisonment, as thou hast before time done me whilst I was in my prosperitie and dignity: Neither deceiued hee the mans expectation of his promise, but rewarded & gratified him. For afterwards, when he had obtained the kingdom, he begged *Thaumasus*'s libertie at *Caius*'s hands, & made him superintendēt of his affairs, & after his deceale F he gaue order that he should serue in the same place, with his son *Agrippa* & his daughter *Bernice*; so that he died very olde, and much honoured. But this hapned afterwarde. But at that time *Agrippa* stood before the palace bound with other companions, who were likewise in bonds: and thorow the grief he conceiued, he leaned against a certain tree, on which there sat an owle. One of those prisoners, who was by nation a Germane, beholding that bird, asked the souldier that was fettered with him, who he was that was apparrelled in purple: and vnderstanding that his name was *Agrippa*, and that hee was a Iew; and one of the nobilitie of that nation; hee required the souldier;

A certaine
Germane fore-
telleth Agrippa
of his happy
fortunes to
come, and the
manner of his
death.

souldier, who to the ende to guard him was chained with him, to suffer him to drave neere vnto
Agrippa, and to haue a little cōference with him, for that he had a great desire to ask him of cer-
taine things concerning the customes of his countrey. Which when he had obtained, and ha-
uing got neere him, hee certified him by an interpreter of that which followeth: Young man
(said he) the sodaine change that hath befallen thee at this present, afflicteeth and oppresseth thee
with great and grievous torment; neither wilt thou easily beleuee that thou shalt escape from
thy miserie: yet so doth the diuine prouidence dispose all things, that thou shalt shortly be deli-
uered. Know therefore, and I sweare vnto thee by the Gods both those of mine auncestors, and
those also, who haue residence and presidence in this place, and who haue procured vs this yron
chaine, that I will tell thee all, not to yeeld thee pleasure by my vaine discourse, or to entertaine
thee with fruitlesse consolation; knowing well that when these predictions shall happen to faile,
they will breed thee more sorrow, then if thou hadst neuer heard speech of them. But I haue
thought it good, yea although it were with mine own danger, to declare vnto thee the predi-
ctions of the gods. It cannot otherwaies bee, but that shortly thou shalt bee deliuered from these
bonds, and shalt be aduanced to great honour and power; so that those, who at this day haue
compassion of thy calamitie, shall beare enuie to thy glorie, and thou shalt depart this life in great
felicitie, and shalt leaue thy children mightie possessions. But beare this in thy remembrance,
that when thou shalt see this bird once more, thou must needie die within fise dayes after. These
are those things which the gods thinke meete to foretell thee by this bird. As for my selfe, I haue
supposed that I should doe thee wrong if I should conceale this prediction from thee, hauing the
foreknowledge thereof. I haue therefore thought good to impart this to thee, vnto thee, whereby thou
mayest know hope of thy future profit, thou mayest more easily indure thy present misfortune, for which
cause I beseech thee, that as soone as thou shalt be partaker of this thy felicitie, thou wilt indure
thy selfe to deliuer vs also from these aduersities.

This pefage of the Germane seemed so ridiculous to Agrippa, as it afterwarde deserued most
mightie admiration. But Antonia being sore grieved at the young mans calamitie, thought
not onely a difficult matter for her to intreat Tiberius for him, but altogether vnprofitable in-
tegard she should be repulled: yet wrought she so much with Macon, that hee was committed to
the custodie of such souldiers, who were of more reconciled behauiour, and had a Centurion ap-
pointed to keepe him, that suffered him to vse his daily bathings, and gaue his friendes and ser-
uants leaue to visit him, by whose seruice and kindnesse his necessities might bee relieved. His
friend Silas also was admitted to speak with him, and amongst his free-men Marcius and Stichus,
who brought him in such meares as he was delighted withall, and coverings vnder colour to sell
them, which by the permission of the souldiers, who had no lesse direction from Macon, they
spred by night for him to take his rest vpon. See here the estate wherein Agrippa liued in prison
for the space of sixe monthes. But Tiberius being returned to Capreae began at first to be as-
sainted with a certaine lingring disease: and for that his sicknesse increased more and more, hee
began to conceiue a sinister hope of himselfe, and commanded Enodus, whom hee most honou-
red amongst all his free-men, to bring him his sonnes, because hee intended to talke with them
before hee died. But the sooth is, that he had not any children of his own, but had adopted them.
For Drusus, who was his onely childe, was already dead, and had left behinde him a sonne called
Tiberius, surnamed Gemellus. Hee had Caius also, his brother Germanicus sonne, who was in the
flower of his age, and had traiailed very diligently in good disciplines. To him also the people
ascribed verie much, in remembrance of the vertues of his deceased father; and as touching
himselfe, he was of a sweet conuersation, and so modest, that he was familiar and conuersant with
all men. Whereby it came to passe, that not onely the people, but the Senate also held him in
great estimation, as also all the subiects in euerie seuerall prouince. For they that spake with
him were drawn partly by his affabilitie, partly by the fidelitie that they saw in him: so that when
he was dead, all of them mourned, not counterfaintly lamenting his losse, but with vnfaigned sor-
row, for that there was not any one that supposed not his death to be euerie mans particular losse.
Hee therefore demeaned himselfe so modestly towards all men, that his sonne after his death was
highly aduanced thereby. For among the rest the men of warre made their reckoning, that al-
though it should cost them their liues to get him the Empire, they would not refuse the
hazard.

After that Tiberius had charged Enodus to bring him the two young men the next morrow
by breake of day, he besought the Gods of that place to giue him an euident signe whereby hee
might know who should succeed him: For although hee desired to leaue the Empire to his sons
sonnes;

Tiberius by an
Augury vnder-
standeth Caius
successe and
succesion be-
fore his death.

A sonne; yet made he more account of that which God should make manifest vnto him. He there-
fore conceiued a pefage, that hee, who the next day should enter first to salure him, it should bee
hee, who in the Empire should necessarily succede him. And hauing settled this thing in his
fantasie, hee sent vnto his little sonnes Master, charging him to bring him vnto him by breake of
day, supposing that God had ordained that the Empire should bee his: but the matter fell out
quite contrarie to his expectation. For being in this thought, hee commanded Enodus, that as
soone as hee might, and as soone as the day should arise, hee should shouler him of the two young
princes to enter in vnto him, who should arrive the first. Hee walking out met with Caius before
the chamber doore (for Tiberius was not there, who being ignorant of that which his grandfa-
ther thought, was busie about his breakfast) and said vnto him: That the Emperour his father
called for him, and withall suffered him to enter. When Tiberius beheld Caius, hee sodainely be-
gan to consider vpon the power of God, who deprived him of the meanes to dispose of the Em-
pire, according as he had determined with himselfe, for that it lay not in his power; and hee la-
mented greatly, not so much for that hee sawe his deliberation could not be brought to effect,
as for that his sonne Tiberius was distated of the Romane Empire; and besides that, was in danger
of his life. For he made reckoning that they, who were more stronger then hee, would not suf-
fer him to conuerse among them, and that alliance could not assure him his life: for sometimes
for feare, and other whiles for hatred, some one would accuse him, that he went about and butli-
ly sought to seize the Empire; or that he had comploted some stratageme, least hee should lose
the Empire with his life. In a word, Tiberius was very much addicted to Astrological predictions
and nativities; so that the greater part of those things which he executed in all his life time, was
ordered thereby.

Hee seeing Calpurnia one day coming towards him, spake this of him to certain of his familiars:
Behold the man that shall bee one day honoured with the Romane Empire. And amongst all the
Emperours, he gaue greatest credit to diuination, for that in certaine things he had found the con-
iectures correspondent to truth. But at that time he was so grievously disquieted, by reason of the
misfortune that had hapned; yea he was in such sort grieved, as if his grandchild had bin already
lost, & hee blamed himselfe for that he had sought these pefages: for that he might haue died with-
out falling into that disaster, in being ignorant of that which was to come: whereas now he should
die in the knowledge of their mishaps, whom he loued most intirely. Being thus troubled to see
that the soveraigntie of the Empire should contrarie to his intention fall into their hands, who
by his will should not enioy the same, although it were with hearts grieft and contrarie to his
will, yet spake he to Caius after this manner which ensueth: My sonne, although that Tiberius be
more neerely allied vnto me then you are; yet notwithstanding both by mine owne aduice, as also
by the wil of the immortal Gods, I comit vnto your hands the Empire of the Romans. I require
you therefore that when you shall enioy the same, you forget not the good will I haue borne to-
wards you, who haue established you in so high and worthie a dignitie; and charge you likewise
that you forget not your Cousin Tiberius; but knowing that by the will of the Gods I am he, who
after them am the author of so many goods, which haue befallen you, you returne mee the like
good will and affection: and that you likewise take care of Tiberius, by reason of our mutual
alliance: for you ought to know that Tiberius serueth you for a bulwarke to maintaine you Em-
pire, and your owne life; and if hee die, it will be the beginning of your mishap. For it is a peri-
lous matter for those, who are raised to high dignities, to bee sole and without allies. Further-
more, the Gods doe neuer leaue them unpunished, who attempt or ast any thing against the
lawes of consanguinitie. These were the last words which Tiberius spake to Caius, who promised
him to perform all that which he required, notwithstanding he meant nothing lesse. For inconti-
nently after he was installed in the Empire, hee caused Tiberius to bee made away, bethinking
him of those diuinations: as also the same Caius died anon after by a conspiracie that was prac-
tized against him. When that Tiberius had declared Caius his successor in the Empire, he liued not
many daies after, and died after he had gouerned twentie two yeeres, sixe monthes, and three
daies. Thus Caius was the fourth Emperour.

The Romans hauing intelligence of Tiberius death, greatly reioiced at the good newes: yet
durst they not assure themselves: and though of long time they would haue willingly redde-
med the truth of these reports with a good summe of money; yet feared they least the newes
should be false, and least if they shewed themselves too diligent in expressing their signes of ioy,
they should afterwards be accused for it, and lose their liues thereby. For onely Tiberius had done
much mischief to the noble families in Rome, being of himselfe a man cholericke, implacable
towards

Tiberius ad-
dicted to the
mathematickes

Hee foretelleth
Calpas succe-
ssion in the
empire.

Tiberius re-
commended
the Romane
empire, and
Tiberius his
grand child to
Caius.

Caius killeth
Tiberius.

Caius Calpu-
rnius the fourth
Romane Em-
perour.

Tiberius a
tyrant.

The yeare of the
world, 4002. af-
ter Christs birth,
39.
Mactyas Agrip-
pas freeman
certifieth him
of Tiberius
death.

The rumour
was spread in
Rome that
Tiberius was
aliue.

Caius certify-
eth the Senate
& Piso of Ti-
berius death,
and his succe-
ssion, & willeth
that Agrippa
should be sent
to his owne
lodging.

Tiberius fune-
rall.

Caius createth
Agrippa king,
and giueth him
two Tetrar-
chies.
Agrippa de-
parteth into
his kingdom.
The yeare of
the world, 4002.
after Christs
natiuitie, 40.

Herod & Ruf-
finus, chap. 14.
al. chap. 16.
Herodius A-
grippas sister
couieth her
brothers hap-
pinesse, & iocun-
deth her hus-
band to seeke
a kingdom.

towards all men without any occasion, hauing a naturall inclination so cruel, that the easiest paine G
whereunto he adiudged those whom hee condemned, was death: notwithstanding therfore that
each man tooke pleasure to heare the newes, yet did each one conceale it, vntill such time as they
might be more fully assured; thorow the feare of those miseries they foresawe, if the matter should
fall out otherwaies. But *Marfias Agrippas* free-man, hauing certaine notice of *Tiberius* death,
ranne speedily to comfort his Master *Agrippa*, with these good newes, & meeting with him as
he came out of the Bath, he made a signe vnto him, and told him in the Hebrew tongue, the *Lion*
was dead. *Agrippa* conceiuing that which he meant, was rauished with ioy; and said vnto him:
I will requite thee for all those benefits I haue receiued at thy hands, and especially for this good
newes; provided that it prouue true. The Centurion, who had the keeping of *Agrippa*, con-
sidering what expedition *Marfias* had vsed in running, and the pleasure that *Agrippa* had con-
ceiued, in his report, he began to suspect some alteration, and asked them what had hapned: and
whereas they delaied to giue him an answer, hee importuned him the more. Whereupon *A-
grippa* tolde him plainly what he had heard, in that he had growne already into inward familia-
ritie with him. The Centurion reioyced at this newes, as well as *Agrippa*, hoping to speede the
better thereby, and made *Agrippa* good chere: but whilest they were in the midst of their ban-
quetting, and drunke freely; there came one vnto them, who tolde them that *Tiberius* was aliue,
and that within fewe dayes he would come to Rome. The Centurion troubled with this newes,
for that hee had committed a capitall crime in eating in the company of a prisoner, vpon the
newes of *Cæsars* death, and by reioycing with him, hee draue *Agrippa* out of the place where he
sate, and reprochfully said vnto him: Thinkest thou (saide hee) that I know not how falsely thou
spreadest the rumor of *Cæsars* death? yes be assured thou shalt answer thy lie with the losse of
thy head. This said, he caused *Agrippa* to be bound, whome before time hee had suffered to goe
libertie; and shut him vp in more close prison, then he had been before: so that *Agrippa* was all
that night long in this extreame miserie. The next day the rumour was spread thorow the whole
Citie, that confirmed *Tiberius* death, and at that time euerie one boldly protested it. There were
some also, who offered sacrifices for this cause, and there came letters also from *Caius*, which
were addressed to the Senate, by which he certified them that *Tiberius* was dead, and how the
Empire was committed to his hands. Hee wrote an other also to *Piso*, who had the guard of the
Citie, containing the like report, and besides that, commanding him to transerre *Agrippa* from
the company of those souldiers, by whom he was kept, to the same place where hee was lodged K
before; so that from that time forwards, he waxed confident. For although he was as yet a pri-
soner, yet liued hee at his owne discretion. *Caius* arriuing in Rome, brought with him *Tiberius*
body, which hee burned most magnificently, according to the custome of the country. And al-
though he were verie willing to deliuer *Agrippa* the same day; yet was hee dissuaded from the
same by *Antonia*, not for any ill will she bare: he prisoner, but in regard of *Caius* honour, least
thereby he should shew himselfe to be glad of *Tiberius* death, in setting him at libertie so spee-
dily, whome he had committed to prison. When as therfore some few daies were ouerpast, he sent
for him to his house, and caused him to be powld, and his garments changed, and that done, hee
set a diademe vpon his head, and made him king of *Philips* Tetrachy, to which he annexed *Lysa-
nias* Tetrachy, and changed his chaine of yron into a chaine of gold of the same weight, & sen L
Marullus into Iudæa to gouerne there. The second yeere of *Caius* raigne, *Agrippa* asked licence
to repaire into Iudæa, to the intent hee might dispose of his kingdom, purposing to returne a-
gaine at such time as he had dispatched those affaires. Which when the Emperour had granted
him, he came into Iudæa, and was seene and saluted for a king beyond all mens expectation, ser-
uing thereby for a most notable example vnto men to expresse vnto them how great the power
of destinie is in humane affaires, considering the poore estate wherein he had bene before, and
the happinesse which he enioyed at that time. Some termed him happy, in that he resolutely
followed his hopes, other some could scarcely beleue that he was in this fort aduanced.

CHAP. IX.

Herode the Tetrarch banished.

Herodias Agrippas sister was married to Herode the Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea. She
deniued her brother to see him raised to so great authoritie, and to farre greater dignitie
then her husband enioyed. For which cause she was displeased, that her brother, who
fled out of his country in that he wanted meanes to pay his debts, was returned in great honor,
and

The yeare of the
world, 4002. af-
ter Christs birth,
40.
Caius & Ruf-
finus, 40.

and with greater substance. This charge endured thee with great hearts grieve, especially, at such
time as (he saw him) apparelled like a king, & eniured with a great multitude of people, and im-
possible was it for her to hide the bitterness of hir griefe; for which cause shee incited her husband
& perswaded him to make a voiage to Rome, & to purchase as much as he possessed. For said she,
I cannot endure to liue it *Agrippa Aristobulus* son condemned to death by the sentence of his own
father (so poore and indigent, that to redresse his necessities wherwith he was daily pressed by his
creditors, he was constrained at last to flie to Rome) should returne with such titles of a king, and
that her husband who was a kings son, & was called to the kingdom by his father, should liue ob-
scure, & passe his life like a priuat man: Husband (saide she) if heretofore it hath bin no prejudice
to thee to liue in lesse dignitie, then erit thy father hath done; now at least wile, desire that due honor
B which belongeth to thy family: neither thinke it to be sufferable to subscribe to him in estimation,
who in times past hath bene maintained by thy bountie. Neither suffer it to bee thought (tho-
row thine owne slouth) that hee in his necessitie had better meanes and industrie to obtaine an
ample fortune, then you amidst your mightie abundance; as if it redounded not to thy shame to
be thought inferior to him at this time, who not long since, except by thy merie had no meanes
to liue. Let vs therefore hastily repaire vnto Rome, and neither spare gold, silver, or any other ex-
pence, for that it auaileth vs not so much to keepe the same, as to employ the same in the pur-
chase of a kingdom. But *Herode* dissuaded her as much as he might, for that hee contented him-
selfe to liue in quiet, & suspected the confusion that was at Rome, which hee endeoured as much
as in him lay, to lay open to *Herodias*. But the more negligent she saw him; the more instantly
C incited she him to seek out the kingdom; and neuer gaue she him ouer vntill she had conformed
him to her desire: Whereunto hee rather listned, in that she might not be drawne from her re-
solution. Hauing therefore furnished himselfe after the most magnificent manner, and spared
no cost, he repaired to Rome, & led *Herodias* his wife with him. *Agrippa* smelling their intent &
the preparation they made, made his prouision likewise. And hauing notice that they were put to
sea, he sent *Fortunatus* one of his freemen to Rome, with presents to the Emperour, and certaine
letters against *Herod*, with commission to certifie *Caius* of euerie particular, according as the oc-
casion should serue. He embarking himselfe after *Herode*, had a happy passage, and was onely
prevented by him, but for the space that *Herode* presented himselfe to *Caius*: for hee continually
followed him, and deliuered his letters. For they arriued at one time at *Putcol*, and found *Caius*
D at *Baia*, a village of Campania, distant from *Putcol* some five stades, enriched with most royal and
sumptuous palaces, for that euerie Emperour enforced himselfe to exceed the honour of his pre-
decessor, by reason of the hot bathes that naturally issued out of the earth, seruing both for the
health of the body, and recreation of the spirits. Whilest *Caius* talked with *Herode* in that hee
visited him first, hee receiued *Agrippas* letters, containing *Herodes* accusations; for they accused
him of a conspiracie made and complotted betwixt him and *Seianus*, since the beginning of *Ti-
berius* Empire: And how for the present hee fauoured *Artabanus* king of the Parthians to the pre-
iudice of the Emperour *Caius*; of this, the preparations *Herod* had stored vp in his Arsenals, gaue
euidēt testimony, which were sufficient to arme seuentie thousand men of warre. *Caius* was fore-
moued with these informations, and asked *Herode* if that which was informed him as touching
E his warlike preparation, was true. Hee vnable to contradict the same in any thing, for feare hee
should be convicted of falshood, auowed no lesse. Whereupon *Caius* supposing the accusation
of his reuolt to be sufficiently approued, depriued him of his Tetrachy, and annexed it to *Agrip-
pas* kingdom; bestowing *Herods* substance also vpon him. Hee banished him likewise for euer, &
confined him in the cite of *Lions* in France. & vnderstanding that *Herodias* was *Agrippas* sister,
he gaue her all that which in right appertained vnto her. And supposing that she would not wil-
lingly accompany her husband in that his calamity, hee told her that her brother should be her war-
rant. But she gaue him this reply: Mightie Emperour, you speake magnificently, and as it well
becometh to great a maiestie, but there is a cause that hindreth me from partaking the benefit
of that bountie, which you intend towards me, which is the affection that I beare vnto my husband,
F whom if I should forsake in this his miserie, it would verie ill become me, in that I haue bene a
partner with him in his felicitie. *Caius* displeased with this her resolute answer, banished her
likewise with her husband, and gaue the confiscation of her estate also to *Agrippa*. God did after
this manner punish *Herodias*, in regard of that enuy which shee had conceiued against her brother,
and plagued *Herode* in that he had so lightly listned to the foolish perswasions of a woman. But
Caius gouerned the Empire, the first and second yeere of his raigne, with most noble directions,
behauing himselfe graciously towards all men, whereby he obtained the good liking of the Ro-
mans

Herod with
Herodias re-
paire to Rome.
Agrippa sen-
deth *Fortunatus*
with letters
and presents
after him.
Baia are cer-
taine bathes
in Campania
not farre from
Putcol.

Herod is accu-
sed for fauou-
ring *Artabanus*
the Parthian.
Herod is per-
petually bani-
shed and confi-
ned in *Lions*
in France, and
Agrippa is
made Lord of
his lands and
goods, and
Herodias des-
pising *Cæsars*
bountie ac-
companieth him
in exile.

Caius at the
first gouerned
the common-
weale very
happily, but
afterwards
vnto diuine
honours.

mans, and the fauor of his other subiects. But in proceffe of time the greatnes of his estate made him surpasse the limits of humane condition, and challenge to himselfe the title of diuinity, where by he gouerned all things in contempt of God.

CHAP. X.

The sedition of the Iewes and Grecians in the citie of Alexandria.

A Nd whereas there arose a sedition betwixt the Iewes and Grecians, that inhabited Alexandria, three chosen Embassadours on either side were sent vnto *Caius*. One of these Embassadours of Alexandria was *Appion*, who charged the Iewes with many outrages, and amongst other things hee alledged that they made no reckoning of honouring *Cæsar*: And that whereas all other subiects of the Romane Empire had erected altars and temples in honour of *Caius*, & in all other things had receiued him as a God, the Iewes supposed it to be a dishonor for them to honour his statues, or sweare by his name. After that *Appion* had vrged many things and inueyed grievously against the Iewes, hoping that *Caius* would be prouoked against them; as in all likelihood and appearance it should haue fallen out, *Philo* the chiefeft among the Embassadours of the Iewes, a man of famous memory, & brother to *Alexander Alabarcha*, being experienced in Philosophy, enforced himself to answer those accusations which were vrged against the Iewes. But *Caius* commanded him silence, and willed him instantly to withdraw himself, and was so fore displeased, that it appeared verie manifestly, that he intended some hainous reuenge against them. Whereupon *Philo* departed after he had been grievously taunted, and spake thus vnto the Iewes that flockt about him. We must be of good courage, since *Caius* in words seemeth to bee displeased with vs: for in effect he will arme God in our behalfe against himselfe.

CHAP. XI.

Caius sendeth Petronius into Syria to make warre against the Iewes, who should refuse his statue.

B Ut *Caius* being sore displeased for that the Iewes only despised his ordinances, sent *Petronius* into Syria to succeed *Vitellius* in his roome, charging him with a strong army to invade Iudæa: and if they willingly admitted his statue, that then he should place it in the temple of God; but if they denied the same, then that ouercomming them by warre he should enforce them to condescend thereunto. As soone as *Petronius* came into Syria, hee endeoured himselfe to satisfie *Cæsars* command: and having assembled as great an armie as he could possibly leaue, and leading forth with him two legions of Romane souldiers, he wintered at Ptolemais, intending vpon the first spring to invade Iudæa. All which he signified to *Caius* by his letters: who commending him for his indutrie, aduised him to vse all expedition therein, and to make warre against those who should disobey his commandements. Meane while diuers thousands of the Iewes resorted to *Petronius*, who sojourned at Ptolemais, beseeching him not to constrain them to do that thing which was contrary to their lawes, or to transgress the ordinances of their forefathers. For if (sayd they) you haue wholly decreed to bring and erect this statue in our temple, first depriue vs of our liues: and afterwards doe that which shall seeme good in your eyes. For it is impossible for vs as long as our soules remaine within our bodies, to permit that which is forbidden by our lawes, or to suffer such impietie in regard of that honour, which we owe vnto our lawmaker, and our predecessors, who haue ratified our lawes to the entent we should increase in vertue. *Petronius* enraged at this their protestation, answered thus. If I were Emperour, and of mine owne mind enterprised this action, you had reason to vse these kinds of insinuations vnto me. But since *Cæsar* hath sent me this commission, there is no contradiction, but that I must obey his decrees: For if you resist the same, you shall endure a most seuer and rigorous punishment for your disobedience and contumacie. Hereunto the Iewes answered. My Lord (sayd they) M since your pleasure is such as you will not in any sort transgresse the command and contents of *Cæsars* letters, neither wil we also any waies violate or infringe the prescript of our law, vnder hope of the diuine assistance and in imitation of the vertue of our aunccestors: For we are not so faint hearted, that vnder hope of a vaine and vntimely desire of life, we should break those lawes which almighty God hath proposed vnto vs, vnder the reward of eternall felicitie: for which cause we will endure all fortunes whatsoever; so as our cuntry law and religion may remaine inviolate,

A and we are ready to encounter any misfortune, vnder hope that God will assit vs, for whose honour we feare not to aduenture on any danger. This had wee rather doe, then by obeying thee thorow cowardise, to incurre perpetuall ignomie; and that which is more, Gods wrath in neglect of his lawes, whose authoritie euen in thine owne iudgement, is more to be regarded, then *Caius* commission. *Petronius* coniecturing by these their answers, how hard a matter it was to estrange them from their opinion, and perceiving that he could not doe for *Caius* that he expected in the erection of his statue, without great bloodshed, whereby much murder and inconvenience might follow, he tooke certaine of his neereft and deereft friends with him, and posted to *Tiberias*, that hee might more conveniently and circumspectly looke into the Iewes actions. They fearing some imminent danger thorow the warres they expected from the Romans, and greater mischief thorow the breach of their lawes, assembled once more many thousands of them, and met with *Petronius* at *Tiberias*, beseeching him that hee would not inforce them to that necessitie, nor defile their sacred Citie with forbidden images. Whereunto *Petronius* answered: Therefore (sayd he) you will fight with *Cæsar*, without regard either of his ability or your owne weakenesse? Wee will not fight (sayd they) but we will rather die then depart from our lawes. Whereupon prostrating themselves, and laying open their naked throats, they said they were ready to entertaine their deaths. In these tearmes continued they for the space of 40. daies, neglecting their husbandry, whereas at that time it was the chiefeft seed time. For it was most resolutely concluded among them, rather to suffer death then to admit the statue. Whilest the matter stood vpon these tearmes, *Aristobulus Agrippas* brother, and *Elcias* surnamed the Great, came vnto *Petronius*, beseeching him that he would consider the obstinacie of the people: neither giue them occasions to draw them into desperate actions, but rather that he would write vnto *Caius*, with what obstinacie the people refused the dedication of his image in the Temple: and how giuing ouer the care of their husbandry, they prepared themselves for the warre without any trust or confidence in their own strength, being rather addresssed to die then to suffer so great an indignitie to be offered to their religion. Besides, how giuing ouer their tillage there was nothing to be expected but robberie, whereas they should want meanes to pay their customes; by which meanes they hoped that *Cæsar* would be moued to moderate his seueritie towards that nation, and not to giue them cause of rebellion: and that if he might not bee moued from the prosecution of the warre, that then he might goe forward with his businesse. This was the effect of *Aristobulus* request.

B ut *Petronius* partly in respect of their prayers, who instantly vrged him, and the waightines of the action; partly in regard of the contentious purpose of the Iewes, supposing that it was a matter vnworthy a man to put so many thousands of men to death, to satisfy *Caius* vnbridled desire and insolence, and touched with the feare of God, and the remorse of his own conscience, he had rather to his owne danger informe the Emperour of the absurditie of the matter, by his letters, being no waies ignorant of his wrathfull spirit and forwardnes in reuenge, except his furious passion and expectation were answered. For this thought he, that although it altered not his resolution, but happily inforced his displeasure against him, in that he did not speedily execute his command; yet that it was the duetic of a good man no not to refuse an assured death, if so be he might saue so guiltlesse and huge a multitude. When as therefore he had assembled all those warlike forces that at that time gaue attendance on him round about him, he tolde the Iewes first of all, not his owne, but the Emperours intent, who would haue them shortly taste his displeasure, and enforce them to beare the burthen of his indignation, who were so bold as to contradict him. For himselfe, that it necessarily concerned him, that since by the Emperours fauour he had received so great honour, he should not commit any thing contrarie to his command. I hold it (sayd he) a matter most iust to employ my life & honor for you, to the end that so huge a number of men should not be drawne into danger of death: and I will respect the excellency of the lawes of your fathers, for which you thinke you ought to entertaine warre and danger: neither is it lawfull to suffer the temple of God to be defiled by the authority of princes. I will therefore write vnto *Cæsar* and certifie him of your minds: and in all that I may, I will assit you to obtaine your requests. God (whose power surpasseth all industrie and humane force) vouchsafe to conduct you, and make you constant in the obseruation of your lawes, and grant that hee thorow excessiue desire of humane glorie, commit not any thing that may offend God. And if *Caius* bee displeased and inforce his inuitable displeasure against me, I will vnder take all danger; and endure all torments

After a long
and continual
drought there
fell a sodaine
shower.

Petronius
writeth to
Caius.

Agrippa ho-
noureth Caius
in Rome, and
in reward
thereof Caius
willeth him to
demand some-
what, who de-
sireth nothing
else then that
Petronius
commission to
erect the
statue should
be reuoked.

ments both in body and spirit, to the end that I may not behold so many vertuous men, as you
are, perish in your good and iust actions. Go therefore each of you, and ply your worke, and till
your lands: my selfe will send vnto Rome, and both in my selfe and by my friends, I will employ
my selfe for you. After he had spoken thus, he dismissed the assembly, praying the chiefeft amongst
them to encourage the husbandmen to ply their businesse, and to confirme the rest of the people
in their good hope. Of himselfe also he ceased not to animate them. And truly God shewed
his assistance to *Petronius*, and assisted him in all his affaires. For as soone as he had finished his
discourse vnto the Iewes, there sodainly fell a great raine beyond all humane expectation. For
the day was very faire, neither was there any appearance of raine in the ayre, and all that yeere
long there was an extreme drought; so that men were past hope to haue any moisture, notwith-
standing that sometime there appeared certaine clouds in the heauens. At that time therefore the
water fell in great abundance, and besides the expectation and opinion of men, the Iewes con-
ceiued hope that *Petronius*, soliciting their cause, should not bee repulsed. But *Petronius* was
more amazed then all the rest, seeing evidently that God vnderooke the affaires of the Iewes,
and gaue them testimony of his manifest assistance; so that they that were their professed ad-
uersaries, had no meanes to contradict them, as he himselfe wrote to *Caius* at large, with inducti-
ons and exhortations, to the end he should not drawe so many thousand men into a desperate re-
solution and vnhappy death. For without warre it was impossible for him euer to make them
forsake their religion. Furthermore, that he would not cut off and lose the reuenue which he re-
ceiued of that nation; and would not erect a trophy of an euermlasting curse and malediction a-
gainst himselfe. Adding moreover, what the power of their God was: which he had so cleerely
declared, that no man ought to doubt, but that his mercifull hand was ouer them. This is the
content of *Petronius* letters.

On the other side, king *Agrippa*, who at that time conuersed at Rome, grew more and more
in fauour with *Caius*, hauing entertained him at a banquet, wherein he enforced himselfe to ex-
ceede all others in sumptuousnesse, as in all other sorts of delights and pleasures; yea with such
festiuall entertained he him, that not onely others, but also the Emperour himselfe could not ar-
taine to such magnificence; so much enforced he himselfe to exceede all others thorow the great
desire he had to content and satisfie *Caesar* in all things. *Caius* was abashed at this his courage
and magnificence, seeing *Agrippa* enforce himselfe about his power and meanes to abound in
siluer, and all this to the intent to please him. For which cause *Caesar* in requitall of his kindnes,
intending to honour *Agrippa* to his utmost power, in granting him that which he most desired,
being one day whet with wine, inuited him to drinke a carouse: adding these words; *Agrippa*,
I haue heretofore known the honour thou hast shewed towards me, and thou hast expressed the
earnest affection that thou bearest me, in hazarding thy selfe in diuers dangers, into which thou
hast been drawne during *Tiberius* life time, and hast omitted nothing, no not in that which ex-
ceedeth thy power, to shew thy vertuous affection towards me. For which cause I thinke that it
should be a great shame for mee, if I should suffer my selfe to be overcome by thee in kindnes,
without some answerable correspondence: I will therefore put that in practise which I haue here-
tofore omitted. For all those things that hitherto I haue bestowed on thee, are of no reckoning.
My will is that thy readines & vertue should at this present be required, by such meanes as might
foreuer make thee happy. Now he spake after this manner, hoping that *Agrippa* would beg some
great prouince at his hands, or the reuenues of some Cities.

But although he had already prepared his demand, yet did hee not discover his intent, but
gaue *Caius* this ready answer, that whereas he had serued him to the dislike of *Tiberius*, it was not
for the gaine he expected heretofore, and for the present also hee did nothing vnder hope to be
rich, contenting himselfe that he was in the Emperours good fauour. That the benefits he had
receiued by him, were great, yea exceeding all that which he durst euer haue hoped. For (said
he) although they be but small in comparison of your greatnesse, yet in respect of my selfe, who
haue receiued them, and in my conceit and qualitie, they are very great. *Caius* being amazed at
this his courage, insisted the rather to perswade him, that he would grant him all that he would
require at his hands. Whereupon *Agrippa* said: Dread prince, since it is your good pleasure
to thinke me worthy to be honoured by your presents, I wil not request any thing at your hands
that may tend to enrich me; for that by those goods you haue already giuen me, I am greatly ho-
noured: but I beseech and request one thing at your hands, which will purchase you the reputa-
tion of pietie, and will procure God to be propitious vnto you in all your actions, and which
also will breed me much glory among those, who shall heare that I haue not been refused in my
demand,

A demand, which concerneth me more then the necessities of this life. I therefore beseech you
that it will please you to giue commandement, that that statue, which you haue charged *Petroni-*
us to erect in the temple of the Iewes, may neuer be advanced there. This was *Agrippas* request,
which to his great hazard he presented the Emperour with, knowing very well how perillous a
matter it was, and as much as concerned his life to demand any such thing at *Caius* hands, that
was not answerable to his humour. *Caius* on the one side moued with the seruice *Agrippa* had
done him, and on the other side seeing how great an indignity it should be for him, if before such
an assembly of witnesses, he should deny that which he had so instantly pressed *Agrippa* to re-
quest, as if he sodainly had repented himselfe, and admiring *Agrippas* vertue (who hauing
meanes within a little time to augment his particular estate, either by reuenues or other com-
modities, had preferred the common cause, the lawes of his countrey and piety before all these) he
granted him his supplication, and wrote to *Petronius*, praising him for that he had vied such dili-
gence in assembling his army, as also for all that whereof he had certified him, annexing these
words: If (said he) you haue already planted the statue, as I commanded you, let it remaine in the
place: but if it be not done be thou no more troublefome to the Iewes, but dismisse thine armie,
and repaire thou in person to that place whither I haue sent thee. For I vrgo no more the erection
of that statue for the desire that I haue to gratifie *Agrippa*, whom I entirely honour, and in such
sort, as it is impossible for me to contradict any thing whatsoever, that either he hath neede of, or
shall require. These were the contents of those letters, which *Caius* wrote to *Petronius*, before he
vnderstood that the Iewes bethought them of reuolt: for they made it knowne, that rather then
they would endure that statue, they would hazard a war against the Romans: which when *Caius*
vnderstood, he was extremely sorrowfull, & being a man addicted to all villany, and estranged
from all honesty, and who gaue place to no good counsell, incontinently after he had conceiued
a displeasure against any man, & who likewise thought it a great good hap for him to accomplish
all that whatsoever he pleased, he wrote againe to *Petronius* to this effect: Since the presents
which the Iewes haue giuen thee, haue preuailed more with thee then my commandements
haue done, so as to please them thou hast despised that which I haue enioyned thee, I make thy
selfe the iudge how much thou hast deserued to incurre my displeasure, to the end that thou
maist serue for an example to all those, who shall come after thee, that an Emperours commande-
ment ought not in any sort to be neglected. Although this Epistle was both written and sent, yet
did not *Petronius* receiue the same during *Caius* life time, for that they that carried the same, were
stayed by crosse windes; so that *Petronius* receiued those letters that certified him of *Caius* death,
before he receiued the other. For God would not forget *Petronius*, who exposed himselfe to
great dangers for the loue of the Iewes, and for the honour of God. And *Caius* being taken out of
the world by Gods wrath being kindled against him, by reason that he affected diuine honours,
receiued his reward; and *Petronius* obtained fauour both at Rome, and thorow all the whole go-
uernment, and especially among the principall Senators, against whom *Caius* was accustomed to
vomit his cholericke disgraces. He died a little after hee had written the letter to *Petronius*, by
which he threatned and denounced him death. Hereafter will I declare the cause why he was ta-
ken out of this world, & the manner how treason was plotted and wrought against him. The
letter that brought tidings of *Caius* death, was deliuered to *Petronius* first; and incontinently af-
ter hee receiued that wherein hee enioyned him to kill himselfe. He highly reioiced at this his
good hap, and *Caius* death, and admired Gods providence, who speedily and happily had re-
warded him both for the honour that he bare vnto his Temple, as also for the assistance he vied
towards the Iewes. Behold how *Petronius* escaped from death, by an vnexpected meanes.

Caius writeth
to *Petronius*
charging him
to murder
himselfe for
neglecting his
command.

Petronius re-
ceiueth letters
of *Caius* death
before those
whereby he
was comman-
ded to kill
himselfe.

CHAP. XII.

That which hapned to the Iewes that were at Babylon, and of the two brethren
Afinxus and Anilæus.

IN those daies there hapned a grieuous commotion amongst those Iewes that inhabited
Mesopotamia and Babylon, and such slaughters and calamities as neuer the like hath bin
declared in our former narrations; which in that I intend to report both particularly
and seriously, I wil rippe vp the whole cause thereof from his first originall. There was a Citie
called Nearda belonging to Babylon, stored with inhabitants, and enriched with many fruit-
full possessions, sufficient to sustaine so great a multitude: Moreover it was such as might be
hardly

Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 16.
al. cap. 20.
A grieuous
commotion
among the
Iewes in Me-
sopotamia and
Babylon.

The year of the world, 4003. after Christs Nativity. 41.

Asineus and Anilaus, borne in Nearda, retire into a certain place, and great companies flocke vnto them.

Asineus and his company, enuieled by the gouernors and princes of Babylon.

Asineus after he had enuieled his followers, with his enemies to fight.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

hardly inuaded by the enemy, both for that the riuer Euphrates hemmed it in on one side, as also for that it was defended with verie strong walles. Vpon the same riuer also there stood an other citie, called Nisibis, in which the Iewes, in respect of the strength of the place, kept their Dragma, which they were accustomed to offer vnto God, and the rest of their vortue money. These two Cities therefore serued them for two store-houses: and from thence according as the time required, they sent the money they had gathered to Ierusalem, and committed the conuoy thereof to diuers thousands of men, for feare least it should be taken away by the Parthians, who at that time had the soueraignty in Babylon. Among these Iewes liued *Asineus* and *Anilaus*, two brethren, borne in Nearda; whose father being dead, their mother set them and bound them to the weauers trade, for that amongst those nations it was accounted no indignitie to follow that trade: for both men and women exercise themselves therein. It hapned that their master with whom they learnt their occupation, beat them one day, for that they came somewhat late vnto their worke. They taking this chastisement of his as if a great iniurie had been done vnto them, betooke themselves to their weapons, whereof there were great store in that house, and retired themselves into a place where the flood diuideth it selfe into two parts, which naturally abounded with excellent pastures, and such fruits as were reserved for the vse of winter. To these men there flocked a number of needy persons, whom they armed and became their captaines, and no man opposed himselfe against their insolent proceedings. Being by this meanes grown absolute and impregnable, for that they had builded themselves a strong fortresse, they sent vnto the inhabitants, commanding them to pay them tribute for their cattell which they pastured; so that this tribute gaue sufficient to entertaine them, promising vnto those who obeyed them all friendship, and that they would maintaine them against all those that should iniury them, of what place soeuer they were: but if they did not that which they commanded them, they threatened them that they would kill all their cattell. The inhabitants of the country knowing themselves vnable to oppose them, obeyed them, and sent them the number of cattell which they required; so that greater forces daily coupled themselves with them, and they grew of that power, that they could make their excursions against those whome they intended to hurt. Euery one respected them, and they were feared by all men, so that their renoume came at last to the eares of the king of Parthia.

The gouernour of Babylon likewise intending to cut off this mischief before it grew to greater head, assembled as many men as he could possible, both Parthians and Babylonians, & marched forth against them, with an intent to roote them out before they should haue any inkling thereof, to prepare themselves for their defence. Having therefore prepared his army, he lay in ambush neere vnto a marsh, and the next day following (which was the Sabbath, in which the Iewes forbore all kind of worke, he making his account that the enemy durst not make head against him, but without stroke striking he should lead the away captiues) he marched softly, thinking to charge them vnawares. *Asineus*, who at that time by chance sat idly with his fellows, hauing his Armes fast by him: Ye men (said he) methinkes I heare the neighing of horses, not such as when they are in their heat, but as when they are backt by men. Moreouer, I heare the noise of their bridles, & I feare least the enemies secretly stealing vpon vs, should circumsent vs: let therefore some one of vs go and discouer what the matter is, and certifie vs truly of that which he shall perceiue: I would I were found a liar in that which I haue told you. This said, some one of them went out to espy what the noise intended; who returning hastily backe againe, told him that he had not fallily coniectured as touching the intent of the enemy, for that they were at hand, and would not suffer themselves any longer to be out-brained by them. Hee also declared that there was a mighty number of horsemen, who were assembled like a droue of beasts, sufficient & able vnto to ouercome *Asineus* and all his company, forasmuch as they were not in a readines to defend themselves; for that they are forbidden by our lawe in any sort to trauele on the Sabbath. *Asineus* determined with himselfe not to do that which the spy had said, but thought that it was better for them to behaue themselves valiantly in that their necessity wherein they were plunged, and that if they must needly die, it better became them to make breach of their lawe, then to hearken their enemies by their submission. He therefore presently betooke himselfe to his weapons, and encouraged all those that were about him, to make it knowne in effect what their valour was. Whereupon all of them at once marched forth against the enemy, & slaughtered a great many of them, for that they despising *Asineus* and his followers, marched as if they went to lay holde on men already vanquished; but in the end they were constrained to betake them to flight.

When the bruit of this skirmish was brought to the eares of the king of Parthia, hee was wholly

OF THE IEWES. THE XVIII. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4003. after Christs Nativity. 42.

Asineus and Anilaus are sought vnto by Artabanus for friendship.

A wholly astonished at the boldnes of these two brethren, and hee had a desire to see them, and to speake with them. Hee therefore sent one of the trustiest of his guard, to let them vnderstand that although king *Artabanus* had bene iniured by them, in that they had inuaded his countrey; notwithstanding said this embassadour, he making lesse account of the displeasure he hath conceived against you, then of your vertue, hath sent me vnto you to giue you my hand & troth in his name for safe conduct and securitie in your voyage, requiring you to be his friends: hee conditioneth therefore with you without any deceit or fraud, promising you gifts and honours, and determineth to encrease your dignity by his power. *Asineus* refused to enterprise this voyage, but sent his brother *Anilaus* with certaine presents, such as he could possibly finde. Hee therefore departed with the messenger, and presented himselfe before *Artabanus*; who seeing *Anilaus* come alone, asked him how it hapned that *Asineus* came not with him: & vnderstanding that he staid in his marsh thorow the feare that he had of him, he swore by the Gods of his ancestors, that he would doe him no wrong, wishing them to giue credit to his promise, and hee stretched out his hand, which is the greatest signe which the kings of that countrey vse to assure those that parlie with them. For after they haue mutually giuen one another their hands, there is no sinister practise to be feared, and they from whom a man expecteth any harme, are no more to be feared at such time as they haue giuen this testimony of assurance. That done, *Artabanus* sent back *Anilaus* to perswade his brother *Asineus* to come to the court. *Artabanus* did this, supposing that this his amitie with the two brothers would bee a bridle for the Iewes, who otherwise might encroach vpon his gouernments. For he feared least if any rebellion should happen, and he should be troubled in that warre, *Asineus* and they of Babylon should grow more strong, both by the voluntary submission of the Iewes, as by force: and thereby should doe him the more mischief. Vpon this deliberation he sent *Anilaus*; who easily perswaded his brother, giuing him to vnderstand among other things, what goodwill the king bare him, and the oath that he had sworne: so that both of them resorted to *Artabanus*, who received them verie graciously, admiring *Asineus* vertue, who had so great a courage to exercise his enterprises, considering especially that he was a man of lowe stature, and who to looke on seemed to be contemptible: and hee told his friends that without comparison, hee had a greater heart then his body.

And when as in banquetting he had named *Asineus* and shewed him to *Abdagasis* the general of his army, signifying vnto him with what valour these brethren were endowed in feats of armes, *Abdagasis* required that it might be lawful for him to kill *Asineus*; to the end that he might punish the wrongs he had done to the estate of the Parthians. Neuer (said the king) will I giue my consent to betray a man, who hath committed himselfe to my protection: & hath giuen mee his hand, and who buildeth vpon the oath I haue past vnto him in the name of the Gods. But if thou be a valiant man in feats of armes: thou hast no need to make me forswear my selfe, to the end I might doe iustice on him for his outrages committed against the Parthians: but at such time as he and his brother shall depart from hence, assault him, and overcome him by thy valour, provided that I be not priuy to thy attempt. And afterwards calling *Asineus* to him in the morning: It is time (said he) that thou returne homeward, for feare thou prouokest diuers of the captaines of my court, which contrary to my will, will endeavour themselves to kill thee. I commit thee to the countrey of Babylon to thy protection and guard, which by thy care and vigilancy shall remaine exempt from all robberies, and other such calamities. Reason it is that I procure thy good; because I haue engaged mine honour & faith irreuocably vnto thee, not vpon any slight matter, but for things that importune thee as neerly as thy life. This said, he gaue him certaine presents, and incontinently dismissed him. Now as soone as he returned home to his owne fortresse, hee fortified the places, both those which before time he had thorowly defended, as the other which as yet no man had attempted to strengthen: and in short time he grew to that greatness, as no one might obscure fortune & beginning attained before him. Neither contented with the honours of the Babylonians, he was also held in great account by the captaines of the Parthians; who were sent to gouerne in the neighbouring prouinces: yea so much hee increased his authority with his power, that all Mesopotamia was in his command: In this felicitie and increasing glory of his, he continued for the space of fiftene yeeres: which neuer began to wane vntill such time as neglecting the ancient studie of vertue, and contemning the lawes of his forefathers, both hee and his factious followers being deuoured with pleasure, yielded themselves captiue to forniculists. It was then that a certaine gouernour of those Parthians came into that countrey, accompanied with his wife, not onely enriched and endowed with other perfections; but also admired for her incomparable

Abdagasis would haue slain *Asineus*; but *Artabanus* will not permit him.

Artabanus committed the territories of Babylon to *Asineus*, and charged him with gifts.

The year of the world, 4003. after Christs Nativity. 41.
Anilaus killeth a noble man of the Parthians, and leadeth away his wife.

Anilaus being reprooued for his wives Idolatry killeth one of his friends.

Anilaus is accused before his brother Asinaeus, but he winketh at his fault.

Asinaus poisoned by the Parthian woman.

Anilaus draweth his forces into Mithridates country, and spoileth his villages, and taketh him prisoner.

comparable comelines and beauty. Whom without euer seeing her, only by report of her beauty *Anilaus Asinaeus* brother loued entirely: and when as by no one of his allurements he could obtaine her fauour, neither had any other hope to enioy the Lady, he could not bridle his vnuly lust, but he made warre against her husband: and killing the Parthian in their first conflict, his wife became his both in subiection and bed-seruice, which thing was the original of many mighty calamities both to himselfe and towards his brother. For when as hauing lost her former husband, she was led away captiue, she carried with her the images of the gods of her country, which she highly esteemed, according as it was the custome of those that inhabited that place, to haue their gods whom they adored in their houses, whom at such time as they trauell into a foraine country, they carry about with them. She therefore brought them with her, and vsed them according to the fashion of her country, at the first secretly: but after she was knowne for *Anilaus* his wife, then adored the them according to the custome, and with the same seruice which she vsed during her first husbands daies, sacrificing to her Gods.

Their chiefeest friends seeing this, first of all reprooued them, for that *Anilaus* committed such things, as were no waies vsed among the Hebrewes, and altogether repugnant to their lawes, for that he had married a woman of a foraine nation, that contradicted and violated their accustomed religion: for which cause they aduised them to beware, lest in submitting themselues too much to their vnbridled pleasures, they should lose the honour & power they had received from God, euen vntill that present. But seeing their perswasions profited nothing, and that *Anilaus* likewise had villanously slaine one of his dearest friends, who had somewhat too freely reproued him (who at such time as he lay a dying, being touched with the zeale of the lawes of his ancestors, and with griefe against his murdurer, wished that *Asinaeus* and *Anilaus* and all their associates might die the like death: they for that they were transgressors of the lawes; the other, for that they succoured not themselues in that oppression, which they suffered for the maintenance of their lawes.) They were sore displeased, yet notwithstanding they contained themselues, calling to their remembrance that their felicity proceeded from no other cause, but from the valour of those brethren.

But whē they vnderstood that the Parthian gods were adored by this woman, they bethought them that it behoued them not any more to beare with *Anilaus*, in contempt of their laws: for which cause, addressing themselues to *Asinaus* in great assemblies, they exclaimed against *Anilaus*, laying, that he ought, although at first he had no power to dispose of himselfe, yet now at least, to correct this error before it should redound to their publike plague: for that both his marriage was disallowed in all mens eyes, as altogether contrarie to their country lawes, and that the superstitious obleruance of the gods, which the woman presumed to vse, was an apparant iniurie offered to the true God. But he although he knew that his brothers fault would breed some great inconuenience, both to himselfe and his followers, yet being ouercome with brotherly affection, he easily pardoned his brother, ascribing his error to the violence of his vnbridled passion. But whereas daily more and more he was tired with exclamations, and greater reproofes, at length he admonished his brother of the matter, chiding him for that which was past, and willing him to amend the error hereafter, by sending home the woman vnto her kinned. Yet did this admonition of his take no effect with him; for that the woman perceiuing that the rumour that was raised among the people was for her sake, and being affraid lest for her loue sake *Anilaus* should incurre some danger, she poisoned *Asinaus*, to the end that her loue being in authority she might more freely practise her impiety. Now when *Anilaus* had gotten the government into his owne hands, he drew out his forces against certaine villages belonging to *Mithridates*, one of the chiefeest among the Parthians, and *Artabanus* sonne in lawe, which villages he spoiled, and carried away moucables, men, sheepe and other riches. When *Mithridates*, who at that time was resident in those quarters, vnderstood of the spoile of his villages, he was sore displeased; and therather for that without any occasion or proffer of iniury, *Anilaus* had assailed him in contempt of his estate, who was a chiefe Peere of the country: for which cause he incontinently assembled the greatest power of horse and footmen he could gather, to set vpon *Anilaus* and his associates. Leading his forces therefore against one of his villages, he kept himselfe in couert to the end he might fight the next day; which was the Sabbath day, on which the Iewes attempt not any thing. Whereof when *Anilaus* was aduertised by a certain Syrian, who dwelt in an other village, who had exactly told him all *Mithridates* intent, and the place where he intended to banquet with his souldiers; after he had made his souldiers take their refectiō, he departed by night to the end he might charge the Parthians before they might be aduertised of his

A his comming. Hee therefore rushed in vpon them about the fourth watch of the night, and those whom he found asleepe, and the rest being astonished hereat, were forced to flee: and by flight he also rooke *Mithridates* prisoner, and caused him to be carried away naked on an Asle, which is one of the greatest disgraces which the Parthians imagine may be offered them. Having after this disgracefull manner carried him into a Forrest, some of his familiars perswaded him to kill him: but *Anilaus* told them incontinently, that they ought to deale with him far otherwise, for that it behoued them not to kill a man, who was one of the chiefeest among the nobilitie of the Parthians, and one who was most honoured in regard of that affinitie and alliance hee had with the king: that although all that which heretofore had been offered to *Mithridates* were insupportable; yet if they should be the meanes of the safegard of his life, he would remit the iniuries, and Remunerate them for their mercie in sauing his life; whereas if they should deale seuerelie with him, the king would seeke his reuenge, and make a horrible slaughter of all those Iewes that inhabited Babylon: who they ought to haue compasion of, both for that they are of their blood, as for that if any mischief should befall them, they knew not whither to retire themselues; whereas they might be asslited with the flower and picked number of the men of their nation. Having thus discoursed and debated the matter in the eares of his souldiers, his opinion was approoued, and they were perswaded; and so *Mithridates* was sent backe againe.

But no sooner returned he home vnto his house, but that his wife hit him in the teeth, that hee liued but by the mercy of his enemies; notwithstanding he were the kings sonne in law: that he had made no reckoning to punish those, who had so much injured him: that he likewise contented himselfe to haue his life laued after he had been prisoner to the Iewes. For which cause (said shee) recover thou thy former vertue and honour, which thou hast heretofore lost, or I swear by the Gods of the king my father, that the bond of mariage which is betwixt thee and me, shall be dissolved.

Mithridates, vnable to endure these vsuall reproches, and on the other side, apprehending his wifes hautie courage, from whom he feared to be separated; he assembled the greatest power of men of warre that he could possible, notwithstanding it were against his will, and led them forth; supposing himselfe to be vnworthy of life, if he who was by nation a Parthian, should be cowardly put to the worst by the Iewes. When *Anilaus* vnderstood that *Mithridates* came forth against him with a great force, he thought that it would redound greatly to his indignitie, if hee should lie lurking amidst his marshes; and hoping that hee should haue no worse fortune against his enemies, then he had at the first, and building much vpon his souldiers, who were euer wont to get the vpper hand in their encountries, hee likewise drew forth his armie: to them also certaine other adioyned themselues, who sought nought else but pillage, and hoped that with their only presence they might dismay their enemy.

But after they had marched about ninetie stades, and passed thorow a country that was scant of water, and were about the heate of the midday trauailed with thirst: *Mithridates* armie came in sight, and charged them euen at that time, when they fainted for want of drinke, and thorow the extremitie of heate; so as they could scarcely wield their weapons. At that time *Anilaus* souldiers encountering with *Mithridates* fresh men, were shamefully put to flight: whereby it came

E to passe, that a great number of them was murdered, and many thousand men put to the sword. But *Anilaus* himselfe, and all those of his company, retired themselues in great haste into a forest, leaving *Mithridates* Lord and Maister of the field, whereof he was very ioyfull. Notwithstanding this disaster, an infinite number of lawlesse men resorted to *Anilaus*, who set little by their liues, provided there might no limit be proposed to their vnbridled licentiousnesse; so that hee gathered a greater number of men, then those whom hee had lost: yet were they farre different in valour from the former: for they were men wholly ignorant of warlike discipline: notwithstanding, hee being accompanied with these men, went and sette vpon certaine boroughs of the Babylonians, which were wholly destroyed by his rapine and violence. For which cause, the Babylonians and his other enemies, sent vnto Neard to the Iewes that were there, requiring

F that *Anilaus* might be deliuered into their hands: whereunto condescending not (for although they had a will to performe their request, yet it lay not in their power to deliuer him) they required that they might liue in peace. And to intreat of the conditions of peace, the Babylonians sent certaine men to confer with *Anilaus*. They hauing suruaid the place wherein *Anilaus* kept, assailed both himselfe and his followers by night, and slew all those they encountered with, without resist, and among the rest *Anilaus*. When the Babylonians saw that they were deliuered from the oppression of *Anilaus*, who till that time had been as it were a bridle vnto them to restraints and

Anilaus himselfe killeth Mithridates.

A great number of dissolute persons flock to Anilaus, with whom he spoileth certaine boroughs of the Babylonians.

The Babylonians require Anilaus that they may punish him: they assaile & slay him.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

The Iewes af-
flicted by the
Babylonians
repaire to Se-
leucia.Fiftie thou-
sand Iewes
slaine in Se-
leucia.
The Iewes that
were sau'd re-
paire to Ctes-
iphon.The Iewes re-
tirc into Ne-
arda & Nisibis

and curbe the hatred they conceiued against the Iewes, with whom they had oftentimes been at G
oddes, by reason of the contrarietie of their religions, whereby it grew that they oftentimes fell
at debate vpon each opportunitie, wherein they met.

At that time therefore that *Anileus* men were discomfited, the Babylonians set vpon the Iewes
on all sides; who seeing themselves in danger by reason of the insolence of the Babylonians, a-
gainst whom they were too weake to make resist, & on the other side vnable to liue amongst the
they went and dwelt at Seleucia, a Citie famous in regard of *Seleucus* the sonne of *Nicanor*, who
built it. In that Citie dwelt diuers Macedons, diuers Greekes, and a great number of Syri-
ans. The Iewes fled thither, and sojourned there about some five yeeres, without any molestati-
on: but in the sixt yeere, when the plague grew rife in Babylon, the Iewes that remained there,
were enforced to seeke them some new habitation; and that remooue of theirs into the Cittie of H
Seleucia was the cause likewise of their further mitchiefe, as I will make manifest. The Greekes
who dwell in Seleucia, are ordinarily at debate with the Syrians, & haue alwaies the vpper hand;
but after that the Iewes came to inhabit in that place, in a certaine sedition that arose among the,
the Syrians had the vpper hand, by the means of the Iewes, who ioyned their forces with theirs,
who of themselves were valiant and good souldiers.

The Greekes, who had been repulled in this tumult, seeing they had but one onely means left
them to maintaine their former honour, but to breake that league of friendship which was be-
tweene the Syrians and the Iewes, deuised in priuate each one with those Syrians, with whom
they were acquainted, promising to liue in peace and amitie with them, whereunto they conde-
scended willingly. For the chiefe of these two nations concluded the peace, which presently af-
ter followed, to the end that on both parts they should ioine in hatred against the Iewes. So that
altogether charging them at vnawares, they slew more then fiftie thousand of them: and all of
them were slaine, except some few, who thorow the mercy of their friends, and warrantize of
their neighbors were suffered to escape. These retired themselves to Ctesiphon a citie of Greece,
that was not farre from Seleucia, where the king sojourneth euery yeere, and keepeth the greatest
part of his moueables, hoping in that place thorow the reuerence of the king they might remain
in more safetie & securitie. All the nation of the Iewes that were in these quarters stood in great
fear; For the Babylonians and the Seleucians, with all the Assyrians of that countrey, accorded
among themselves to make a general war against the Iewes; whereby it came to passe that they
assembled themselves at Nearda and Nisibis, trusting themselves to the strength of these fortref-
ses, which were inhabited also by men who were expert in armes. See heere what the estate of
those Iewes was, who remained in Babylon.

THE XIX. BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 19. Booke.

- 1 How Caius was slaine by Chereas.
- 2 How Claudius obtained the Empire.
- 3 Diffension betwixt the Senate and the people.
- 4 How Claudius aduanced Agrippa to his fathers kingdome, and his Edicts in fauour of the
Iewes.
- 5 Agrippas retourne into Iudaea.
- 6 Petronius Epistle to Dorcas in the behalfe of the Iewes.
- 7 Agrippas actions untill the time of his death.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

How Caius was slaine by Chereas.



Caius did not onely expresse and manifest his furie towards those Iewes that
dwelt in Ierusalem, and in other neighbouring places; but also thorow all the
countries both by land & sea, which were subiect to the Romane Empire, fil-
ling the whole world with an infinite number of mitchiefes; yea such and so
hainous, as the like heereof hetherto haue neuer been heard of. But Rome in
especiall felt the force of his furie, which partooke no leile calamitie and mi-
fery, then any other citie: but especially the Senators, Patricians, and noble
men were plagued. They also that were called Romane knights, who in wealth and dignity were
next vnto the Senators, for that out of their number such men were choien, who were to supply
the Senat, were vexed with intolerable iniuries. For with ignominies they were detracted, with
banishments and confiscations weakned, and by slaughters wholly exterminated. Hee likewise
vsurped the name of a God, commanding his subiects to dignifie him with more then humane
honours; and ascending the Capitoll, which amongst all the temples in Rome is most religiously
honoured, he was so bold as to salute *Iupiter*, and to call him brother. Many such impieties com-
mitted he, by which hee exprest that his vnbridled and boundlesse madnesse did neuer forsake
him. Amongst his other mad pranks that he plaied, this is woorthy of memorie: for on a time,
C thinking it to be too much trouble for him to crosse the sea betweene Puteola a citie in Campani-
and Misenum another towne seated by the sea shore, in a galley; & otherwise esteeming it a thing
correspondent to his greatness, who was Emperour, to exact that superiority on the sea which
was answerable to his soueraignie on the land, betwixt one cape of the sea vnto another, for the
space of thirtie furlongs or stades, betwixt which the gulfie had his courte, hee caused a bridge to
be built, on which he commanded himselfe to be drawne in a chariot, as if that way were answer-
able to the dignitie of his deitie. Hee left not one temple of Greece whatsoeuer, that hee spoiled
not of those excellent pictures or imagery that was therein: Giuing a commission that all statues
and whatsoeuer ornaments, or gifts, and presents that were dedicated in any temple, should bee
brought vnto him; saying, that such things as were admirable, should bee referred for a place of
D admiration, such as was the citie of Rome: with these spoiles of the temples decked he his palace
and gardens, and generally all his houses and pallaces, that he had in Italie. He was so impudent
also, as to giue direction, that *Iupiter Olympius* statue, which the Greekes had in great estimation,
and *Phideas* the Athenian caruer had made, should be transported to Rome. But *Nemmius Regu-
lus*, to whom he had directed this commission, executed it not, because the Macons informed
him, that without spoiling it they could not remoue it from the place. It is reported also that he
was hindered from this execution by such prodigies as are almost incredible: which hee certified
Caius of, giuing him to vnderstand, what the occasion was that had moued him to disobey him
therein: and whilst he was in danger of death for this his delay, the suddaine and succesful death
of Caius warranted him from the same. Yea so farre stretched his vnbridled furie, that hauing
E a daughter newly borne, he caused her to be caried into the Capitoll, and laid at the feete of the
Image of *Iupiter*; saying, that that child was common betwixt him and *Iupiter*, leauing the iudge-
ment to all men, which of the two parents was the greatest. And notwithstanding all these his
misdemeanours, yet did men tolerate him.

He gaue libertie to slaues also to accuse their masters, of whatsoeuer crimes they would: which
was so much the more hateful, because all things were done by *Cesars* authoritie, and to his good
liking: so that *Pollux*, who was *Claudius* bondman, durst accuse him, and Caius the Emperour
was contented among the Iudges to heare his vnle brought in question for his life, hoping (al-
though it fell out otherwise) to pick out an occasion to put him to death. For hauing filled all the
countries of his Empire with false accusations, and all sorts of mitchiefes, & giuing slaues a pro-
F rogative about their masters; their Lords deuised many conspiracies against him, some for spite,
and with an intent to reuenge them of those iniuries they had receiued: other some pretending
by his death to prevent those inconueniences that threatned them. In a word, his death concer-
ned the securitie of the lawes and the safetie of all men: and had he not bene speedily cut off, our
nation almost had bene vtterly exterminated. For which cause I thought good to make an exact
and ample declaration of euerie occurrent, namely, for that the knowledge thereof maketh very
much towards the manifestation of Gods power and vwill, which bring consolation vnto those
who

It is his & Raf-
haus, chap. 1.
Caius tyranny
towards the
Iewes.
Caius tyranny
towards the
Senators and
Patricians.Caius called
himselfe an
Iupiter's brother.Caius spoiled
all the temples
of Greece.Caius com-
manded
Nemmius Re-
gulus to trans-
ferre Iupiter
Olympius to
Rome.Caius com-
pareth himselfe
with Iupiter.Caius gaue
slaues free li-
berty to ac-
cuse their
masters, and
countenanced
Pollux to ac-
cuse his mas-
ter Claudius.Many conspi-
racies against
Caius.

The year of the world, 4004. after Christs birth.
42. Three conspiracies against Caius.
Aemilius Regulus.
Caius Chæreas.
Annius Minucianus.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

The Circensian games.
Caius causeth diuers to be murdered, who request mitigation of their exactions.

Chæreas for many causes is incited against Caius.

who are in aduersitie, & keepe them within the bounds of modestie, who suppose that their prosperitie should continue alwaies firme, and although they neglect vertue, thinke that no euill may befall them. Three plots of conspiracie were intended against him, and purposed to his vtter ruine, each of which was attempted by men of great reckoning. For *Aemilius Regulus*, vvhho was borne in Corduba in Spaine, was fully resolu'd to kill him, himselfe, or to make him away by the meanes of his confederates. *Chæreas Castus*, Colonell ouer a thousand men, was the chiefe of an other band; and *Annius Minucianus* was in no lesse readinesse to doe his vttermost herein. The cause that moued them to accord thus altogether in hatred against *Caius*, was, that in respect of *Regulus*, hee was by nature a detester of all iniquitie: for hee was a man endowed with great magnanimitie, and beautified with a liberall spirit; so as he dissembled not any of his counsailes, but communicated them with many, who either were his friends, or valiant men fit for execution. And as touching *Minucianus*, he was induc'd to seeke his reuenge thorow the desire hee had to doe iustice on him in *Lepridus* halfe, who had beene one of his especiall friends, and one of the rarest men that were euer found among the Romane citizens (whom *Caius* had put to death thorow the feare he had conceiu'd of him) knowing well that all they against whom *Caius* was incens'd, could not escape with lesser indignitie then losse of life. As for the third man *Chæreas*, he could not endure the shame and reproche of cowardie that *Caius* had obiected against him, but feared besides, that his friendship and inward familiaritie with *Caius* would draw him into manifest dangers: for which cause & his own securitie, & honors sake, he thought good to make him away. Generally, all of them were resolu'd to rid the world of *Caius*, & bring an end to his pride and tyrannicall power, for their hope was that their attempt should haue good successe: which if it happily fell out, their country & common-weale should reape the fruites thereof, for vvhose security and safetie, it became them to hazard theselues, though it were with the losse of their heads. But about all the rest, *Chæreas* was egged on with a desire hee had to grow famous, and thorow the facilitie & conuenient meanes he had to finish the same, becaule his Colonels roome gaue him most secure access vnto him. About that time the Circensian games were solemnized, which is a kind of pastime which the Romanes very willingly behold, and to this intent they resort to the place of these exercitils, and the common people is wont to demaund somewhat at their Emperors hands, which they desire to obtaine; and they after they haue examined their requests, doe neuer refuse them. Now they required with instant and importunate supplications, that *Caius* would discharge them of their taxations, and moderate the excessiue tributes which they pay'd: but he would giue no care vnto them, and caus'd those to be apprehended who call'd vpon the matter most earnestly, sending of his guard some of them one way, some of them another, to put them to the sword. After he had giuen this commaundement, and they who receiu'd the charge had fully executed it, there were a great number of men slaine. The people seeing this, ceas'd to exclaime any more, setting light by their goods; and seeing before their eyes that their refusal would be the cause of their deaths. These considerations incited *Chæreas* the more to execute his enterprise, to the end he might finish his furious and lawlesse life, whose pleasure was all mens iniurie, and preiudice. And very oftentimes was he determined to set vpon him whilst hee banquetted, yet deferred he to do the same, not for that he faile'd or fainted in his resolution, but because he expected some fit opportunity to hit him home & speed him to the death. He liued captaine of *Caius* guard a long time, yet tooke he small pleasure in conuersing with him.

But after that *Caius* had appointed him to gather in his tributes, and that money which was confiscate, hee seem'd to haue lesse occasion then before: for at that time hee had doubled their payments, in the execution whereof he followed his owne nature rather then *Cæsars* command, and spared those of whom he ought to haue compasion for their pouertie sake. *Caius* was sore displeased heerewith, and obiected against him, that the cause why he delaied the bringing in of his money, was his cowardise and negligence: And among other outrages that hee offered him, as oft as he gaue him the vvarch-word, as hee vsually vvent to fetch it once a day vpon his vvarch day, hee gaue him the names of women, and other that were full of ignominie, notwithstanding that hee himselfe was not exempt from note of no lesse dauntinesse. For in certaine ceremonies which he himselfe had established, he attired himselfe like a woman, and was disguis'd with certaine vailles, whereby hee might the better counterfait that sexe, and yet notwithstanding durst he obiect this dishonour to *Chæreas*. As oftentimes as *Chæreas* receiued the watch-word, so oftentimes grew he in choler: which was increased the more at such time, as hee deliuer'd the same to his companions, vvhoo openly mocked and iested at him. For vvhén it was his turne to receiue the word from *Cæsars* mouth, hee ordinarily fitted him with such a one as might moue laughter, which

The year of the world, 4004. after Christs birth.
42. Popedius is accused of a crime by Timidius vnto Cæsar.

A which made him the bolder to conspire with his confederates, in that hee had iust occasion to be displeased: amongst these was a Senator, and one that had past all honours and offices, otherwise an Epicure and louer of delights. Him did *Timidius* accuse (in that he was his enemy) that he had vs'd certaine iniurious speeches against *Caius*: and for prooff thereof he alleadged *Quintilia* for his witnesse, a woman amongst all stageplaiers dearly beloued by many, but in especiall by *Popedius*, by reason of her incomparable beautie: and for that she refused to beare witnesse in a matter falsely obiected against him, whom she intirely loued, *Timidius* required that he might be examined by torture. *Caius* prouoked heerewith, commaunded *Chæreas* with all expedition and diligence to see *Quintilia* tortured, and the rather gaue he *Chæreas* these commissions, to kill & torment those whom he pleased, for that he had conceiued this opinion, that he would acquit himselfe with more crueltie, to the intent he might exempt himselfe of that reproche of faint-heartednesse, vvhich was wrongfully inforced against him.

B Whilst thus *Quintilia* was led forth to be tortured, shee trod vpon the foote of one of those, who were of the confederacie, giuing him to vnderstand that he should be of good courage, for that there was no feare that she would bewray any thing in torture, but wold endure it with great constancie: notwithstanding, *Chæreas* tormented her cruelly, which he rather performed by constraint then of his own free will. And seeing he could enforce nothing out of her, hee brought her back to *Caius*, in so pitifull an estate, that all they that beheld her had compasion of her. *Caius* likewise himselfe was moued, and bethinking him of those paines which she had indured, he desisted from the enquest and accusation which was prosecuted against *Popedius* and *Quintilia*, and gaue her a certaine summe of money, to comfort her against the indisposition that might happen by reason of her torments, which she had so courageously endured.

C This displeased *Chæreas* very much, as if hee had beene the cause of all those euils that had happened to those two persons, hauing been so great, that to heale them it behoou'd *Cæsar* to minister a medicine. Hee consulted therefore with *Clement*, who was capitaine of the footmen, and *Papinius*, who had the command of the guard, and spake vnto them to this effect: We haue (said he) O *Clement*, imploied our selues to the vttermost for the Emperors safety: for by our prouidence and trauell we haue wrought so much, that of all those, who haue conspired against him, some of them haue been slaine; the rest in such sort tormented & martyred, that *Caius* himselfe had compasion on them. But what reward or honour receiue we for all these seruices? *Clement* hearing these words, held his peace, giuing manifest testimonie by his looks, and the change of his colour, that he was greatly ashamed that he had so long time obeyed the Emperours commaundements: and whilst hee thought with himselfe that it was no policie for him to open his mouth against *Caius* crueltie, *Chæreas* emboldned himselfe to discouer the calamities and dangers, wherein both the citie and the whole Empire were plunged, telling him that the common report was, that *Caius* was the cause of them: but (said hee) those that will narrowly examine the truth, vwill iudge that I and *Papinius* that standeth by mee, and you *Clement* more then we, haue caus'd the Romans torment & the worlds miserie, for that of our own will we haue been ministers of *Caius* commands; and although the means lieth in vs to make an end of those violences that are committed against the citizens, and iniuries to the whole world: yet serue wee him for his guard and hangmen, instead of men of warre. And wee beare armes not to maintaine our libertie, and the Romaine Empire, but to preferue him, who keepeth their bodies and minds in seruitude: & euery day are we soiled in their blood, who are slaine and tortured, vntill such time as some one serue vs with the same sauce, to satise *Caius* crueltie. For it is not for the good will he beareth vs, that hee maketh vse of vs: but that which is more, wee are suspected by him, and he will cause vs to be slaine, as hee hath done others. For his displeasure is not limited by iustice, but by his will: vvee also shall serue him for a mark to aime at: For vvhich cause it behooueth vs to provide for the securitie and libertie of all men, and especially to vvarrant our selues against those dangers that threaten vs.

E *Clement* declared by apparant signes that he thought wel of *Chæreas* resolution, but he counsailed him to make no vwords of it, for feare the rumour thereof should bee spreadde among the people, and the secret should be discouered before the execution: and least that *Caius* getting an inkling thereof, they should all of them be drawne into danger of death; and in the meane while, it behooued them to hope that some good fortune would fall out to their furtherance: and that for himselfe, his age had taken from him the necessarie courage that belonged to such enterprises. It may be (said he) that I may furnish you with some aduice more secure then yours is, *Chæreas*: for a more honeste then it is, who is he that can propose? This said, *Clement* returned to his house,

house, ruminating with himselfe vpon those words, which hee had both heard and spoken. But *Chareas* waxed fearefull, and conferred with the Colonell *Cornelius Sabinus*, who he knew to be a man of reputation, a louer of libertie, and greatly discontented with the estate about the miseries of the common-weale; and seeing it was necessarie to attempt that with all expedition which he had intended, he thought good to impart the matter to him, fearing least *Clement* should discover all the conspiracie, considering that delay and procrastination, would be but an occasion to hinder the action. When as therefore he perceived him to giue willing care to all that which he intended, & that already hee was confirmed with no lesse resolution, then himselfe was; but in that he knew not with whom he might familiarly communicate the same, hee said nothing: whereas otherwise he was ready, not onely to conceale that which he had heard, but also declared that which he had in his hart, he was so much the more encouraged. For which cause, without any further delay they went to *Minucianus*, who was conformable vnto them in vertue, good affection, and great courage; and who besides that, was suspected by *Caius* by reason of *Lepidus* death. For *Minucianus* and *Lepidus* were very great friends, and had been associates in the same dangers. For *Caius* was feared by all those, who had any publique office, sparing none of them in particular or in generall, but made them all grone vnder the burthen of his furie.

Now they knew well one another, that all of them were displeased to see the common-weale in that estate: but the apprehension of the danger, suffered them not to manifest the hatred that each one of them bare to *Caius*, although that their secret conceit engendred amongst them a certaine amitie. For before that time, as oftentimes as they met together, they were accustomed to esteeme *Minucianus*, for the most honourable man of the companie; as in truth among all the citizens of Rome, he was the most famous, valiant and best esteemed among them: being therefore assembled at that time, he was first of all requested to speake his opinion. For which cause hee asked *Chareas*, what the watch-word was he had receiued that day (for all the citie knew very well what mockerie *Caius* vsually vsed in giuing *Chareas* the watch-word) *Chareas* notwithstanding this disgrace, failed not to answer him, relying on the wisdom of *Minucianus*, & said vnto him.

“But giue you me for the watch-word, Libertie; meane while I giue you thanks for that you haue awakened me more speedily then of my selfe I haue accustomed to be. You neede not now any further inforce your selfe to incite me by your words, sith both you & I haue vnderaken the same resolution. Before wee were assembled in this place, our thoughts were vnitied. Behold here my sword, that is girt vnto my side; this shall suffice for vs both. And if you please, you shall be my captaine, and I will march vnder your command, & will follow you vnder assurance of your assistance, and wisdom. They, who haue valiant hearts, neuer want armes: for it is a confident courage that makes the weapon walke. That which enkindleth me thus to this action, is not the consideration of my particular interest: For I haue not the leysure to think on those dangers that threaten mee, thorow the griefe that I conceive, to see the libertie of my countrey changed into seruitude, and the force of the lawes wholly abolished, and all sorts of men assigned to death by the cruelty of *Caius*. It is I that deserue to be trusted in this execution, and I make you my iudge, sith you haue the like intention, as I haue.”

Minucianus perceiuing with what affection *Chareas* spake, embraced him with all loue, and after he had praised him, hee exhorted him to continue his constancie: then departed they the one from the other, with prayers and wishes; and at that time there hapned a prelagē that confirmed the more. For as *Chareas* entred into the Senate, some one among the people cast out a word, that redoubled his courage: Dispatch (said hee) that which thou hast to doe: for God wil assist thee. *Chareas* was somewhat affraid, least some one of his associates had betrayed him. But at last, he thought that it was some one of those, who being priuie to his resolution, gaue him a watch-word to animate him the more; or that it was God, who gouerning and obseruing humane affaires, pushed him forward. After he had imparted this his deliberation to diuers; sundry Senators, knights, & men of war, being aduertised hercof, were in arms. For there was not any one that supposed not that *Caius* death was the greatest good hap the common-weale could expect. For which cause all of them enforced themselves, as much as was to them possible, to assist that execution with courageous & vertuous resolution; & as forward were they in affection as in power; in words as in effect; desiring each of the to be partakers in the dispatch of a tyrāt. For *Calisthus* also, who was *Caius* free-man, & raised him to great authority; yea such as he almost equalled him, adioyned himselfe vnto them for the fear he apprehended of all men, & for those great riches, which he had gathered together, for that he was a man of a corupt conscience, & easily won by bribes & presents, doing wrong vnto all men, & abusing the power that he had against whosoever he pleased, contrary

Chareas with
certaine o-
thers, intend
to kill *Caius*.

Calisthus *Caius*
freeman
certifieth
Claudius that
Caius com-
manded him
to poison him.

A contrarie to all right and reason. Besides, for that he knew the vnbridled nature of *Caius*, who hauing once conceiued an ill opinion of any man, could neuer afterwards be dissuaded or reconciled. Amongst diuers other dangers that he had to apprehend, the greatnes of the danger of his riches was not the least, which was the cause that made him serue *Claudius*, and secretly to follow him vnder hope, that after *Caius* death, he should be his successor in the Empire, and that at that time he should by him be maintained in the same estate, which hee enioyed: and by this meanes thought he to obaine his amity and good liking, by giuing him to vnderstand how *Caius* had commanded him to poison him, and how hee had inuented infinite delaies to defer this execution. As for mine owne part, I thinke that *Calisthus* forged this matter. For if *Caius* had pretended to kill *Claudius*, he had not been dissuaded by *Calisthus* allegations, who had incontinently received his reward, if he had deferred to execute his Masters command, with all expedition in a matter so acceptable to him. So it is, that the prouidence of God would not permit *Caius* to execute that rage against *Claudius*, and *Calisthus* was thereby thanked for a benefite which he no waies deserued.

Those that were about *Chareas* day by day, followed the action very slowly, notwithstanding that he willingly delayed not, but thought all occasions fit to finish his purpose in, for that hee might assaile him at such time as he ascended vp into the Capitol, or euen then when he solemnized those ceremonies, which he had instituted in honour of his daughter, or at such time as he stood in the palace to scatter gold, and siluer money among the people, by casting him from the toppe of the palace into the market place, or at such time as he celebrated those mysteries, that were introduced by him. For no man suspected *Chareas*, so discreetly had he behaued himselfe in all things; and he perswaded himselfe that no man would haue thought, that he should lay violent hands on *Caius*. And although he had done nothing to any effect; yet so it is, that the power of the gods was sufficient to giue him force, and to kill him without drawing weapon. *Chareas* was sore displeased against his companions, in respect that hee feared that they would let slip their occasions; and although they perfectly knew that hee trauiled for the maintenance of the lawes, and for the good of them all: yet did they request him to delay a little, for feare least in the execution he should in some sort miscarry, and for that cause the citie might be brought in trouble, by the informations that would be made of that act; and that finally when *Caius* should bee so much the better defended against them, they should not know how to shew their vertue, when the time required that they should assault and set vpon him. They therefore thought it good that the opportunitie to set forward this busines, should bee the time in which the games of the palace were celebrated, which were solemnized in honour of *Caesar*, who first of all disannulled the peoples authority, and appropriated it to himselfe. This solemnitie is celebrated in a Tent before the palace, where the noble Citizens with their wiues and children remained to behold the sport, and *Caesar* himselfe likewise. At that time concluded they that it would bee an easie matter for them, when as so many thousands of people should be shut vp in so narrow a place; so that he, who would step foremost to giue the stroke, might very easily be succoured, for that hee could haue no force in armes, although his guard should haue the courage and desire to defend him. *Chareas* resolved vpon this, & it was concluded that the first day of those sports that were next at hand, the deed should bee done: but their aduenture was greater then their conclusion. For the delay was such, as the third day was almost past, and hardly could they be drawne to attempt the matter on the third day. At which time *Chareas* assembled all the confederates, and told them that the opportunitie of time that ouerslipped them, accused and reproached them of slacknes in that execution, which had been so vertuously resolved amongst them: and that it was to be feared, least if any should be discovered, the whole matter should waxe frustrate: by which meanes *Caius* might grow more cruell then hee was before. See we not (said he) that by how much libertie we take from our selues, by so much we augment *Caius* tyranny: whereas we ought first of all to obaine security for our selues, and afterwards purchase perpetuall felicity to others, the greatest glory whereof shall redound vnto our selues. Now they hauing nothing to reply for to honourable a resolution, and yet notwithstanding no waies enforcing themselves towards the action, but remaining altogether dismayed without one word speaking, *Chareas* spake thus:

Most noble and generous Gentlemen, what is the cause that we linger and delay in this sort? see you not that this day is the last day of the games, and that *Caius* is ready to depart to sea? For he hath determined to saile into Alexandria, and to see Egypt: verely it will be a small honour for vs, if we suffer him to escape our hands, to the end that both by land and sea, he may triumph.

Chareas ex-
pecteth the
occasion to
assaile *Caius*.

The small
conclusion of
the confeder-
ates as tou-
ching *Caius*
death.

Caius sacrificeth to Augu-
stus Caesar.
Asprenas.

The Theater.

Batibius.
Cluuitus.

ouer the Romans vaine boast and negligence. How can we chuse but condemne our selues iustly, and challenge nothing but dishonour, if some Egyptian supposing that men of free condition could not any longer endure his insolence, should put the matter in execution? For mine owne part, I will dreame no longer vpon your consultations, but this very day will I hazard my selfe, and betide me what can, I will sustaine all fortunes with pleasure and courage. For I am a man of that minde, that no danger can be so great or grievous to daunt mee, as that *Caius* should bee slaine, during my life time, and I should be deprived of so deserued an honour, which so worthy an attempt may challenge. This said, he departed with an intent to attempt and end the matter, and encouraged the rest to doe the like; so that all of them were desirous to set hand to the enterprise, without any further delay. The custome was, that the captaines of the guard entred the palace with their swords by their sides, and in such equipage they asked the Emperour the watch-word. At that time it fortuned that it was *Chaereas* turne to set the word; when as a great number of people flocked to the palace, to take vp their places to behold the games with great praise and noyse; wherein *Caius* was greatly delighted: for there was no distinction of place either for Senators or Knights, but each one sat together confusedly, men and women, slaves & free-men. *Caius*, arriuing there first, had offered sacrifice in honour of *Cesar Augustus*, in dignifying whom likewise those sports were solemnized. It came to passe that whilst those beasts were embowelled, that were appointed for sacrifice, *Asprenas* gowne, who at that time was Senator, was besprinkled with blood: wherat *Caius* began to laugh; yet notwithstanding, this was a preface for *Asprenas*. For he was slaine that very day that *Caius* was. It is reported that *Caius* at that time, contrary to his own nature, behaued himselfe most affably towards all men, so that all the assistants were astonished to behold the courtesie that he vsed. After the sacrifice was done, hee farch him down to behold the pastimes, and had about him the most noble of his friends & familiars. Now was there euery yeere a Theater builded, according to this forme and fashion that ensueh: it had two gates, the one towards the open yard; the other opening vpon the porch, by which the actors had their egress and regresse, without disturbance of those who sat to behold the pastime. There was within the same a certaine seuerall roome, separated from the rest, where the plaiers & musicians kept. When the people were seated, & *Chaereas* with the captaines were neer about *Cesar*, who sat on the right side of the Theater: *Batibius* one of the Senators, a man very expert in feats of Armes, asked *Cluuitus* priuily in his eare, who sat by him & had in like sort been Consul, whether he had heard any news? who answering him, that he had heard nothing, on this day (said *K Batibius*) shall the tragedy be plaied of a tyrants death. *Cluuitus* made him this reply in *Homers* words:

Whist, least some Greeke should listen to our talke.

Now whilst some one darted certaine apples and rare and precious birds at the people, *Caius* tooke great pleasure to behold how they stroue one with another round about him, buffeting one another to see who should get the same: but at that present there chanced two prefaces: for the sport that was represented was of a Iudge, who was apprehended and crucified, and in the daunce they represented *Cynera*, who was slaine with *Myrrha* hir daughter: and there was a great quantitie of blood gathered to counterfait both the murder of the Iudge that was crucified, as also of *Cynera*. It is affirmed likewise, that the day was the very same, whereon *Philip* the sonne of *Amyntas* king of Macedon, had bene slaine by *Pausanias* one of his familiars, at such time as he entred a Theater. Whilst *Caius* was incertaine with himselfe whether he should remaine vntill the sports were finished; for that it was the last day of them, or rather should resort to the bath; and after he had taken his refection returne back againe thither, as he had done before time; *Minucianus* sitting next vnto him, fearing least the occasion should be ouerslipped, arose for that he had seene *Chaereas* depart out of doores, with an intent to goe and encourage him. But *Caius* catcht him by the gown, saying, Whither go you my friend? At which time for the reuerence sake that he bare vnto *Cesar*, he sat him downe againe: but the feare that he had grew so forcible, that he arose againe; so that *Caius* could not detaine him, supposing that he departed thence to dispatch some important busines. At that time did *Asprenas* counsaile *Cesar* to repaire to the bath telling him that after his refection he might returne thither againe; all which hee did, being desirous that the resolution might take effect. They that were with *Chaereas* were alreadie disposed to take aduantage of the time, and were agreed each of them to stand prepared and in a readines; in a place appointed, to the intent to ast the tragedy: and the delay was very grievous vnto them, for that it was already three a clocke after noone. So that *Chaereas* seeing that *Caius* lingered so long, intended to go in vnto him and assaile him in his seat: but he conceiued that he could not bring that to passe without great losse and murder of Senators, and Knights that were there present.

Now

A Now although he had this apprehension; yet addressed he himselfe to the execution thereof, supposing that the losse that might happen by the death of some one, would bee well recompensed by the security and liberty, that would redound vnto all men. When as therefore they were in a readines to enter the Theater; newes was brought them that *Caius* was risen to come forth, by meanes whereof there arose some noyse. For which cause the confederates returned backe into the Theater, & appeased the people, telling them that they displeased & annoyed the Emperour: but the effect was, to draw him aside from all those, who might yeeld him any assistance; and so to set vpon him. Before *Caius* marched *Claudius* his vnckle, and *M. Minucianus* his sisters husband and *Valerius*, who at that time was Proconsul, who might not any waies be drawn from their place, although they had the will, by reason of the place and dignity which they held. *Caius* followed after them, accompanied with *Paulus Aruntius*. Now when he was entred into the palace, he left the ready way where his officers were, and *Claudius* with his associates held: he turned aside by an vnfrequented way to the bathes, vpon purpose to see certaine yong boies, who were come out of Asia, & were sent him out of that countrey, partly to sing in the ceremonies that were instituted by him, and partly to daunce in armes about the Theater; and in that place *Chaereas* came and encountered him, asking him the watch-word: which *Caius* gaue him verie reproachfully according to his custome. For which cause without any further delay, *Chaereas* assailing him both in word and act, drew his sword and gaue him a great wound, which notwithstanding was not mortal: some say that *Chaereas* purposely wounded him after that sort, because he would not kill him at once, but to his further torment increase the number of his wounds: but

C I cannot beleue the fime, for that in such executions a man hath no leasure to determine how to strike. And if *Chaereas* had such an intention, I account him the veriest foole that might bee, for that he rather tooke his pleasure to content his despight, then readily to deliuer both himselfe and others, who by his delay in being of his confederacie might be drawne into hazard. For if *Caius* had not beene sodainly slaine, hee could not haue wanted meanes of rescous, and it should seeme that *Chaereas* had not pretended to do so much mischief to *Caius*, as to himselfe & his fellow confederates. And being in this incertaintie, whether his enterprise should haue fallen out happily or no, he had without reason both vndone himselfe & lost the occasion: whereas hauing happily hit home, he might without a word speaking, warrantize himselfe against those, who would offend him. But let each man thinke what best pleaseth him. *Caius* feeling the griefe of the

D wound (for he was strooken betwixt the shoulder and the necke, and his sword could not pierce further, by reason that it hit vpon the first bone of the breast) he cried not in any sort, neither called for any of his friends, whether it were that he distrusted them all, or that he had some other thought, and in lamenting himselfe he past onward. But he was met by *Cornelius Sabinus*, who was already prepared to encounter him, who thrust him downe vpon his knees: whereupon all of them enuironed him round about, and with mutuall exhortations encouraged one another to doe their vttermost in murdering him. At length in all mens opinion they agreed on this, that it was *Aquila* that gaue him the deadly wound, that seuered his soule from his body. But this act ought to be attributed to *Chaereas*. For although diuers set to their hands in the action; yet was he the first, who had bethought him of the action, hauing long time before any of them premeditated the same, after what sort it should be attempted: and he also was the first that durst boldly impart it vnto others, and who after they had allowed of his resolution assembled them: and when as euery one was to speake his opinion, he concluded the same very discreetly, and had alwaies done farre more then the rest; so that by his earnest and honourable perswasions, he encouraged those that were faint-hearted, since at such time as the opportunitie presented it selfe to set hand to the execution, he was the first that attempted it, and who valiantly strooke and made an easie way to the rest, who found *Caius* calme inough, in that hee was a man almost thorowly slaine. For which cause, it is necessarie, that all that which others haue done should be ascribed to *Chaereas* aduice, vertue and diligence.

Thus died *Caius*, being slaughtered with many mortall wounds: now when *Chaereas* and his companions had dispatched him, they perceiued well that it would bee impossible for them to saue themselves, if so bee they should returne by the way that they came; so much were they ruined with that which they had done. For they drew themselves into no small danger, by murdering an Emperour, who was cherished and beloued thorow the folly of the common people, and whose death the men of warre would not leaue unpunished. Now in that the waies were narrow where the murder was done, and they themselves also were hindered by reason of the great number of people, and officers and souldiers that gaue their attendance that day in guarding

Bbb 2

Aquila gaue
Caius his
deaths wound:
but *Chaereas*
was the author
& chiefe
actor of the
tragedie.

Caius slaine.

The year of the world, 4004. after Christs Nativity, 43. Chareas with his confederates retireth into Germanicus house. The Germans Caesars guard.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Sabinus with his Germane souldiers seeketh for those that slue Caius. Asprenas cut in piece.

Norbanus.

Anteius.

What sort of people they were that lamented Caius death.

ding the Emperor, they tooke another way & retired themselves into *Germanicus* lodging, who was *Caius* father, whom they had lately slaughtered. This house adioyned vpon the palace. For although the palace was but one, yet consisted it of diuers lodgings which were builded by seuerall Emperours; whose names, whether they had begunne or finished the workes, were imposed on the same buildings. When as therefore they were elcaped from the preale, they were in safetie as long as the inconuenient that had befallen the Emperor was as yet hidden. The first report of his death came to the Germans who were of his guard, being a company chosen out of that nation named the Celtique band, for the preservation of the Emperours person. These men are very prone vnto wrath, and amongst all other Barbarians, it is a rare thing in them to examine the causes of their execution: otherwise they are men strong in body, and who in the warres alwaies giue the first onser, yielding great aduantage to those on whose side they fight. H They hauing notice of *Caius* murder, were vehemently aggrieved therat, for that it is their manner to censure all things, not according to right, but as they are answerable to their own profits: *Caius* in especiall was deerey beloued by them, in that he had obtained their fauour by bestowing much money vpon them. Their captaine was one called *Sabinus*, who was not aduanced to that estate, either for his vertue or the nobilitie of his ancestors (for he was but a fencer) but for his mightie strength and huge body. They therefore ran about with their naked swords, searching for *Casars* murderers from house to house, and meeting with *Asprenas* at first, whose gowne (as we haue said) was beblouded with the blood of the slaughtered sacrifice, which was a preface that boaded him but little good fortune, they heawed him in pieces. The second was *Norbanus* (who for his nobility and auncestors might deriue his titles from the noblest Citizens, I amongst whom were diuers generals of armies) who seeing they made no reckoning of his dignity, and being of himselfe endowed with great force and strength, he tooke a sword from one of them which first assailed him; with whom he graped, and made them know that he intended that they should buy his blood very deerey: and in deed so had he done, but that beeing inuironed by diuers, who assailed him at once, he was beaten downe. & slaughtered with many deadly wounds. The third was *Anteius*, one of the number of the Senators, who with some others met not with these men by chance, as the two other had done; but to shew the hatred that hee bare vnto *Caius*, and the pleasure that hee tooke to see him lie dead, was come out of his house, being egged on with enuy to feed his eyes with that spectacle. For *Caius* had banished *Anteius* father, whose name likewise was *Anteius*, and not content therewith hee had sent his soldiers to kill him. He therefore with great pleasure beheld the slaughtered carcase of this tyrant: but hearing the vprore that was raised in euery part of the house, he thought good to hide himselfe; yet might he not auoid the narrow search of the Germans, who were so displeased, that they slew all those whom they met with, whether they were guilty or guiltlesse of the fact. Thus were these three made away.

But after the rumour of *Caius* death was heard in the Theater, euery one was amazed, and could scarcely beleue it. For although diuers of them were very glad, that he was taken out of the world, perswading themselves that it would highly profit them; yet did their feare hinder their beliefe. On the other side, there were some, who desiring not that any such mishap should befall *Casars*, and conceiuing in their thoughts, that it was impossible to be done, for that there was no man so hardy, as to enterprise the same; they supposed the report to be vnterue. Of this minde were certaine women and children, slaues and souldiers. These, by reason they receiued vvasages at his hand, and tyrannized vwith him beeing his ministers in all those outrages that he offered to many good Citizens, in partaking the boocie and other aduantages that *Caius* drew vnto him. As for the women and children, they were of that opinion, by reason that such kinde of people take delight in plaies, iests, donations of flesh, and other such pastimes, which *Caius* in word pretended to do to gratifie the common people, but in effect it was to haue means to satisfie his rage and cruelty. He was also gracious among the seruants & slaues, for that by him they had the liberty to accuse and contemne their Masters, and were therein countenanced by *Caius*. For vwhen they falsely accused their Masters, they were easily beleued: and vwhen they M discovered their Masters treasures, in recompence of their discouerie they were not onely made free by him, but also sent home with rich and ample rewards. For the reuward that was assigned them, was the eighth part of those goods that were confiscated. As for certain of the nobilitie, although the matter seemed true to some of them, for that before time they were priue to that which the rest intended, and notwithstanding, they desired that the enterprise should be effected: yet kept they all things close, and gaue no signe of ioy, nor made any shew that they heard that

OF THE IEWES. THE XIX. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4004. after Christs Nativity, 47. Diuers rumors of Caesars death.

A that which was reported. For some of them feared least if they should be frustrated of their hope, they should bring themselves in danger of punishment, for that they had discovered their intent sooner then they should haue done. They likewise, who knew the enterprise and were confederates with the actors; yet did they more closely conceale it the one from the other, fearing least if they should discover the matter to any one of those, who drew any commoditie from *Caius* tyranny, they might bewray them: whereby if *Caius* should bee yet aliue, they might incur the danger of punishment. For the voice was, that he had been wounded in certaine places; yet that he was not slaine; but as yet aliue, and among his Physicians hands, who dressed his vounds. No man therefore durst liberally discover the secrets of his heart to his neighbour: for they that spread those reports were either friends (and for that cause were suspected as fauourers of his tyranny) or enemies, and by that meanes in that they were but sinisterly affected towards *Caius*, there was no certaintie to be gathered of that which they said. There arose also another report, which abashed and beat downe the hearts and hopes of the nobilitie, namely that *Caius* setting light by the danger wherein he was, and as little also by the wounds hee had receiued, was come into the market place all bloody as hee vvas, and after that manner declaimed before the people. See here how they that spread these rumors, preferred their coñectures, which were void of all reason, which distracted those vnertainly that heard the same, according as they were affected. This notwithstanding no man remooued from his place, for feare least they should be sodainly accused, knowing well that they should be censured, not according to their thoughts and affections, but according to the disposition of their iudges and accusers.

C But after that the troupe of Germans had inuironed the Theater with their naked swords, all the assistants expected nothing but death; and as soone as any man entred, they were seized with such an amazement, as if they had already felt the strokes; so that they knew not what to doe, hauing no heart to depart from thence: and otherwise perswading themselves, that if they staid there any longer, it would breed them further danger. Finally, when the souldiers were entred into the Theater by force, the whole assembly cried out, and besought them, protesting that whatsoeuer was done it was beside their knowledge, whether it were either attempted by conspiracie, or any other meanes. They therefore most humbly intreated them, that they would spare them, and not insist the penalty of the guiltie on those that were innocent: for their own parts, they besought them to search out those, who had committed the act, if any such thing were committed. And thus spake they with teares, beating their breasts, and calling the gods to witnesse, alleading all that which the present danger suggested them with, and as much as such as pleaded for their liues could profer. By these perswasions of theirs the souldiers furie was abated; so that they began to repent themselves of that which they had executed in the Theater: for this also was a cruelty, as they themselves, notwithstanding their barbarous inciuilitie, supposed it to be; which was, that the heads of *Asprenas* and other that were slaine, were carried and set vpon an Altar. Vwhereat all the assistants were most grievously discontented, remembring themselves of the dignity of the men, and hauing compasion of that which had befallen them; considering also that they themselves were not farre off from dangers, being vnertaine whether they should saue themselves: whereby it came to passe, that some of those, who had for good cause hated *Caius*, durst not freely reioice at his death, because they were vpon the point to lose their owne liues, hauing as yet no appearance of any safety.

At length *Aruntius*, a man who was gracious among the people, and was one of the common criers, who had a strong voice, and by crying such goods as were to be solde, had gathered to great substance, as that he was accounted one of the richest men in Rome, and in great estimation amongst all men in that behalfe, entred the Theater in a mourning habit, and after a lamentable manner: and although hee inwardly hated *Caius*; yet for the feare hee conceiued least hee should lose his goods, and in consideration of the present danger, hee dissembled his ioy, wearing all those garments of mourning, and vsing no lesse lamentation then if hee had beemoaned the death of his deere friend. After this manner came he into the Theater, publishing *Caius* death, to the intent that the people might not be ignorant of that which had hapned: after this, he began to repress the rage of the Germans, and commanded their captaines and cribunes to put vp their swords, certifying them of the Emperours death, which act of his did manifestly saue the liues of all those, who were assembled in the Theater; and all them likewise, whom they could haue met with. For if they had had but the least surmise, that *Caius* had as yet been aliue, there was not any sort of cruelty which they had not committed. For they bare him so great loue and affection, that to warrantize him from that mishap, they would haue redeemed him with the losse

The Germane souldiers resort to the Theater.

Aruntius entred the Theater, and signifies the Emperours death.

The Germanes fury awakened, by the death of *Caius* is pacified.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Chareas, Minucianus, and Clement consult about Cæsar's death.

of their own liues. But as soone as they vnderstood that he was dead, they repressed their furious rage, which egged them forward to reuenge: knowing that it auailed them nothing to discover their affections towards him, in that he could yeeld them no requital. Besides, the feare they had least that in pursuit of their tyrannous murders, the Senate should bee incensed against them, if so be the gouernment of the estate should bee returned into their hands, made them containe themselves. Thus was the fury of these Germans appeased for the death of *Caius*.

Meane while *Chareas* (who feared very much lest *Minucianus* should fall into the Germans hands, and in their fury be slaughtered by them) fought for him among the souldiers, enquiring of euery one whether they knew if hee were slaine or no. Whereupon *Minucianus* and *Clement* were brought vnto him, who in his presence commended *Chareas* exploit, and gaue him thanks in the name of the whole Senate, who witnessed that it was to the generall benefit and good of the common weale, and that the greatest persons were beholding to him, for that hee had neither wanted good aduice in his deliberation, nor courage to execute his resolution; alledging that the nature of tyranny was such, that being puffed vp with a short pleasure of vniust and intolerable rule, it finally (as being hated by all good men) determined and ended in miserie, as it manifestly appeared in that which had befallen *Caius*; who before any thing was either deuised, practiced or executed against him, was already hateful to all men, and had in such a sort violated all lawes, that his greatest friends were resolved to take armes against him, who in appearance had deprived him of life, when both in truth and in effect it was he himselfe, who was the author of his owne ruine.

Arcion a certaine Physician distressed some.

Hereupon all they arose who were in the Theater, and raised great noise and trouble in seeking to saue themselves. The occasion was, that a certaine Physician called *Arcion*, being called out to goe and dresse certaine men that were wounded, making a shew as if hee went to goe and prepare such things, as were necessarie for those that were wounded, made those issue out with him who sate nearest vnto him: but the truth was, that he did it to the end to draw them out of the present danger. Meane while the Senate assembled themselves in the palace, and the people flocked together to make enquiry after those, who had murdered *Caius*: the people with an intire and simple intent, the Senat onely to vse some forward proceeding. For *Valerius Asiaticus*, who had otherwhiles been Consul, came forth among the people, who were in an vprore; and supposing it a strange matter that no man knew who had slaine the Emperour, whilest euery one enquired who it was that had done the deed: O said he, would it had been I that had done it. But the Consuls published an edict, containing the accusations that were presented against *Caius*, commanding the people and souldiers, who were as yet in the Theater, to retire themselves to their lodgings. And the people were put in great hope, that they should be eased of those taxations, wherewith before time they had been burthened: and the men of war were promised honours and dignities, if they would containe themselves in their accustomed order, and stirre vp no further trouble. For it was to be feared, least if they had been further fleshed in slaughters, the Citie should haue fallen into some great danger thorow rapines and the spoiles both of houses and temples. But by this time all the whole order of the Senate was assembled, especially those who were confederates in *Caius* murder; who seemed to gather courage, and to speake boldly as if the gouernment of the estate had been fallen into their hands.

CHAP. II.

Claudius tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Empire.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 1. The souldiers elect *Claudius* Emperour.

Whilest the estate of the Empire was thus distracted, *Claudius* was sodainly fetcht out of his house: For the souldiers assembling themselves together, and conferring among themselves what was requisite to be done, perceived that it was impossible, that so many and so waighie affaires of the common weale should be wel disposed by a popular gouernment; and that this change also would yeeld them little profit, if some of those who were in authoritie should happen to obtaine the soueraigne gouernment. Furthermore, that it would be euery way preiudiciall vnto them, if they had not a part of the gouernance, & a hand in the administration of the common weale. Whilest therefore the soueraigne authoritie remained as yet vndisposed, they thought meete to elect *Claudius*, who was *Caius* vncke, for their Emperour; who was a man of that reputation, that none of those, who had bene assembled in the Senate, was more capable then he was, both in regard of the vertue of his ancestors, as also in respect of the doctrine wher-

OF THE IEWES. THE XIX. BOOKE.

with he was endowed. Who likewise being by them exalted to the dignity of the Empire, would honour them, and with all answerable bountie acknowledge their good deserts. This conclusion of theirs was both admitted, and presently executed: so that *Claudius* was receiued and elected Emperour by the men of warre. But *Cnæus Sentius Saturninus* hauing intelligence that *Claudius* was in this sort elected (who in appearance seemed veruiously to contradict, but in effect desired nothing more) presented himselfe before the Senate: and being neither amazed nor amazed in any sort, he freely spake his mind; and as it became his birth & nobilitie, he spake vnto the assembly after the manner that ensueth.

You Lords of Rome, although it be an incredible matter, that the liberty which hath so long time been vnexpected, should returne and visit vs; yet so it is, that wee see the excellencie thereof; although it be vncertaine how long time the Gods will bestow it on vs: which is such, that it may reioyce vs for the present; what issue soeuer it may haue hereafter. For to them that knowe what vertue is, it is no small felicitie to liue one houre in freedom of mind, and in a free countrey gouerned by such lawes, which in times past haue made our comon-weale to flourish. For mine owne part, I cannot remember our ancient libertie, for that I was borne after the subuersion thereof: But I infinitely desire to haue the happy fruition of that which wee enioy at this present. And I thinke them also very happy, who are borne and brought vp in vertuous studies. I likewise suppose that a second honor next to the immortall Gods is to be ascribed to them, by whole vertue at last though very late euen in this our age, we haue obtained the felicity to enioy the same: which happines would God with our inheritances we might bequeath to our posteritie. For in regard of our selues, this day sufficeth vs both, as well all those that are young as they also who are old. For the aged shal forsake this life with more pleasure, in that they haue had the knowledge of that blessing which is annexed to their libertie: and the younger shal bee furnished with a royall example in admiring & knowing their vertues, by whom we enioy this benefit of freedom. For in regard of the present time, there is not any thing that wee ought more earnestly to affect, then to liue veruiously. For onely vertue is the thing that confirmeth men in their libertie. I cannot speake of the time past, but onely by hearefay: but for that I haue sene with mine eyes, and perceived by my obseruation, I know how great mischiefes tyrannies doe ordinarily breed in a politike estate: for they vtterly extinguisht all vertue, and depriue freemen of all that perfect magnanimitie that may be in them; and teach both to flatter and to feare, for that the common-weale is abandoned not to the wisdom of the lawes, but to the furie of intemperate gouernors. For since *Julius Cæsar* bent his thoughts to ouerthrow the popular gouernment in Rome, & violated that happy course of law, whereby our state was policied; the comon-weale hath been ouerthrowne. For in subiecting the law to his good liking, and himselfe to his particular desires, there is not any kind of misery and mischiefe, that hath not ouerthrowne our citie; so that his successours haue imploied themselves to their vttermost, & with a certaine emulation, to abolish the lawes of our countrey, struing which of them might depouile our common-weale of her noblest citizens: for that they haue made their account, that their securitie consisted in communicating their secrets with such as were base and abiect; abasing not onely the haucie courages of those men, who were famous for their nobilitie and vertue, but also by slaughtering a great number of them by all sorts of punishment: and whilst each of them laboured to be absolute in their commaund, they informed themselves to oppresse the common-weale.

But amongst all the rest, *Caius*, who this day hath lost the benefit of life, hath wrought greater mischiefes himselfe alone, then any other, by enforcing his brutish and beastly wrath not onely against the common citizens, but also against his owne parents and friends; demeaning himselfe alike towards all men, and manifesting his vniustice in that hee pursued them with most iniurie, vwho were most innocent: and by this means grew hatefull not onely to men, but also to the immortall Gods. For it is not enough for tyrants to satisfie their concupiscence, to vse all sorts of outrages, to raiue both mens vvealth and their vviues; but also their guine and glory is, vwhen they may vtterly ruinate both their fortunes and families; who are their enemies. For all libertie is opposed against tyrannie, & it is impossible (notwithstanding all the miseries that may be imagined or offered) that free men should accord with tyrants, how little time soeuer it bee that they haue exercised their tyrannie. They also know too well with how many mischiefes they haue entangled their subiects (although they haue not the spirits to reuenge themselves of those wrongs that are done vnto them) and being well assured into what incombrances they haue drawne them, perswade themselves, that they haue but one onely means left them to warrantize themselves from suspensions; and to procure their owne securitie, which is, to put them to death;

if

The year of the
world, 4005. af-
ter Christs birth.
43.
An exhortati-
on to main-
taine liberty.

Chæreas to
be honoured
for his noble
attempt.

Chæreas re-
quieeth a
watch word at
the Consuls
hands.

Chæreas sen-
deth Iulius
Lupus to kill
Caius wife
& daughter.

if they may possibly doe it. Sith therefore at this present you are deliuered from so many mis-
chiefes, and are no more subiect, except to one another (which is a pledge of concord for the pre-
sent, and of securitie in time to come, and glory vnto him that hath redressed the estate) you shall
deale very well and wisely in my opinion to provide for the common-weale, foreseeing very dili-
gently all that which concerneth the good and profit thereof. It is free for any man to speake his
opinion of that which displeaseth him, for that there is no superiour to countermaund their say-
ings, or that is exempt from reproofe if he offend against the common-weale, or that may threaten
with the authoritie of an Emperour for that shall be said. For what else in these later times hath
increased and furthered our ouer-topping tyranny, then their fleshfull feare, who durst in no sort
oppose themselves against his lust? For being entangled by a certaine kind of pleasure of a quiet
life, and accustomed to liue after the manner of slaues, and being afraid also to die virtuously, &
desirous to liue with shame, we are fallen into these scarce sufferable calamities, and into such mis-
chiefes as haue concerned vs too neerly. First of all therefore, you ought to honor those, who haue
slaine the tyrant, by dignifying them with as great honours as may be imagined, and especiallie
Chæreas. For he onely hath been the man, who by the power of the gods, and thorowe his great
wisdom & valour, hath giuen you your liberty. Neither ought you to forget him, but to heape
honours on his head, yea especiall fauours, as to the man who first of all consulted, and first of all
hazarded himselfe against a tyrant for your libertie. It is an honest and well-beseeming action in
men of free hearts, to restore and repay condigne kindnesse for the benefits that they haue recei-
ued: such is this man in your behalfe, not like to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who murdered *Cæsar*; for
they were the originals of seditions and ciuill warres in this Cittie: and this man by the death of
a tyrant, hath not onely at once deliuered you of him, but also hath cutte off all those mischiefs
that arose by him.

Thus spake *Sentius*, and his aduice was entertained with great applause, not onely by the Se-
nators, but the knights also that were there present. Whereupon a certaine Senator called *Tre-
bellius Maximus* arose, and stepping to him, pulled off the ring which *Sentius* had on his finger,
wherein was inclosed a stone with *Caius* picture in it, which *Sentius* had forgot to pull off: so in-
tend was he about that which he both said and did: and by this meanes the engraueed Image was
broken. Now for that it was late, *Chæreas* demanded the watch-word at the Consuls hands, who
gaue him the word *Libertie*. Thus all of them were astonished at this change, and could scarcely
believe that which had hapned. For since that time that the popular gouernment had bene abo-
lished, the Consuls had neuer giuen the watch-word vntill that present time. For before the citie
was oppressed by tyrannie, the Consuls commaunded the men of warre. After that *Chæreas* had
received the word, he gaue it to his souldiers, who subscribed to the Senates authoritie: of these
there were about foure companies, which preferred the lawfull gouernment before a tyrannie,
who also retired themselves to their chieftaines. As for their parts, the people returned to their
seuerall houses, full of ioy, hope and courage, for that they had regained the gouernment of the
state, which belonged vnto them, and not to any particular gouernour. In a word, *Chæreas* was
their onely hope: He foreseeing that there would some mischiefe follow, if *Caius* wife & daugh-
ter should remaine aliue; and that if all his friends and family should not be vtterly extinguished,
all those who should be spared, would serue to no other end, but to the ruine of the common-weale
and the lawes: and on the other side, desiring to see a finall end of that which he had begunne, &
to satisfie that hatred he had conceiued against *Caius*, he sent *Iulius Lupus* one of the captaines
of the guard, to kill both his wife & daughter, which he did. And the cause why he gaue this charge
chiefely to *Lupus*, was, for that *Lupus* was *Clements* kinsman, who was a confederate in the exe-
cution of *Caius*; to the end that partaking after this manner the death of the tyrant, hee might be
knowne to haue dealt as forwardly for the common-weale, as if from the beginning he had been
a counsellor and agent in the conspiracie. Notwithstanding, there were some of his companions
of that opinion, that it should be but cruelty to deale with a woman in that sort, for that *Caius* had
offended thorow the corruption of his owne nature, and not by the counsaile of his wife; & that
all those euils which he committed in the common-weale, by desolating the flower thereof, was
his owne offence, not hers.

There were others that accused her to bee the cause of all that which *Caius* had committed, al-
leading that she had giuen him an amorous drink, by which he was tied & entangled in such sort
vnto her, & so led and transported by her loue, that shee gouerned all that which concerned the
estate of Rome, and the world subiect to Rome; but her defenders preuailed nothing. For finally
it was resolved, that she should lose her life.

To

They were the
world, 4005. af-
ter Christs birth.
43.
Cæsonia ac-
cused the cause
for that hee
would not giue
credit to her
counsailes.

A To finish this tragedy, *Lupus* was dispatcht, who lost no time in the accomplishment of their
intent who had sent him, for feare he had to be blamed, and accounted but coldly affectionate to-
wards the good of the common-weale. As soone as therefore he came into the palace, he found
Cæsonia, *Caius* widow, lying fast by the body of her slaughtered husband, destitute of all that
which the law gratifieth those that are dead with, altogether bloody and greatly afflicted, hauing
her daughter fast couched by her. Being in this estate, she was heard to utter no other words, but
that she blamed *Caius*, for that he had not giuen credit to that counsell which shee had giuen him
so often: which words of hers, were by certaine of them interpreted two waies: For some of the
thought that she meant, that she had counsailed her husband to giue ouer his crueltie, & murders
which he exercised against his Citizens; & that in his gouernment he should vse a tempered mea-
B sure with vertue, for feare least his subjects misliking of his manners, should seeke his destructi-
on. Others tooke it as if she had encouraged *Caius* to set vpon the conspirators & kill the, without
any delay; yea, before they had committed any offence, and by that meanes provide for his secu-
ritie. They therefore said, that *Cæsonia* blamed *Caius* for that hee had behaued himselfe too care-
lessly, in that wherein she had counsailed him. Such were the words *Cæsonia* spake, and such was
the exposition, as diuers men interpreted the same.

Shee seeing *Lupus* comming, shewed him *Caius* body, and besought him with teares & com-
plaints to come no neerer. But perceiuing that he continued in his resolution, & made no account
of her words, but did that for which he came, after that she knew the cause of his arriual, shee of-
fered her naked throat vnto him, with a great courage, vsing such supplications as they ordinarily
C do when they despair of their liues. For she willed him to defer no longer, to finish that tragedy which
his companions had begun, & died in this sort courageously by the hand of *Lupus*; and after her
was her daughter slaine, which was very young. This did *Lupus* certifie *Chæreas* of with all expe-
dition. This was *Caius* end, after hee had liued foure yeeres, wanting foure months. Before such
time as he obtained the Empire, he was an intemperate & wicked man, and addicted to his plea-
sure, a fauourer of tale-bearers, exceedingly fearefull, and for that cause, when he gotte the vpper
hand of any man, he was ready to kill him. He esteemed this the onely fruite of his power, when
he abused the same against innocents; and gathered or heaped vp great spoiles and booties by
wicked and vniust murders, rapines and oppressions; lifting himselfe above all humane autho-
ritie, and affecting to be esteemed as a G O D, suffering himselfe to be transported by the peoples
D praies. Furthermore, all that which the law condemned and punished, as a thing most detestable,
that made he vse of to punish vertue with. He neuer remembered any friendship that had bene
done him, how great soeuer it either was or had bene, at such time as hee was in his choler, and
was apt to inflict punishments in his rage on iust and vpright men. All that which was answerable
to vertue, was odious in his eyes: In all things that him lifted hee had so violent appetites, that it
was impossible to contradict him; so that hee was not ashamed to vse the unlawfull companie of
his owne sister: vtherby it came to passe, that the Cittizens of Rome beganne to hate him ex-
treamly; for that the like matter had not bene seene nor heard of: of a long time men could not
believe the same, yet notwithstanding they sufficiently expressed the hatred they bare against the
fact he had committed. It cannot be said of him, that he builded any worke becoming his royall
E magnificence worthy the mentioning, or profitable either to the present or future world, except
some ports that he made neerer to Rhegium and Sicilia, for harbour of such ships as came and went
into Egypt for corne, which doubtles is a goodly and mightie work, & very profitable for such
as traueiled by sea. True it is that it was not brought to perfection, but onely halfe finished, because
the workmen trauailed leysurely. But the chiefe cause thereof was, that hee spent his studie in vn-
profitable matters, and loued rather to consume his substance to feede his owne priuate lustes
wherin he tooke great delight, then to erect and build any goodly or famous work, which might
haue redounded to the profit of the common-weale. Otherwise hee was a man well spoken, and
very expert in the Greek and vulgar Roman tongues, apprehending presently that which others
said: and although they had spent long time in discouering their mindes; yet answered hee them
F vpon the instant, and in affaires of consequence he had such a moouing perswasion and power, as
no man could exceed him both in regard of his quick spirit and easie apprehension, as of the ex-
ercise and paine he had taken. For being *Tiberius* brothers sonne, whose successe also hee was,
hee was enforced to bee studious, seeing that *Tiberius*, who was of the same yeeres, was in like
manner excellently learned. *Caius* therefore enforced himselfe to imitate the Emperour *Tiberius*,
whose neere kinsman he was, & surpassed all those that were in Rome at that time; yet notwith-
standing all these great aduantages, which his good instruction had bred in him, could not hinder
the

Caius a wicked
man.

Caius giuen
ouer to lust.

Caius builded
a haue.

Caius an ex-
cellent Orator

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the misfortune that befell him, by the abuse of his authoritie. So rare a thing it is to see them, who have libertie to do what they list without punishment, to gouerne themselves with modestie. In the beginning hee tooke delight in the friendship of very honest men, to get credit and reputation, thinking to outstrip the most excellent: but after he was giuen ouer to licentiousness, the affection that he bare them was changed; and in steed thereof he grew in hatred of them from day to day: whereby they were enforced to conspire against him, and seeke his ruine.

Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 3.

Now, as I haue heeretofore declared, *Claudius* vnderstanding of that which had befallen *Caius* his Nephew, and seeing all his house wholly troubled, for this occasion was in such distrust, that he knew not what to doe to saue himselfe: but went and hid himselfe in a certaine corner, where he was surpris'd, hauing no other cause to apprehend his danger, except his nobilitie. For during the time that he liued a priuate man, he behaued himselfe modestly, kindly, and fauourably vnto all men, being well seene in the Sciences, and principally in the Greeke tongue, shunning as much as in him lay all tumult and traine that might breed trouble. When as therefore the people at that time were wholly amazed at the trouble, and the palace was replenished with souldier-like furie and feare, and nothing raigned more in generall then confusion and disorder; the souldiers of the guard, who were the most experienced and hardy amongst the men of warre, consulted amongst themselves what course they were to take. Neither were they much discontented with *Caius* death, in that they supposed that vpon iust occasion, he was done to death: for which cause they rather berthought themselves on that which concerned their estates, and how they might assure themselves in those dangers, seeing the Germans were wholly bent against those, who had slaughtered *Caius*; rather incited thereunto of their owne cruell natures, then of any good affection they had towards the welfare of the common-weale. All which things troubled *Claudius*, and put him in feare of his life, the rather for that hee saw *Asprenas* head, and the rest of the nobilitie that were massacred, carried about to be seene: for this cause he kept himselfe in a certaine place, which was onely accessible by certaine steps or staires, and hid himselfe therein, because it was obscure. In that place one of the souldiers of the palace, called *Gratus*, being vnable to discern who hee was in regard of the obscuritie of the place, and supposing him to be some one that desired to be concealed, he drew neere vnto him, to the intent he might the better know him: And when as *Claudius* besought him that he would depart and leave him, he passed the more onwards, and laying hold of him and drawing him into the light, knew him; crying out to those that followed him: "This is *Germanicus*, let vs take hold of him, and create him Emperour. *Claudius* perceiuing that he was ready to be attached, and fearing least they should put him to death in the like manner as they had done *Caius*, besought them that they would pardon him, protesting vnto them his innocence, and how he had in no sort been either accessarie or agent in that which had been done. Whereupon *Gratus* beginning to smile, tooke him by the hand, saying, that hee had no cause in that sort to suspect his life: For (said he) it behoueth thee to pull vp thy spirits, & to berinke thee how to gouerne an Empire, of which the gods (who haue the care of the whole world) haue deposed *Caius*, to reward thy vertue with. Arise therefore and take possession of the throne of thine auncestors. This said, hee lifted him on his shoulders, for that *Claudius* could not walke on foote thorow the fence and ioy that he had conceived of that which had been told him.

Clausius a-
gainst his will
drawen vnto
the Empire.The cause that
induced the
army to make
C. Claudius Em-
perour.

Vpon these speeches diuers of the souldiers of the guard assembled about *Gratus*: and perceiuing that it was *Claudius*, whom they supposed to be dragged to his death, they had compassion of him as on an innocent, for that they knew him to be a man of a milde nature, who all the time of his life intermeddled with nothing, and who in like sort had been often in great danger during *Caius* life. There were others of them that said, that the iudgement of his matter pertained to the Consuls: whereupon, although a great number of souldiers flocked about him, and the simple people that were vnarmed, fled from them; yet could not *Claudius* goe onward in his way; so weak and feeble felt he himselfe in his whole body. It fortuned likewise, that they who carried his litter, perceiuing this flight, fled away for feare, and left him; so little hope had they that their Master should escape with his life, whom they saw thus to be drawn by the souldiers. Now when *Gratus* & his associates were arrived in the court of the palace, which (as it is reported) is the place which was first of all inhabited in Rome, they began to thinke vpon that which was to be done: this hee also there flocked a great number of other souldiers vnto them, who tooke pleasure to behold *Claudius*, enforcing themselves to place him in the imperiall dignitie, in regard of that good affection which they bare to *Germanicus* his brother, whose memory was much honored among all those, who had at any time conuersed with him. Moreover, they ripped vp how many auaritious acts the Senat had committed, & how great errors the chiefeest Senators had defaulted in be-

fore

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A fore the publique gouernment was changed. Moreover, they considered vpon the danger and difficultie of their actions then in hand, for that the gouernment being admitted by one onely man, would be dangerous for them if he should obaine the same by any other means; whereas if *Claudius* should enioy the same by their permission and good will, hee would haue them in remembrance who had fauoured him, and would recompence the according to their merits. This was the effect of their discourse, which they held among themselves, or when they met with one another. Finally, all of them at length concluded vpon this aduice, and enuironed *Claudius*, and lifting him vp vpon their shoulders, they caried him into the army, to the intent that no man might hinder them to finish that which they intended. There fell a debate also betwixt the Senators and Citizens: For the Senat desirous to recouer their former dignitie, & enforcing themselves to auoid the seruitude that had befallen the by the out-rage of tyrants, intended the maintenance of their offered good fortune. Contrariwise, the people enuied them that dignitie: And knowing that their Emperors should be as it were certaine bridles, to restrain the auarice of the Senat, and the refuge of the people, they were very glad to see that *Claudius* was aduanced: making their account that if hee were created Emperour, they should auoid a ciuill warre, like vnto that which hapned in *Pompeius* time.

Clausius es-
tablished on mens
shoulders into
the army.
Difference
betwixt the
citizens and
Senators.

The Senat knowing that *Claudius* was caried into the army by the souldiers, chose out some of their order, and now sent them as messengers in their behalfe, to signifie vnto him that he ought to vse no violence in obtaining the Empire, but rather to remit the charge of the common-weale to the Senat. That he both was and should be one of the Senatours, and haue the conduct of the common-weale, and dispose it according to law, persuading him to call vnto his remembrance those grieuous mischiefs, which the former tyrants had wrought in the common-weale, and what dangers hee himselfe also had suffered with them, during the raigne of *Caius* their late Emperour. That it should ill become him, who had detested the furie of others tyrannicall at such time as they vied outrages, now willingly to be drawne to oppose himselfe against his country. That if hee would obey them, and continue to expresse the vertue and constancie of his life, which in times past he led with commendation, he should obtaine those honors which free Citizens could afford him; and in suffering himselfe to be gouerned by lawes, to the end he might haue part in the commaundment, and to be commaunded in his turne, hee should obtaine the praise of vertue. That if hee would not be dissuaded by the slaughter of *Caius*, which was fresh in memorie, for their owne parts they would hinder his proceedings as much as in them lay. They also alledged, that they were furnished with men of war, with store of armour, and a great number of domesticall seruants, all which they would employ against him: But ouer and aboue these things, they had farre greater helps, namely their hope, good fortune, and the gods, who are vnto fight for those who maintaine vertue and goodnesse. They solemnly protested also for their own parts, that they were of that mind, that there was nothing more honest and iust, then to fight for their libertie and country. The Embassadors that brought this message, were *Veranius* & *Broccus*, who both of them were Tribunes of the people. They prostrating themselves on their knees before him, humbly besought him that hee would not draw the common-weale into ciuill vvar. And seeing that *Claudius* was inclosed with a great company of men of war, in respect of whom the Consuls were of no force, they besought him that it would please him to demand the gouernment at the Senats hands, and receiue it from them if he were resolved to be Emperour; for that it would be an act more holy, and coupled with iustice & good hap, if hee should obtaine the same with their good wil, and not in despight of those, who would vouchsafe it him willingly.

CHAP. III.

The Sedition that arose betwixt the Senate and the people.

Although *Claudius* knew with what presumption the Senat had sent this Embassage, yet did hee modestly entertaine the same for the present. But supposing that it stood very little with his securitie to commit himselfe to their trust, & being encouraged by the exhortation of the souldiers, who promised him their utmost endeavour, & by the incitation of king *Agrippa*, he determined in no sort to let the souerainty escape out of his hands, in that it was so willingly and freely bestowed on him when hee thought least on it. After that *Agrippa* had performed all those duties vnto *Caius* which were requisite for such a one as had bin by him aduanced to honour, & hauing taken his body & laid it in a litter, he brought him out before the souldiers of his guard, and certified them that *Caius* was yet aliue; and for that he found him-

Clausius do-
neth to giue
ouer the dig-
nities that was
offered him.
Hedio & Ruf-
sinus, chap. 4.
al. 3.

selfe

The year of the world, 4005. after Christs birth.

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43. Claudius confirmed in his resolutions by Agrippa.

selfe sick of those wounds which he had received, he sent to seeke for Physicians. But afterwards, G vnderstanding that *Claudius* was taken by the men of war, he thrust so much that he got himselfe passage, and came vnto him, whom he found altogether dismaide, & ready to surrender all things into the Senats hands, and encouraged him and incited him to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire which the men of war had offered him. Which done, he departed, and was suddenly sent for by the Senat, whither hee resorted altogether perfumed with odors, as if at that time hee were returned from some banquet, and had known nothing of that which had hapned. He there fore asked the Senators what was become of *Claudius*, who certified him of the truth; & besides that, required him to giue them his opinion and counsaile as touching the present affaires: his answer was, that hee was ready to aduenture his life in the behalfe of the Senat; yet by the way hee told them that they ought to haue an especiall regard of the common-weale, rather then all the pleasure they could pretend; and that they who would be Lords of an Empire, had need of armes and men to maintaine themselves, least beeing weak and vnfortified, they should be deceived in their expectations. The Senat replied that they had great store of furniture, & that they would contribute money; that they had good store of men of warre, to whom they would annex their slaues and giue them libertie. But *Agrippa* replied, would God, graue fathers, that you were able to performe the matters you intend; yet will I not feare to discouer that vnto you, which concerneth you neerely. You knowe well that the army which is with *Claudius*, consisteth of such men, who haue beene long time trained vp in feates of armes; and that those that are to fight on your side, are but men gathered together, and such as you couple them with are the very scumme of your slaues, who are both intractable and vntrained. We shal therefore enter fight against expert souldiers, and commit our fortunes to such men as scarcely know how to draw their swords; I rather thinke it meet that wee send vnto *Claudius* such men, as may perswade him to giue ouer the Empire. And to performe this message, behold my selfe in a readinesse to be commanded by you.

Agrippa with Ironic others sent to Claudius.

To this effect spake *Agrippa*; And heereunto the Senators accorded, & sent him to *Claudius*, appointing him certaine others to accompany him. As soone as he came to *Claudius*, he secretly discouered vnto him in what perplexitie the Senat was, and gaue him instructions to answer and demean himselfe like an Emperor, & to shew his dignity & power. Whereupon *Claudius* gaue the Embassadors this answer; That hee wondered not that the Senat were so vnwilling to be commanded by a soueraigne, in regard of that crueltie which the forepassed Emperours had vsed to their destruction. But for the present, they should taste of his mercy, & feele his moderate rule; and they should liue vnder the gouernment of such a one, who although in name hee had the imperiall authoritie; yet that in effect he would gouerne all things by their disposition. For which cause he wished them in no sort to distrust him, whom as they themselves could witnes, they haue seene and known to haue dealt verduously and iustly in many affaires, although the state of times had been farre different. Those that were sent from the Senat hearing these words, returned back againe. But *Claudius* instantly assembled his men of warre, and exacted an oath of fidelitie from them, bestowing on euery one of them who were of his guard in way of largesse, fiew thousand drachmes, amounting to some 25 pound a man of our sterling money. Hee presented their captaines also with presents answerable to their qualities, promising to performe no lesse bounty to all the rest of the men of warre, in what place soeuer they were. Hereupon, the Consuls assembled the Senate in the temple of *Iupiter* the victorious, before day, and some of them hid themselves through the feare they had of that which should be spoken: other some departed out of the cite, and resorted to their countrey farmes, foreseeing with themselves the issue of all these things; and perceiuing that their hope of libertie was lost, they thought it farre better for them to exempt from danger, and to passe their life in repose, though it were with subiection, then to be altogether vncertaine of their securitie and safetie, by maintaining the dignitie of the Senators; yet about some hundred of them drew themselves together and no more. Now whilst they were consulting vpon that which they were to do, they suddenly heard a shout of souldiers that were assembled round about them, requiring the Senat to chuse them an Emperour, and not to suffer their state to be lost thorow a multitude of gouernours: and to this effect spake they, least the gouernment should be giuen to diuers and not vnto one. This course of theirs gaue little content to the Senators, both in regard of the losse of that libertie which they expected, as thorow the good liking they had of *Claudius*; notwithstanding there were some that pretended some hope to be advanced both in respect of the nobilitie of their race, as in regard of their alliance that they had by marriage with the *Cesars*. For *Marcus Minucianus* a man of himselfe of noble descent, and who had

The souldiers require a Monarch at the Senats hands.

OF THE IEWES. THE XIX. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4005. after Christs birth.

A had married *Julia Caius* sister, stood vp to demaund the soueraigne gouernment: but the Consuls restrained him, alledging excuse vpon excuse. Another *Minucianus* also one of *Caius* tutors withdrew *Valerius Asiaticus* from thinking on those thinges: and there had hapned as great a slaughter as had euer beene heard of, had any of these had the liberty to desire the Empire, or oppose themselves against *Claudius*. For amongst other, the fencers, who were of no small number, they of the watch and the failers ioyned themselves together with the men of warre. They therefore that pretended to demand the Empire, gaue ouer their suits, partly in the cities behalfe, partly for their owne priuate securitie sake.

About the day spring *Chereas* and his companions went forth to debate the matter with the soldiers: but they seeing by the beckoning with their hands that they would draw them to silence, B and were vpon the instant to fall into discourse, made a great noyse to cut them off from proceeding any further, for that all of them were earnestly affected to haue an Emperour & Soueraign Lord, and required with all expedition that they might haue one proclaimed and knowne. At that time the Senate were so distracted, both for the manner how they should command, as for the meanes they ought to vse to cause themselves to be obeyed, considering the souldiers set light by them; and those that were confederates in the death of *Caius*, suffered not the Senat to obey the souldiers. At length *Chereas* being vnable to coöceale his passion wherewith he was surprised, & hearing that they asked for a monarch, promised that he would giue the one, if they would bring him a token from *Entychus*, who was the wagouer to the Greene band, whom *Caius* had loued extremely, in so much as he employed his souldiers in seruile labours, as to build him stables for his

C hortes, & reproched the with diuers such like matters, telling the that he would bring them *Claudius* head, shewing them that it was a matter ill becoming them, if after a mad man they should commend the Empire to a foole. Yet none of these words could diuert them from their purpose: but all of them drew their swords, & with displayed ensignes marched toward *Claudius* to visite the souldiers with those, who had already bound themselves by an oath to serue him faithfully. So that the Senat was abandoned, & destitute of all defence; so as there was no difference betwixt private men & Consuls. All of them were astonished & confused, not knowing what to do, because they had thus provoked *Claudius* displeasure against them. And now fell they to reuiling one another, in testimony of the repentance they conceiued for these their proceedings. Wherupon *Sabinus* one of those who had murdered *Caius*, arose & protested that he would sooner cut his own

The souldiers with displayed ensignes repaired to *Claudius*. *Sabinus* rather chooseth death then to allow of *Claudius*.

D throat, then consent to the establishment of *Claudius*; or behold with his eyes the misery & thralldome of his country: he likewise encouraged *Chereas*, telling him that he had deserued very little by cutting off *Caius*, if he thought to liue without the libertie of his country. To which he answered, that he made no account of his life; yet that he intended to sound *Claudius* mind, and with this resolution they concluded. Meane while certaine of the Senators sought on euerie side to breake thorow the mist & thickest of the souldiers, to go and do reuerence and homage to *Claudius*: amongst whom was *Q. Pompeius* one of the Consuls, whom the men of war accused to be one of the principall actors to incite the Senat to reconer their liberty, & they drew their naked swords against him. And if *Claudius* had not restrained them, they had surely dispatched him, but hee made him sit downe by him, and by that meanes deliuered him from the daunger. The other

Q. Pompeius the Consul with others resort to *Claudius*.

E Senators, who accompanied him, were not entertained thus honourably; but some of them were wounded euen then when they pressed forth to saue *Claudius*. *Aponius* retired himselfe fore vnto *Claudius*, desired him to vse as much lenitie as was possible in him towards the Senators, for that if any mischiete should betide them, hee should haue no other persons to command. To the which counsel of his, *Claudius* gaue place, and assembled the Senat in the Palace, causing himselfe to be caried thorow the cite in the companie of his soldiers, who marched before him, doing much mischiete to the common people. But amongst those that flew *Caius*, *Chereas* and *Sabinus* were come out into the streets, notwithstanding they were forbidden by *Pollio*, whom not long before *Claudius* had made captaine of his guard. And as soone as *Claudius* came into the palace, whither he assembled his friends, he pronounced sentence against *Chereas*. For although his action was accounted both generous and noble; yet was hee condemned for this, because he was perfidious: wherupon hee was adiudged to die, to giue example to others, to the ende that Princes and Emperours may hereafter liue in safetie. He was therefore led to his death with *Lupus*, and diuers other Romanes. It is said of *Chereas* that he endured this accident with a great courage, which he expressed not onely in that he chaunged not his countenance, but also by the reproches which he gaue *Lupus* who wept. For when as *Lupus* was putting off of his cloaths, and

Those that murdered *Caius* are executed.

Ccc

complai-

complained of the colde that he felt, he raunted him thus, alluding to his name which was *Lupus*; G That neuer any colde did harme to a woollfe. Furthermore, when he came to the place of execution, where a great number of people were gathered together to behold the spectacle, he asked the souldier that was appointed to behead him, if he were a cunning headsmen, and whether hee had a new sword, wishing him to vse that wherewith he murdered *Caius*. His death was happy, for hee received but one stroke; whereas *Lupus* was faint-hearted, and receiued diuers, because he stretched not out his necke freely. Some few daies after, at such time as the Romans solemnized their expiations, and that euery one honoured the memory of his dead friend, they gaue *Chareas* a part of that honour, and cast his portion into the fire, saying, that was to deface and purge their ingratitude, whereof they were guiltie towards him. Thus ended *Chareas* his life. But for *Sabinus*, although *Claudius* had not onely absolved him, but also suffered him to exercise his office, as before time he had done: yet thought he that he should do amisse and against iustice, if hee falsified his faith to his associates and confederates; for which cause hee shortned his owne daies, thrusting his sword thorow his body to the very hilts.

CHAP. IIII.

Claudius confirmeth Agrippa in his fathers kingdome.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. al. 4.
Claudius giueth Agrippa Iudæa, Samaria, and Lytania countrey.

Antiochus king of Comagena, Alexander Lyfymachus Alabarcha.

Herode Agrippa brother created king of Chalcis. Sedition in Alexandria betwixt the Greekes and Iewes.
Claudius edict in fauour of the Iewes in Alexandria.

Ncontinently after this, *Claudius* cashiered all those of the soldiers whom hee suspected; and published an edict, by which he confirmed the kingdome to *Agrippa*, that *Caius* had given him, accompanying his bounty with many praises; annexing moreover vnto his gouernment all that which *Herode* his grandfather had possessed, to wit, Iudæa, and Samaria, which in that they were as one lawfull inheritance appertained vnto him. He gaue him also out of his own dominions, Abela & al the countrey about the mount Libanus, that in times past appertained to *Lyfianias*. And he caused the alliance that was past betwixt them twaine to be engrauen and registred in an open place of the city of Rome. He tooke from *Antiochus* the kingdome that he had, & gaue him in exchange a portion of Cilicia & Comagena. He let *Alexander Lyfymachus Alabarcha* at liberty, who had bene his olde friend, and sometimes gouernour in Arabia, and otherwhiles his mother *Antonius* steward, who had been committed prisoner thorow *Caius* displeasure, and married *Bernice Agrippas* daughter, with his sonne *Marcus*: which after the death of *Marcus*, who died before he was coupled, was afterwards married with *K* her father *Agrippas* allowance to *Herode* his brother, for whom *Agrippa* begd of *Claudius* the kingdome of Chalcis. At that very time the Iewes that were in the Citie of Alexandria, mutined against the Greekes. For after *Caius* death the nation of the Iewes, which had bene oppressed during his raigne, and iniuriously dealt withall by the Alexandrines, recovered their former courage, and instantly fell to armes. For which cause *Claudius* gaue commission to the gouernor of Egypt, to pacifie and appease that vprore. He sent also his letters patents into Alexandria and Syria, at the request of the two kings *Agrippa* and *Herod*, to this effect. *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus*, Father of the people, signifieth this that followeth. Vnderstanding that the Iewes inhabitants in Alexandria, and for this cause called Alexandrines, haue at all times enjoyed the seifsame priuilegdes of the Citie, which the ancient and first Alexandrines haue had: **L** Which fauors they haue obtained by the largesse of those princes, that were our predecessors, as it hath been plainly made knowne vnto vs, as well by letters which haue bene written vnto vs, as by confirmed decrees: And that since Alexandria hath bene annexed to our Empire by *Cæsar Augustus*, their priuilegdes haue continued in force during the seuerall successions of many of our gouernours, which rights of theirs haue neuer bene called in question, no not in that time when *Aquila* was gouernour in Alexandria: Since in like sort *Cæsar Augustus* hath not letted them, but when the chieftaine of their nation was dead, they might establish other substitutes and gouernours in his place, willing that all of them should yeelde him obedience in obseruation of their lawes and customes, without constraint or impulsion to doe any thing contrarie to their religion: yet notwithstanding the Alexandrines haue mutined against the Iewes, being in the Citie of Alexandria in the time of the Emperour *Caius*, by reason of the folly and frenzie of *Caius*, who disgraced & oppressed the nation of the Iewes, because they would not violate their religion, nor acknowledge the said *Caius* for a god. Our wil and pleasure is, that no one of the priuilegdes of the nation of the Iewes be abolished, by reason of *Caius* frenzie; but my minde is to maintaine those which heretofore haue bene giuen them, to the ende they may continue and pue according to their aunient lawes and customes: Commanding you and euery one of you very

A verie carefully to prouide, that after the publication of this our ordinance, they bee in no sorte troubled. This was the tenor of that ordinance which was made in fauour of the Iewes in Alexandria.

But that which was generally made in fauour of those, who were disperfed thorow the whole world, was to this effect: *Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, High priest, Father of the people, elected Consul the second time, signifieth that which ensueth*. Our welbeloued friendes, the kings *Agrippa* and *Herode*, haue required vs that we will permit all those Iewes, that liue vnder the Roman Empire, to vse the same lawes and priuilegdes which they haue vsed heretofore, as we haue granted to the Iewes, that dwell in Alexandria. Which suite of theirs we haue willingly granted, not onely in fauour of those that require the same, but also for that I thinke them worthy such a grace: for whom I haue bene intreated in regard of the fidelity & friendship they haue alwaies exprested towards the Romans. My pleasure therefore is, that no Citie either Grecian or otherwise, shall deny any priuilege, from whence they shal be excluded, for that since the Emperour *Augustus* time they haue neuer bene exempted from them. It standeth with reason therefore, that henceforth the Iewes, who liue vnder our Empire of what place soeuer they bee, may obserue their aunient customes, without any contradiction: Giuing them to vnderstand, that hereafter they vse our clemencie so much the more moderately, without neglecting the religion of other nations, in retaining their owne. And our will is, that this present ordinance be published by the Magistrates of Cities, Colonies and countries of Italy, and be sent vnto kings and foraine princes, by fit embassadours, within thirtie daies at the least, to the ende that they should be in such sort set vp, that they may be seene and read by all those that passe by.

CHAP. V.

Agrippas returne into Iudæa.

By these edicts of *Claudius Caesar*, which he sent both to Alexandria & other parts of the world, it plainly appeareth how well affected he was towards the nation of the Iewes. And presently after this, after he had dignified *Agrippa* with all kinds of honour, he sent him backe into his kingdome to gouerne the same, commanding all his presidents and lieutenants in his prouinces, thorow which hee was to passe, to giue him a friendly and honorable conuoy. But hee hauing wisely and happily dispatched his affaires, returned in all haste. As soone as he came to Ierusalem, hee offered his sacrifices of thankgiuing which he had vowed, without omitting any thing that was commanded by the law. Hee caused also diuers Nazarites to be pouled, and offered in gift that chaine of gold that *Caius* had giuen him: which was of the same weight the yron chaine was of wherewith his royall hands were manacled, in memorie of the aduerity he had past, and the testimony of the exchange thereof into better fortune: commanding that it should be hanged vp in the temple, and ouer the chamber of the treasure, to testifie vnto those that should behold the same, that the highest estates are subiect to alterations, and that God can raise men againe from obscuritie to happie fortune. For this chain that hanged in the temple, being consecrated to God, manifestly exprest vnto all men, that king *Agrippa* was vpon a verie small occasion despoiled of his former dignitie, and made prisoner: and then a little while after, that he being deliuered from his bonds, was raised and exalted to a famous kingdome; to signifie thereby, that humane affaires are of that nature, that that which is the greatest may bee easily ouerthrowne, and that which is declining may recouer againe his aunient honour and dignity. When as therefore *Agrippa* had duely and deuoutly acknowledged Gods mercies, he deposted the high priest *Theophilus* the son of *Ananus*, and bestowed that honour on *Simon* surnamed *Canthara* the son of *Boethus*. This *Simon* had two brothers, & *Boethus* was their father, whose daughter had bin married to king *Herod*, as heretofore it hath bin spoken. *Simon* held the priesthood with his brethren and his father, in such sort, as before time the three sons of *Simon* his priest, son of *Onias* had done, during the Empire of the Macedonians, as wee haue declared in our former bookes. After the king had giuen order for the priesthood, he thought good to recompence the good affection that they of Ierusalem had borne vnto him: for which cause hee acquired them of those tributes that euery family paid, knowing well that it became him to shew kindeesse vnto them, who had bene faithfull and well affected towards him. Hee created *Silas*, who had been his companion in many dangers, generall of all his army. Not long after, certaine young men that were Dnires vnder the colour of constancie in case of religion, who also had daily exprest in their actions an vnbridled rashnesse, brought the image of *Cæsar* into the temple of the Iewes, and

Claudius sent Agrippa into his kingdome.

Agrippa haue geth vp his golden chaine ouer the treasury chamber in the temple.

Simon the son of Boethus placed in Theophilus room. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 6. Agrippa releaseth the tributes to those of Ierusalem.

Silas. The Dorites place Cæsar statue in the synagogue of the Iewes, and thereby vehemently offend both Agrippa and Petronius.

erected it in that place; which insolence of theirs highly offended *Agrippa*, who construed it as an act that tended to the abolition of the religion of their countrey: for which cause, with all expedition he repaired to *Petronius*, who was gouernour of Syria, & complained against these Dorites, who was no lesse displeased with the action then hee himselfe. For he supposed that such breach of religion was the meanes to further impietie, and for that cause he wrote to those which had attempted this innouation somewhat sharply, to this effect following.

CHAP. VI.

Petronius letters written to the Dorites in the behalfe of the Iewes.

*Alias, cap. 5.
P. Petronius
writeth to the
Dorites to
send them vnto
him who haue
broken Casars
edict.*

P *Vblins Petronius*, lieutenant to *Tiberius Claudius Cesar Augustus Germanicus*, to the Magistrates of the countrey of Doria, health: Whereas *Cesar* hath published an edict, by which he permiteth the Iewes to liue according to their lawes and customes, some one amongst you haue beene so presumptuous to contradiet the same in effect (although in words you protest that you obey him) and doe all that which you can to hinder the Iewes from enioying their Synagogue, in so much as in the same you haue planted *Casars* image, not onely thereby opposing your selues against the Iewes, but also against the Emperour himselfe, whose image might haue beene better placed in his owne temple, then in a forraigne temple: and you haue placed it in their Synagogue; whereas by right euerie one ought to bee master of his place, according to *Casars* iudgement: For it should be verie ridiculous in me to alleadge mine owne iudgement after that of *Casars*, who hath granted the Iewes the libertie to liue according to their lawes and customes, and hath commanded that they should conuerse in equall freedome among the Greekes. For these causes I commaund you, that they, who haue beene so bold as to contemne *Augustus* decree (against whom their owne magistrates haue beene displeased, excusing themselves that this accident hapned not by their motion, but by the furie of the common people) be brought before me by the captaine *Proculus Vitellius*, to yeeld a reason of that which they haue done, exhorting the magistrates that if they will not bee accounted parties in this contempt, they labour to discouer those that are guiltie, vnto *Proculus*, & giue order that no sedition or violence be offered thereupon. Which notwithstanding it seemeth that they affect, although wee & the most honoured king *Agrippa*, whom I take for my good and special friend, labour nothing more then that the nation of the Iewes should not assemble and take armes vnder colour of their defence. And to the end that whatsoever *Augustus* hath ordaiued as touching this matter, may be the better knowne vnto all men, I haue annexed his edict which he published in Alexandria: and although they are sufficiently knowne vnto all men, yet hath the most honoured king *Agrippa* read them vnto me at such time, as I sat in my tribunall seat, concluding according to right, that the Iewes ought not to be excluded nor hindered from enioying those benefits, which are granted vnto them by *Cesar*: I therefore charge all men, that hence forward they take heed least they seeke any occasion of mutinie or sedition, and that euerie one liue according to his religion. See here how *Petronius* proceeded in this matter, both to amend that which was past, as also to prevent that which was to come, that none should be so bold to attempt the like. After this, *Agrippa* tooke the priesthood from *Simon Canthara*, and gaue it againe to *Jonathan* the sonne of *Anani*, whom he esteemed to bee more worthy then the other. But *Jonathan* declared that he was not desirous of this dignitie, for in effect hee refused it, saying: O King, I most willingly acknowledge the honour which it pleaseth you to bestow vpon me, and know wel that it is a dignitie which of your owne freewill you bestow vpon me; notwithstanding that God iudgeth mee vnworthy. If I suffice them that I haue once bene inuested with the sacred habite: for at that time I wore it with more holinesse, then I can now receiue it at this present; yet notwithstanding if it please you to know one that is more worthe of this honour then my selfe, I will informe you of one. My liege, I haue a brother, who towards God and you is pure and innocent, whom I dare commend vnto you for a most fit man for that dignitie. The king tooke great pleasure in these his words, and leauing *Jonathan* he bestowed the priesthood on *Matthias* his brother, according as *Jonathan* had aduised him: and not long after this, *Marcus* succeeded in *Petronius* roome, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of Syria.

*Jonathan the
sonne of Ana-
ni is restored
to the priest-
hood and res-
teth it, and
prayeth that
his brother
Matthias may
minister there-
in. Marcus suc-
ceeded of Syria.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Agrippa acts vntill the the time of his death.

S *ilas* was made generall ouer the kings armie: & for that he had alwaies beene faithful vnto him, and had neuer forsaken him in any daunger that was offered, without partaking the vtmost extremitie, but had alwaies aduentured on the greatest perils in respect of his intire & constant resolution; he made his account, that being so firme a friend to the king, he should also be partaker and companion with him in the honour. For which cause in all things whatsoeuer he submitted not himselfe to the king, but challenged to himselfe a libertie to speake what him listed. For this cause hee grew hatefull in the kings sight, for that in particular hee boasted of himselfe beyond measure, and oftentimes refreshed the memorie of those aduersities the king had past, the rather to expresse how affectionate he had beene toward him, and his continuall talke was nothing else but of those traualles he had endured. Now for that hee obserued no measure in this his discourse, the king took it as an iniury intended to his honour, & was offended with the vnbridled licence of the mans prattle. For nothing soiideth more harsh in a mans eare, then the memorie of his forepassed miserie, & it is but the fault of a foole to rip vp the courtieses he hath emploied on another man. Finally, *Silas* grieuouly prouoked the kings displeasure against himselfe, that rather subscribing to his wrath then his wit, he not only dispossessed *Silas* of his generals roome, but also sent him bound into his countrey in that place to be held prisoner. This notwithstanding, time asswaged his displeasure, & the king drawing himselfe into better consideration, and remembering himselfe how many trauels *Silas* had endured in his behalfe, he reuoked the sentence that he had pronounced. At such time therefore as he was ready to celebrate the festiual day of his birth, & all his subiects were addressed to take their pleasure, he speedily sent for *Silas*, to the end he might be partaker thereof, and banquet with them. But *Silas*, who was of a free nature, supposing that he had iust cause to be displeased, concealed it not from those who were sent vnto him, but spake vnto them after this manner. To what honour doth the king inuite me at this present, to the intent incontinently to deprive me thereof: for he hath not onely deprived me of those honours which he bestowed vpon me, in acknowledgement of the good affection I haue alwaies shewed vnto him; but he hath altogether spoyled me, and contumeliously intreated me: but if he thinke that he can restraine me from speaking freely, hee deceueth himselfe. For my conscience knoweth how many hazards I haue deliuered him from; and as long as I breathe, I will ring it in all mens eares, how many trauels I haue endured for his conseruation and honour, in recompence wherof I am at this day in bonds, and shut vp in an obscure prison, which I wil neuer forget. Yea and when my soule shall depart out of this body, these shall beate with her the remembrance of those benefits I haue employed on him. These words spake he with a loud voice, willing them to relate the same vnto king *Agrippa*; who seeing that he was grounded in an incurable folly, left him in prison.

After this the king began to fortifie the walles of Ierusalem, on the side of the new towne, vpon the common charge; increasing them both in length and bredth: & might he haue thorowly finished them, it had beene a fortresse inuincible, by all humane force. But *Marcus* the gouernour of Syria certified *Cesar* what the worke was; and *Claudius* suspecting some commotion, wrote expressly to *Agrippa*, commanding him thence forward to desist from further building of the walles, according to that forme wherein he had begunne: whereunto he would not disobey. This king *Agrippa* was of a nature so ready to exercise liberalitie, and tooke so great pleasure to vse his magnificence towards all sorts of nations, that the great expences hee was at, obtained him great reputation. So that his whole pleasure and delight was, to shew courtesie vnto all men, & to purchase good esteeme, being euery way different in nature & disposition fro king *Herod* his predecessor. For *Herod* was naturally malicious, extreme in punishing me, & irrecociliable to those with whom he was displeased, manifestly expressing that he loued the Grecians better then the Iewes. For he beautified those cities that belonged to strangers, & gaue them money, and erected them bathes, and sumptuous Theaters, & Temples, & in some of them galleries: but as touching the cities of the Iewes, he bestowed not this bountie on any of them, no not the least reparation or gift that was worthy the speaking of: Contrariwise king *Agrippa* was verie courteous and lowly, and equally imparted his bountie vnto all men. He was courteous vnto strangers, and relished no lesse by the bountie he bestowed on them. To his countymen hee behaued himselfe affably, and in especiall hee was mercifull to all those that were in miserie. For which cause his ordinary

Ccc 3

court

*Herod & Ruf-
inus, chap. 7.
Silas by too
much requi-
ring the kings
miserie and
traualles, ar-
d-
ring vp his
owne deserts
groweth into
the kings ha-
tred, and is sent
prisoner into
his countrey.*

*Agrippa seeth
for Silas out of
prison, who
describing
not his displea-
sure is left still
in prison.*

*Agrippa forti-
fies the wals
of Ierusalem.
Claudius com-
mandeth A-
grippa to desist
from building
the wals.*

*Agrippa fauor-
ed the Iewes
more then
Herode.*

Simon the
lawyer barbi-
teth the kings
who craving
pardon is
reconciled
vnto him.Alias cap. 6.
Agrippa hono-
retti beryth
with good
ornaments.Hedio & Ruf-
finus, chap. 8.Agrippa is
displeased with
Marfus for
sending away
the kings.Alias, cap. 7.
Aclioneus the
sonne of Ci-
rhaus made
high priest.
Agrippa is
saluted in the
Theater for a
God, and spi-
eth the owle
which the
German fore-
told him of,
that he should
die.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

court and the place he tooke most pleasure in, was Ierusalem. Hee was a diligent obseruer of the lawes of his countrey, and liued religiously, and with as great pietie as was possible: neither passed there one day wherein he offered not sacrifice. It happened at one time that a certaine cunning lawyer, who was called *Simon*, and dwelt in Ierusalem, had assembled the people by reason of the kings absence, who for the present was in Cæsarea: In which assembly hee alleadged many things against him, that hee was a prophane man, & that vpon iust cause he was forbidden to enter the temple, in that it was not lawfull nor decent for those that were vnclane, to enter thereinto. These words of *Simon* thus wrongfully vrged against him, were signified to the king by certaine letters sent him, by the gouernour of the citie: when as therefore he fate him downe in the Theater, hee commanded that verie *Simon* to sit next him, and in peaceable and kinde manner he spake thus vnto him. Tell mee, I pray thee, what thing thou seest fault worthy, or done contrarie to the law, in that which is done heere? *Simon* hauing not any thing to reply, besought him to pardon him. The king grew friends with him faster sooner then it could be imagined, resolving with himselfe that mercie doth farre better become a king, then wrath; and that moderation is more requisite, then haughtie courage; so as after hee had bestowed certaine presents on *Simon*, hee dimissed him. Now although he had many reparations in diuers places; yet honoured he those of Beryth about all the rest, and builded them a Theater surpassing all other in sumptuousnes and beautie: and besides that, he made them a sumptuous Amphitheater, and bathes and porches: in which he neither spared cost, neither scanted the beautie and greatnes of the works in any sort. The dedication also of these things was celebrated with great pompe and magnificence: he also made great shewes & plaies in the Theater, in which there were all sorts of musike and recreation. He made also diuers tournaments in the Amphitheater, expressing in all things the greatnes of his magnificence; and being desirous to delight the people with a combat, he gathered all the malefactors that he might get, and made two severall companies of seuen hundred a peece, and brought them together to fight, to the end that in skirmishing they might receiue their punishment; and besides, that by this warlike exercise hee might present the people with a pastime concluded with the punishment of wicked men: for each of these combatants slue one another.

After that he had finished these aboue named buildings in Beryth, he resorted to Tiberias a citie of Galilee, and was admired of all the other kings, so that *Antiochus* king of Comagena came to visit him: the like did *Samsigeran* king of the Emeseniens: *Cotys* king of Armenia the lesse, and *Polemon* Lord of Pontus: and besides all these, *Herode* prince of Chalcis and his brother, all whom hee receiued and entertained most magnificently and amiably, to shew his greatnesse; to the end that all men might perceiue, that hee was deservedly honoured with the presence of so many kings. And during the time that these princes were with him, *Marfus* the gouernour of Syria visited him likewise, whom to the end he might expresse the reuerence he bare to the Romans he met with, seuen furlongs off from the citie. This interview of so many kings was the originall of that discontent that grew betwixt him and *Marfus*; for whilest he fate in his litter, hee sent for these other Kings. But *Marfus* suspected this concord and so great amitie, supposing that this agreement of so many kings would be no waies profitable or beneficial to the Romans. For which cause he presently sent vnto them, charging them with all expedition to returne each of them into their owne countries: which strict commission of his *Agrippa* took in ill part, & for this occasion hee conceived scarce kindly of *Marfus*. He tooke the priesthood from *Matthias*, and gave it to *Aclioneus* the son of *Cirhaus*. After he had reigned three whole yeeres ouer Iudæa, he came to Cæsarea, which in times past was called the tower of Straton, and there made hee sports in honour of *Cæsar*, ordaining a certaine featt for his conseruation, to the celebration whereof there were assembled a great number of all those, who were of estate and dignitie thorow the whole countrey. On the second day of this solemnitie, he shewed himselfe being apparelled in a robe of siluer, made with admirable workmanship; and came in the same to the Theater in the morning: Whereas the first reflex of the rising of the sun beating vpon his Robe, he shined after such a sort, that all those that beheld him were seized with reuerence and feare. Whereupon certaine sycophants (which did not a little dishonour him) exclaimed one on the one side, the other on the other, saluting him for a God, and in speaking to him cried out thus: Bee mercifull vnto vs: hitherto haue we feared thee as a man, but henceforward we will confesse and acknowledge thee to be of a nature more excellent then mortall frailtie can attaine vnto. *Agrippa* reproved them not for vsing these words: neither reiected he their palpable and detestable flattery. But not long after, hee looking vpwards, perceiued an owle ouer his head perched vpon a cord, and knewe the

same

OF THE IEWES. THE XIX. BOOKE.

A same incontinently, that he was but a message of his misfortune: whereas before time he had denounced vnto him his felicitie, and conceiued thereupon a most heartie and inward griefe. And sodainly he was seized with a terrible griping in his belly, which began with verie great vehemencie: for which cause turning his eyes towards his friends, he spake vnto them after this manner: Behold him (said he) whom you esteeme for a God, condemned to die, and destinie shall apparantly conuince you of those flattering and false speeches, which you haue lately vsed in my behalfe. For I, who by you haue bene adored as one immortall, am vnder the hands of death. But I must willingly entertaine that which God pleaseth to send me: For I haue not liued in obsecrity, but in so great and wonderfull felicitie, that each one of you haue reaped and helde me happy.

B Whilest hee spake thus, his griefes augmented in such sort as he was brought almost to his last: for which cause with all expedition he was conuayed into his royall palace, and the rumor was spread in euery place, that very shortly hee would be dead. For which cause the people with their wiues and children put on sackcloth, according to the custome of the country, to the end they might sollicit Gods mercy in the kings behalfe, and all the Citie was filled with teares and lamentations. The king that lay in an vpper chamber, and looking downe into the court, sawe them lying thus on the earth, could not retrain himselfe from teares. And after hee had for the space of fise daies without ceasing bene tormented with griping in his belly, hee gaue vp the ghost in the fiftie fourth yeere of his age, and the seuenth yeere of his raigne. For he had reigned foure yeeres vnder the Empire of *Cæsar* (hauing first of all gouerned *Philips* Tetrarchy three yeeres, to which was annexed the signiorie of *Herode* in the fourth yeere) and three yeeres vnder the Empire of *Claudius Cæsar*, during which time he gouerned ouer the aboue named countries: and moreover ouer Iudæa, Samaria and Cæsarea. His reuenue amounted to twelue hundred myriades, besides which, he made many loanes. For in that hee was very liberal in giuing, he spent farre more then his reuenue, and spared not any thing to shew himselfe magnificent. Before the people knew of his death, *Herode* his brother prince of Chalcis, and *Chelcias* the kings lieutenant and friend, agreed betwene themselves to send *Aristo* one of their trustiest seruants to kill *Silas*, who was their enemy, as if they had bene commaunded by the king.

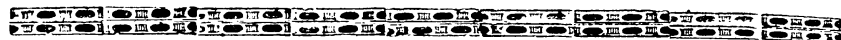
Thus died *Agrippa*, leauing behinde him a son called *Agrippa*, seuentene yeeres old; and three daughters, one of which that was called *Bernice*, was married to *Herod* his fathers brother, D when she was sixteene yeeres olde. The two other were *Mariamme* and *Drusilla*: this *Mariamme* being of the age of ten yeeres, was promised in marriage by her father, to *Iulius Archelaus Chelcias* sonne; and *Drusilla* which was fixe yeeres olde, was promised also to *Epiphanes*, sonne to the king of Comagena.

After *Agrippas* death, they of Cæsarea & Sebaste forgot themselves of those benefits they had receiued from him, and vsed him no lesse despitefully, then as if hee had bene their vtter enemy. For they reprochfully abused him after his death, and reuiled him in such sort as it is vnseemelie to report the same. Furthermore, all the men of warre, who were at that time many in number, went vnto the kings lodging, and with one accord seized the statues of the kings daughters, and carried them to the brothell house; where after they had placed them, they vttered all the indignities they could possibly, practicing such shamefull matters, as they may not bee expressed. Besides this, resting themselves in the publike places, they banquetted in the open street, wearing chaplets of flowres vpon their heads, and perfuming themselves with odors to sacrifice to *Charon*, drinking to one another for ioy the king was dead. Thus expressed they their ingratitude not onely towards their king *Agrippa*, who had bestowed so many liberalities on them; but also towards *Herod* his grandfather, who had builded their Cities, and to his extreame charge erected their ports & temples. At that time *Agrippa*, the deceased *Agrippas* son was at Rome, and was brought vp vnder the Emperour *Claudius*. When *Cæsar* vnderstood how those of Cæsarea and Sebaste had iniuriously dealt with *Agrippa*, he was fore displeased, and moued with their ingratitude: & his purpose was, to send the younger *Agrippa* with all expedition to take possession of the kingdome of his father, and therewithall to discharge himselfe of his oath: but diuers of his free-men and friends, who were in great credit with him, dissuaded him from the same, alleadging that it would be a dangerous matter to commit the greatnesse of such a kingdome to a young man, who scarcely had as yet attained to the age of eightene yeeres: and for whome it was impossible to support the care of so great a kingdome, considering that if he were at mans estate, he should finde himselfe ouerburthened with the charge of a kingdome. This aduice of theirs was allowed by *Cæsar*, and for this cause hee sent *Cuspius Fadus* to gouerne Iudæa, and the whole

realme;

The Iewes
themselues
were the cause
of those warres
which began
vnder Florus.

realme; honouring his dead friend in this, in that he would not suffer *Marsus*, who had bene his G
enemie, to enter into his kingdome. He gaue especiall commission also, that *Fadus* should shar-
pely punish those of *Cæsarea* and *Sebastæ*, for the outrages they had offered to his deceased friend,
and the excesses that was committed against his daughters, who were yet liuing; commanding
him to transport the companies of the *Cæsareans* and *Sebastens*, and the five Roman legions in-
to the countrey of *Pontus*, to serue in that place, and to take thole Roman soldiers that bare
armes in *Syria*, to serue in their place: yet notwithstanding this commandement of his they were
not displaced. For they sent Embassadours to *Claudius* to appease him, and by this meanes they
obtained the fauour to remaine in *Iudæa*. After this they gaue an entrance to those most grie-
uous mischiefs and calamities that befell the Iewes: for they spred the seed of that warre, which
was awakened vnder *Florus* gouernment. And for that cause after that *Vespasian* had obtained
the victorie, as it shall be hereafter declared, he caused them to depart out of that prouince, and
made them seeke their habitation eliewhere.



THE XX. BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITIES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 20. Booke.

- 1 The diffension betwene the Philadelphians and the Iewes: and of the Ephode which was the sa-
cerdotal stole.
- 2 How Helena Queene of Adiabena and her sonnes embraced the religion of the Iewes.
- 3 The Gouernour Tiberius Alexander punisheth the sonnes of Iudas of Galilee.
- 4 How a great number of the Iewes were slaine about the temple.
- 5 The sedition of the Iewes against the Samaritanes.
- 6 The actions of *Fœlix*, president of *Iudæa*.
- 7 The gouernment of *Porcius Festus* in *Iudæa*, and of certaine murderers.
- 8 *Albinus* gouernment.
- 9 How *Florus*, who succeeded *Albinus*, inforced so many iniuries against the Iewes, that they were
constrained to fall to armes.

CHAP. I.

The diffension betwene the Philadelphians and the Iewes: and of the Ephode which was
the sacerdotal stole.

Hedio & Ruf-
sius, chap. 1.
Calsius Lon-
ginus prefect
of Syria.



After King *Agrippas* deceale (as we haue heretofore declared in our former
booke) the Emperour *Claudius* sent *Calsius Longinus* to succede *Marsus*
in the gouernment of *Syria*, whom he displaced of that honor in memory of *A-
grippa*, who during his life time had oftentimes required by his letters, that
he should not suffer *Marsus* to gouerne the estate of *Syria*. As soone as *Cus-
pius Fadus* came into Iewrie to take charge of that countrey, which he was
to gouerne vnder *Cæsar*, hee found the Iewes that dwelt on the other side of

Fadus punish-
eth the Iewes
for their inur-
rection against
the Philade-
phians.

Jordan in an vptore, who had taken armes against the Philadelphians, about the limits of a cer-
taine village called *Mia*, which was stored with valiant men at armes. Now had those who inha-
bite beyond *Jordan*, armed themselues in this manner, without the consent of their gouernors: &
had slaine a great number of the Philadelphians. Which when *Fadus* vnderstood, he was sore dis-
pleased, for that they had not reserued the cause to his hearing, and opened their griefes they had
conceiued against the Philadelphians, but were so bolde of their owne authoritie, and without
feare to betake themselues to their weapons. Hauing therefore apprehended some three of them,
who

A who had bene principals and authors of the sedition, he commanded them to prison, and execu-
cuted one of them called *Annibaz*, and banished the other two, whose names were *Amaram*
and *Eleazar*.

Anon after this, *Tholemaus* the Archchiefe was also taken, and brought vnto him, who com-
manded him to be executed, in that hee had done many robberies in *Iudæa* and *Arabia*; and
by this meanes all the countrey of *Iudæa* was cleared of all theeeues, by the care and prouidence
of *Fadus*. After this he sent for the high priests, and the gouernours of *Ierusalem*, commanding
them according to the Emperours direction, that they should deliuer vp into the Castle of *An-
tonia* the long and sacred robe, which the high priest onely was accustomed to weare; to the end
that it might be at the Romans disposition, as in times past it had bene. This command of his
they durst not contradict; yet notwithstanding they required *Fadus* and *Longinus* (who at that
time was come to *Ierusalem* with a great power, for feare the Iewes, by reason of this iniunction,
should grow to rebellion) first that it might bee lawfull for them to send their Embassadours vnto
Cæsar, to beseech him that the sacred robe might remaine in their custodie. Secondly, that it
might please them to expect the answer which *Cæsar* would returne vpon this their request. *Fa-
dus* gaue them this answer, that hee permitted them to send their Embassadours to *Rome*, pro-
vided, that before hand they deliuered him their children for hostages. Which when they had
readily performed, the Embassadours were sent away. Now when they came to *Rome*, the youn-
ger *Agrippa* (who was his sonne that lately died) knowing the cause of their comming, and
being ordinarily accustomed to attend vpon *Cæsar* (according as we haue heretofore declared)
besought *Cæsar*, that hee would grant the Iewes their request, as touching the sacred Robe, and
that it might please him to signifie no leise vnto *Fadus*. On this his petition *Claudius* gaue the
Embassadours audience, and tolde them that hee fauoured their suit, willing them to bee thankful
to *Agrippa*, vpon whose suit he respected the Iewes, and allowed of their demands; and besides this
answere, he deliuered them a letter to this effect:

Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, Conseruer of the people, Consul created the fift time, Emperour the
fourth time, Father of the countrey the tenth time, to the Magistrates of *Ierusalem*, the Senate,
people, and all the nation of the Iewes; Health. Being required by our welbeloued *Agrippa*,
whom I both haue, and at this present doe bring vp with me, and whom I know to be most de-
uout; I haue heard your Embassadours, who were admitted to my presence by his meanes, and
haue receiued their thanks for the benefits I haue bestowed on your nation: I haue also willing-
ly inclined to that instant and expresse request you haue made vnto me; and it is my pleasure the
sacred Robe of the high priest, and the holy Miter remaine in your custodie, in such manner, as
our most deere and right honoured friend *Vitellius* heretofore ordained: To which demand of
yours I vouchsafe my allowance: first in regard of mine owne pietie, and for that I desire that e-
uerie one should serue God according to his owne religion: next, for that I am resolu'd, that in so
doing I shall gratifie king *Herod* & yong *Aristobulus*, whose pietie towards me I am pruiue to, &
whose good affection towards you I can witnesse, with whome I haue had diuers occasions of
friendship, both in regard of their vertue, as for the honour that I beare vnto them. I haue also
written to this effect to *Cuspius Fadus* mine Agent: The names of those who haue receiued my
letters, are *Cornelius* the sonne of *Ceron*, Trypon the sonne of *Theudion*, *Dorotheus* the sonne of
Nathanael, and *Iohn* the sonne of *Iohn*. Given the eight and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere wher-
in *Rufus* and *Pompeius Syluanus* were Consuls. At that same time *Herod*, who was *Agrippas* bro-
ther that had lately decealed, to whose hands in times past the gouernment of *Chalcis* had bene
committed, required the Emperour *Claudius* to grant him the power ouer the temple, and the
sacred vestments and necessaries, and the authoritie of choosing the high priest. All which he ob-
tained, and from that time forward vntill the end of the warre of the Iewes, this power remained
in all his successors. According to this authoritie *Herod* deposed *Canthara* from the priesthood, &
gaue the succession thereof to *Ioseph* the sonne of *Canus*.

F

CHAP. II.

How Helena Queene of Adiabena and her sonnes embraced the religion of the Iewes.

At that time Helena Queene of Adiabena, and her sonne *Izates* conformed themselues to
the religion of the Iewes, vpon this occasion that ensueth: *Monobazus* king of Adiab-
ena, who was also called *Bazeos*, being supris'd with the loue of his sister *Helena*, espoused
her,

Aliaz, cap. 3.
Clausius Epi-
scopo the
Iewes.
Aliaz, cap. 9.
Herode prince
of Chalcis
hath authority
granted him
to create the
high priest.
Hedio & Ruf-
sius, chap. 2.
al. 5.
Monobazus
the king of
Adiabena be-
getteth two
sonnes on He-
lena his sister.
Monobazus
and Izates.

The year of the
world, 4009. af-
ter Christs birth,
47.

Izates sent to
Abemerigus,
marrieth his
daughter Sa-
machia.

Cæron verie
fruitful in Amo-
num, in which
the reliques of
Noes arke are
to be seene.

Izates was
made king by
his mother
Helena, and
the nobilitie, and
Monobazus
gouerneth the
kingdome till
his comming.

Izates and his
mother Helena
learne the true
religion of God
a Circumcis-
ion the manner of
the Iewes.

her, and got her with child. Vpon a time it hapned, that sleeping with her, he laid his hand on her belly, whilst she lay asleepe: & him thought, that he heard a voice that commanded him to take away his hand from off her belly, least he should crush the fruit that was therein, which by Gods providence should haue a happie beginning, and no lesse fortunate ending. *Monobazus* was foremoued at this voice, and as soone as he awoke he told it to his wife; & afterwards when the child was borne he called him *Izates*: Besides, he had another elder sonne by the same wife, who was called *Monobazus*, according to his owne name. And he had also other sons by his other wiues: yet notwithstanding *Izates* was most manifestly his best beloued, and so cherished by him, as if he had bene his only begotten sonne. For which cause, his other brothers enuied him: which increased their hatred, for that all the rest of them were aggrieved, because *Monobazus* made most account of *Izates*. The father manifestly perceived all this, yet did he pardon them, knowing that they did it not for malice, but for the desire that euery one of them had to be best esteemed by his father. Notwithstanding, being affraid lest some mishap should beride *Izates*, by reason of the hatred his brethren bare vnto him, hee gaue him many great gifts, & sent him to *Abemerigus*, who reigned at that time in a fort called *Spafinus*, committing his sons life into his hand. *Abemerigus* also intertained him with kind affection, and loued him in such sort, that in processe of time he gaue him *Samachis* his daughter to wife; and for her dowrie hee gaue him a countrey of great renew.

Monobazus being olde, and seeing he had no long time to liue, desired before his death that his sonne might come and visit him: he therefore sent for him and receiued him verie louingly, giuing him a countrey which hee called *Cæron*, which bringeth forth great abundance of excellent *Amomum*. In this place was the remainder of the Arke, in which *Noe* was saued, during the Deluge; which remnants are to be seene at this day, if any man haue a desire to behold the same. *Izates* remained in that place vntill his fathers decease. But on the verie day of his death, *Helena* sent for all the Lords and Gouernours of the kingdome, and capitaines of all the Army, and vpon their assembly the spake vnto them after this manner.

I suppose (said she) that you are not ignorant of my husbands minde, who hath desired that *Izates* might be king in his steed, and hath esteemed him most worthie of such an honour: yet expect I your iudgement in this point. For hee that receiue the soueraignty, not from one mans hand, but from many, and hath the same confirmed vnto him by their consent, is happy. She shed this discourse vnto them to trie what their intent was, who were there assembled. They vnderstanding her minde, prostrated themselves first of all vpon the earth before the Queene, according to the custome of their countrey; and afterwards answered her, that they approved the kings election, and tooke pleasure to obey *Izates*, whom his father deservedly, and to all their contents, and the desire of the common people had preferred aboue the rest of his brethren: alledging moreover, that they would put his brethren and kinsmen to death before his comming, to the end that he might enioy the kingdom with all securitie: for by their deaths all the fear that might grow by their hatred and enuie might be extinguished. Hereunto the Queene answered; that she gaue them thanks, for the fauor they bare vnto her and her sonne *Izates*; notwithstanding she required them to suspend their iudgements as touching the death of his brethren, vntill such time as *Izates* himselfe should giue his consent thereunto. They seeing they might not obtaine the liberty to put them to death, gaue counsaile that they should bee kept prisoners vntill his comming, to the end, at leastwise for their owne parts, that they might be out of daunger; and that moreover, vntill his comming there might one bee appointed to gouerne the estate, whom shee should esteeme most trustie and faithfull vnto him. Whereunto *Helena* condescended, and made his elder brother *Monobazus* king, and set the Diademe on his head, & gaue him his fathers seale ring, with that robe which they call *Sampera*; exhorting him to gouerne the kingdome vntill his brothers attuall. *Izates* hauing certaine notice of his fathers death, resorted thither speedily, and receiuing his brother *Monobazus* willing surrender, tooke vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome.

During such time as *Izates* sojourned in the fortresse of *Spafinus*, a certain merchant, who was a Iew, called *Ananias*, hauing access to the kings wiues, taught them the manner how to serue God, according to the religion of the Iewes: and *Ananias* by their meanes growing acquainted with *Izates*, taught him the like, and accompanied him into *Adiabena*; being drawn thereunto by his earnest intreaties, at such time as *Izates* resorted thither vpon his fathers sending for. It chanced also in like sort that *Helena* was in like manner instructed by another Iew, and retained the rites and religion of the Iewes.

After

The year of the
world, 4009. af-
ter Christs birth,
47.

Izates is dis-
tressed by
Ficknabhis
mother, and
Ananias from
circumcision.

Eleazar per-
suadeth Izates
to bee circum-
cised.

They that reli-
on God & put
their confidence
in him shall
waite vpon the
reward of their
piety.

Helena the
Queene of
Adiabena
resorteth to
Ierusalem.
Ahas, cap. 6.

- A After that *Izates* came into his kingdome, and knewe that his brethren and kinsfolke were imprisoned, hee was much grieved. Conceiuing therefore with himselfe that it would be a great impietie in him to suffer them to be slaine, or kept bound in prison; and that on the other side, it were a dangerous matter for him, if being at liberty they should remember the euill they had endured: for this cause hee sent some of them to Rome for hostages with their children vnto the Emperour *Claudius*, and the rest vnto *Artabanus* king of Parthia. Afterwards when he was thorowly assured that his mother was wholly addicted to the religion of the Iewes, hee endeouored himselfe the more to shew himselfe zealous therein: and supposing that hee could not bee a perfect Iew, except he were circumcised, he prepared himselfe to be circumcised. Vnto which when his mother vnderstood, she laboured to her vttermost to hinder his resolution, certifying him that in so doing he should bring himself in great daunger; for that in being king, he would draw himselfe into the dislike of his subjects, if they should haue notice that he was addicted to a new religion, and to strange ceremonies, and that they would not endure, that in being a Iew he should be their king: so she for a while by her dissuasion restrained him from his desire. But the king required counsell of *Ananias*, who, according with *Helena* in the course of her dislike, threatened *Izates*, that if he would not obey his mother, he would forsake him, and depart from him: for that he feared, least if the matter should be publicly knowne, hee should suffer some punishment, as being the onely author & instructor of the king in vndecent matters: that otherwise hee might serue God, although he were not circumcised; since he had resolved to liue according to the institutions and lawes of the Iewes, and that God would pardon him: for in this, true religion consisteth, more then in the circumcision of the body, though hee were not actually circumcised, since the necessitie and feare of his subjects ouerruled him. By which wordes the king for that time was won to affect the same no further. But some little while after (for he was not wholly altered in that affection which he had) another Iew called *Eleazar*, coming from Galilee, and accounted a man of great experience in the doctrine of our religion, perswaded him to bee circumcised. For, coming one day vnto him to salute him, hee found him reading of the bookes of *Moses*, and said vnto him; O King, contrarie to your knowledge you offend the law, and God likewise; for it sufficeth you not, that you vnderstand the same, but the chiefeft matter you are tied vnto, is to doe that which the law commaundeth: how long therefore will you remaine vncircumcised? And if as yet you haue not perused the law as touching this point, read it now.
- D to the intent you may know what impietie it is to omit it.

After the king had heard this, he would no longer deferre his circumcision: for which cause withdrawing himselfe into another chamber, he called a surgeon vnto him, who acted that which he required, and afterwards calling his mother and master *Ananias* vnto him, he certified them what had past; whereupon they grew strangely amazed, fearing least the king should grow in daunger of the losse of his kingdome, if this action of his should come to light; for that his subjects would not endure that such a man that followed a contrarie religion should be their king: they feared also, least they themselves should be in daunger, for as much as the cause of all this matter would be imputed to them. But God by his providence preuented, least any of those things which they feared should come to effect: for he deliuered *Izates* himselfe and his children likewise out of many dangers, yeelding them his assistance in their doubtful & desperat estates, declaring in effect that those that onely put their trust in him, and depend vpon his providence, are neuer deprived of the fruit of their pietie. But of these things will we speake hereafter.

When *Helena* the kings mother perceived that the estate of the kingdome was in peace, and that by all mens opinion, both homebred and strangers, her sonne was repared happie by the good will of God, she was seized with a desire to go and visit the citie of Ierusalem, and adore God in that temple, which was so much renowned thorow the whole world, & offer sacrifice of thankgiuing therein; for which cause she besought her son that he would suffer her to performe her vowes: who willingly condescended to her desire, and furnished her royally with all things that were necessarie for such a voyage; giuing her a great masse of money with her, & bringing her onward on her way many daies journey; so that at length she arrived in Ierusalem, to the great advantage of the inhabitants of that city. For at that time the citie was oppressed with a grieuous famine, so as many died for want of food; for which cause Queene *Helena* sent her seruants some into *Alexandria* to buy a great quantitie of corne, the rest into Cyprus to buy dried figs; who returned with all expedition they might; whereupon *Helena* distributed the victuals among the poore, leauing a singulat memorie of her beneficence among the whole nation. Her sonne *Izates* also vnderstanding of this famine, sent a great summe of money to the gouernour of Ierusalem. But hereafter

Artabanus re-
tireth himselfe
to Izates, and
receiveth his
assistance.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

after will I declare what other benefits the king and Queene haue bestowed vpon our nation. Now *Artabanus* king of Parthia, perceiuing that the princes of his kingdome had conspired against him, resolved with himselfe to go vnto *Izates*, for the securitie of his life and person, hoping by his meanes, if it were possible, to recover his kingdome. He therefore retired thither, & brought with him about one thousand men of his kinsfolke and household seruants. And by the way he met with *Izates*, whom he knew verie well by his royall traine, notwithstanding he were vnknowne vnto him by countenance. Drawing therefore neere vnto him, he first of all humbled himselfe on his knees, according to the custome of the countrey, and afterwarde spake vnto him after this manner.

“Dread king, forsake me not, who am thy seruant, neither reiect thou my prayers. For being dejected by the meanes of my misfortunes, and of a king become a private man, I haue neede of thy succour. Consider therefore the inconstancie of fortune, and thinke with thy selfe, that by prouiding for mee, thou shalt prouide for thy selfe. For if thou makest no reckoning of the wrong that is done vnto me, diuers men will grow audacious to enterprize vpon other kings.”

These words pronounced hee with weeping teares, and with lookes lowly fixed vpon the ground. When *Izates* had heard *Artabanus* name, and saw his humble and submissive estate, he leapt incontinently from his horse and said vnto him: King, be of good courage, and let not thy present and perplexed condition dismay thee, as if thy misfortunes were irreuerable. For this sorrow of thine shall sodainly bee changed, and thou shalt finde a better friende and alie, then thou hopedst for at this time. For either will I repossesse thee of thy kingdome of Parthia, or I will lose mine owne gouernment. This said, he caused *Artabanus* to get vp on horsebacke, and I walked by him on foote, yielding him this honour, as to a greater king then himselfe. Which when *Artabanus* sawe, hee was discontented, and ware by his fortune and honour to come, that he would set foote on ground, if hee would not get vp on horsebacke and ride before him: whereunto he obeyed, and mounting vpon his horse againe, hee conducted him to his palace; yielding him all the honour that was possible, both in his sittings and banquets, as in his assemblies, nor respecting his present estate or condition; but his former dignitie: considering with himselfe, that such casuall misfortunes and changes are incident to all men. Furthermore hee wrote vnto the Parthians, perwading them to receiue their king *Artabanus*, assuring them on his faith and oath, that hee would obtaine a free pardon for all that which was past, and to that intent he offered himselfe to be an arbitrator betwene them. The Parthians gaue him this answer, that they would not refuse to entertain him, but that they could not for that one who was called *Cinnamus* was aduanced in his place and dignitie, and that they feared least a sedition should happen amongst them. *Cinnamus* who was a noble and honourable minded man, knowing that their intent was such, wrote himselfe vnto *Artabanus*, who had nourished and brought him vp, exhorting him to returne vpon his faith, and to receiue againe his owne kingdome. *Artabanus* vpon this motion gaue credit to his words, and returned backe againe. Whereupon *Cinnamus* came forth and met him, and prostrating himselfe before his teere, called him king; and afterwarde taking the diademe from off his own head, he set it vpon *Artabanus* head, who by this means was restored to his former estate by *Izates* mediation, after he had been driven out of his kingdome by his chiefe nobilitie. And hee did not forget the fauours which hee had receiued at *Izates* hands, but did him all the honour that possibly hee could imagine: For hee permitted him to weare the straight Tiara, and to sleepe vpon a gilded bed, which is a priuiledge that belongeth only to the kings of Parthia. Hee gaue him also a goodly and great countrey which he had taken from the king of Armenia. This countrey was called Nisibis, where in times past the Macedons had builded the Citie of Antioch by them called Mygdonia.

Presently after *Izates* was in this sort honoured, *Artabanus* died, leauing his kingdome to his sonne *Vardanes*, who repaired to *Izates*, praying him to ioyne with him in that warre which he intended to wage against the Romans: but he prevailed not with him. For *Izates* knowing the Romans force and good hap, imagined that hee vnderooke a matter beyond his power. Furthermore, he had sent tunc of his young sonnes to Ierusalem to learne our tongue and discipline, and his mother likewise to adore in the temple, for which cause hee the rather held backe and dissuaded *Vardanes* from enterprizing against the Romans, whose power and puissant conquests he ordinarily reckoned vp vnto him, to the end he might dismay him, & by these his allegations cause him to giue over his purposed intent of war against them. But the Parthian was displeased with this his perswasion, and for that cause denounced a present warre against *Izates*. But this his enterprize had but a fruitlesse issue: for God cut off all his hopes. For the Parthians vnderstanding what

OF THE IEWES. THE XX. BOOKE.

A what *Vardanes* intent was, and how he was resolved to vndertake a war against the Romans, flew him, and gaue the kingdome to his brother *Gotarza*, whom not long after this, his brother *Vologesus* slew by treason, restoring to his two brothers by the mother side the provinces, that is to say the kingdome of Media to *Pacorus* who was the eldest, and Armenia to *Tiridates* who was the younger.

When *Monobazus* king *Izates* brother and the rest of his kinsfolke saw how happily all things succeeded to *Izates*, and how in respect of his piety towards God, he was honoured and reuerenced by all men, they also resolved themselves to forsake their religion, and to serue God after the manner of the Iewes: But this intent of theirs was discovered. Whereupon the chiefe among them grew displeased; yet did they not manifest their despire, but kept it hidden in their hearts, seeking some fit occasion to reuenge themselves as soone as they might. They wrote also to *Abias* king of Arabia, and promised him great summes of mony, if he would take armes against their king, promising him that vpon the first charge, they would forsake him, for that they desired to be reuenged on him; who was growne in hatred of their religion. Having therefore confirmed their promise with an oath, they incited him to make haste. The king of Arabia performed that which they required, and marched forth against *Izates* with a great power. And when as the first charge was ready to be giuen, and before they came to handy-strokes, all *Izates* souldiers forsooke him; and turning their backs to their enemies, fled in great disorder, as if they had been surprised with a Panique feare; yet was *Izates* no waies dismayed, but hauing discovered that it was the treason and conspiracy of his greatest peeres, he retired himselfe also into his campe, where he enquired of the cause that they pretended. After he knew that they had comploted with the Arabians, he caused the conspirators to be put to death: and the next day after went out to fight, and slew a great number of his enemies, & constrained the rest to betake them to flight. He pursued their king also into a fort called *Arsam*, which hee battered and assaulted with such spirit and diligence, that he tooke the same with a great quantitie of bootie that was therein, and returned to Adiabena with great triumph: but he tooke not *Abias* alieue; for hee himselfe had preuented his captiuitie with his death. The Lords of Adiabena seeing themselves frustrated of their former hopes, in that by Gods hand they were deliuered into the hands of their king, could not containe their displeasure, but practiced further mischief: for they wrote their letters to *Vologesus* king of Parthia, desiring him to kill *Izates*, and to bestow an other king vpon them who was a Parthian, for that they hated their king, who had abolished their religion, and had embraced a strange lawe. The Parthian vnderstanding herof prepared himselfe for the warre: and hauing no iust colour or pretext to enforce the same, he sent a messenger vnto him to redemand those honours which his father had giuen him; which if he refused, he denounced warre against him. *Izates* was not a little troubled in his minde, when he vnderstood this message: For he thought that if he should restore the giftes, he should offer himselfe great preiudice, for that it would be imagined that he did it for feare: knowing on the other side, that if the Parthian should recouer that which he redemanded, yet would he not be in quiet; he therefore commended his cause to God, trusting that he would take care of him. And building vpon this, that the greatest good he might haue, was to haue God to helpe, hee shut his wiues and children in a strong Castle, and his come in his strongest towers: and afterwards burned all the hay and forrage; and hauing after this manner prouided for all things, he expected the approach of his enemy. The Parthian came onward sooner then he was expected, with a great power of horsemen and footmen. For he marched forward in all haste, and encamped neere vnto the fould that separateth Adiabena from Media. *Izates* likewise encamped not farre from thence, hauing with him about six thousand horsemen. To whom the Parthian sent a messenger to giue him to vnderstand how great his power was, which extended from the riuier of Euphrates as farre as Bactria, recounting vnto him what kings he had vnder his subiection, threatening him to punish him very seuerely, in that he behaued himselfe so vngratefully towards his benefactors, yea in such sort as the god whom he adored, might not deliuer him out of the kings hands. Hereunto *Izates* answered, that he knew well that the Parthian farre exceeded him in power, but that he was farre better assured that Gods power extended beyond all mens contradiction. And hauing returned him this answer he betook himselfe to his prayers, and prostrating himselfe vpon the earth, and casting ashes on his head, and fasting himselfe, his wiues and all his children, hee called vpon God, and prayed after this manner: O Lord Almighty, if I haue not vainly submitted my selfe to thy protection, but haue entirely chosen thee for mine onely and true God, be thou my helpe and assistance, and not onely deliuer mee from mine enemies, but also abate and controule their

D d d.

pride,

The year of the
world, 4009, af-
ter Christ's birth,
47.

After *Vardanes* was slain,
the kingdome
was committed
to *Gotarza*.
Vologesus
king of Parthia
Monobazus
and his kindred
think to receiue
the Iewes reli-
gion.

The Adiabeni-
ans conspire
with the king
of Arabia a-
gainst *Izates*.

The Lords of
Adiabena per-
suade *Vologesus*
to kill *Izates*.

Izates calleth
vpon God, who
tendeth the
Dahur and
Sagans into
Parthia, vpon
whose arrival
Vologesus so-
terneth.

Izates com-
forteth *Artabanus* & pro-
misseth him his
assistance.

Izates writeth
to the Parthi-
ans, and per-
suadeth them
to receiue
their king.

Cinnamus re-
storeth the
kingdome to
Artabanus.

Izates recei-
ueth great
honours and
gifts at *Artabanus*
hands.
Antiochia
and Mygdonia
brought by
the Macedons.
Vnto times after
his fathers
death *Izates*
to perade *Izates*
to make
war against
the Romans,
but he prevail-
eth not.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

pride, who haue not been affaide in their vnbridled language, to prophane thy holy and sacred name, and vtter blasphemous speeches against thy power. Thus prayed he with sighes & teares, and God heard him: For incontinently, and the very same night, *Volagesus* received letters by which he was certified that a great number of Dahans and Sacans taking opportunity by his absence, were entered into the kingdom of Parthia, and spoiled the whole countrey: for which cause he returned backe into his countrey without any further trouble. And thus *Izates* by Gods prouidence was warranted from the Parthians threats.

Not long after this, at such time as he had liued fifty five yeeres, and reigned foure and twenty, and left behinde him foure and twentie sonnes, he dyed, and appointed his brother *Monobazus* to succeed him in the kingdom, requiring hereby his faith and loyalty, in that during the time of his absence, and after the death of his father, he had faithfully ruled and gouerned the kingdom to his vse. His mother *Helena* hearing newes of his death, lamented very grievously as reason would, in that she being his mother was deuiued of a sonne that so zealously honored and feared God. Yet notwithstanding she was comforted, when shee vnderstood that her eldest sonne was to succede him in the kingdom; and hastned her selfe with all diligence, to go & meet him. As soone as shee arriued in Adiabena, she liued not long time after her son *Izates*: Whereupon *Monobazus* tooke both her body and his brothers bones, and sent them to Ierusalem, commanding that they should be buried in three Pyramides which *Helena* had builded, some three stades or furlongs off of Ierusalem. But hereafter will we recite the acts and gifts of *Monobazus* during his reigne.

Izates deliuereth vp the kingdom to his brother *Monobazus*, and dieth.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. al. 8. *Theudas* persuadeth the people that with a sword he wil cause Iordan to diuide it selfe; & yeeld them passage: he with his followers are slaine.

But during *Fadus* gouernment in Iudaea, a certaine Magician called *Theudas*, perswaded a great number of the people to take all their goods and substance, and to followe him to the flood Iordan; for he said he was a Prophet, and told them that the riuer should diuide it selfe into two parts vpon his commandement, and yeeld them free passage. By these words of his hee deceiued diuers of them. But *Fadus* would not permit that such a fury of theirs should breede them any commoditie: but he sent a troupe of horsemen, who charged them on the sodain, and slew a great number of them; and tooke diuers of them prisoners aliue, amongst whom was *Theudas*, whose head was stricken off, and was afterwards carried to Ierusalem. This is that which befell the Iewes vnder *Fadus* gouernment.

CHAP. III.

The Gouernour Tiberius Alexander punissheth the sonnes of Iudas the Galilean.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 5. al. 8. *Tiberius Alexander* gouernour of Iudaea.

James and *Simon* the sons of Galilee crucified.

They were of the world, 4011. after Christs birth, 49.

After *Fadus* succeeded *Tiberius Alexander*, the sonne of that *Alexander* who had bin gouernour of Alexandria; a man of as great riches as any one of his time and place, who surpassed likewise his sonne *Alexander* in pietie and seruice of God, who forsooke the religion of his forefathers. In that time there hapned a great famine in Iewry, during which *Q. Helena* sent huge summes of money into Aegypt, and bought corn and distributed the same to those that were in want, according as I haue forespoken. At the same time *James* and *Simon* the sons of *Iudas* of Galilee, who had busied themselves to incite the people to resist the gouernment of the Romans, were put to death at such time as *Cyrenius* valued each mans goods, as we haue heretofore declared. These did *Alexander* commaund to be crucified. *Herode* king of Chalcis tooke away the soueraigne priesthood from *Ioseph* the sonne of *Camydas*, and transferred it to *Ananias* the sonne of *Nebedeus*. After *Tiberius Alexander*, succeeded *Cumanus*. Then died *Herod*, who was brother to king *Agrippa* the Great, in the eighth yeare of *Claudius Caesar*. He left behinde him three sonnes; *Aristobolus* whom he had by his first wife: *Bernicianus* & *Hircanus* by *Bernice* his brothers daughter. *Claudius Caesar* gaue the kingdom belonging to him, to *Agrippa* the younger. During the time that *Cumanus* gouerned, there hapned a sedition in Iudaea, whereby diuers Iewes miscarried. The cause of all which accidents I will rip vp from the originall.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

How a great number of the Iewes were slaine about the Temple.

AT the time of the feast of Pascha (during which time we are accustomed to feed on unleavened bread) a great number of people assembled themselves from all parts to the cite of Ierusalem. Whereupon *Cumanus* fearing least by this occasion there should arise some commotion, he gaue order that a company of his soldiers should be armed, & should keep their guard in the porches of the temple, to the end that if any trouble should happen, they might repress it. Those gouernours, who had bene his predecessors, had done the like in such maner of assemblies. It came to passe on the fourth day of the feast, that a certain souldier discovering those priuities which were vndecent to be seene, shewed them before the people: wherewith they that beheld the same, were sore displeased, & prouoked, saying, that the dishonour was not done vnto them, but to God, to whom it rightly appertained. And some of them of best resolution cast out certaine speeches against *Cumanus*, saying; that the souldier was set on by him. Which when *Cumanus* vnderstood, he was in like maner grievously offended in regard of those iniuries: yet exhorted he those, whom he saw too forward in raising factions, to keepe the peace, for feare least a sedition should grow during the time of the feast; and seeing they would in no sort obey him, but contrariwise they ceased not to iniury and reuile him, hee commanded that all the forces he had should be in armes, and retire themselves into the fortresse of Antonia that was neere vnto the temple, as we haue heretofore declared. The people seeing the armed soldiers were affraid, & began to fly: but because the places thorow which they issued, were but narrow, they imagined that they were pursued by their enemies; so that they thrust on one another in their flight, and diuers of them were thronged to death. In this mutiny there died twenty thousand men: and after this in steed of a feast there was nothing but mourning; & without bethinking themselves of their prayers and sacrifices, all of them began to weepe and lament. So great mischiefe sprang from the insolence of one souldiour. This first lamentation was scarcely finished, before a second succeeded the same. For some of those who had a part in this mutiny, being about some hundreth stades off of the cite, robbed one *Steuens* that was *Cæsars* seruant in the high way, and tooke from him all that which he had. Which when *Cumanus* vnderstood, he presently sent some of his souldiers to spoile those villages, which were neere to the place where the fact was committed, & to bring the chiefe inhabitants thereof in bonds vnto him. In this pillage a certain souldier found a booke of the law of *Moses* in one of these villages, which he took & brought, and before them all tore it in peeces, with hainous blasphemies & vile speeches against the law and whole nation. The Iewes vnderstanding hereof, sodainly assembled themselves in great numbers, and ran to *Cæsarea* where *Cumanus* kept for that present, requiring him that he would reuenge not their cause, but Gods, whose law was on that sort dishonoured, signifying vnto him, that it was impossible for them to liue, so long as their law was thus contemned. *Cumanus* fearing least a second mutiny and vpror should be raised among the people, by the counsell of his friends cut off the souldiers head, who had committed that outrage against the law, and by this meanes appeased the sedition that was ready to take head.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. 10.

In the feast of Pascha a certaine souldier shewing his priuie members moueth a sedition among the people, whereby twenty thousand Iewes lost their liues.

Steuens *Cæsars* seruant, robbed in his journey, for which cause *Cumanus* spoileth the villages neere to the place where the robbery was done. A certain souldier teareth the booke of *Moses* law, and therefore is beheaded by *Cumanus* commandement.

CHAP. V.

The sedition of the Iewes against the Samaritanes.

THere hapned also an enmitie betwixt the Samaritanes and the Iewes, vpon this occasion. They of Galilee, who resorted to the Cite of Ierusalem at the times of our solemne feasts, were accustomed to passe thorow the countrey of the Samaritanes. And at that time it hapned, that their way lay thorow a borough called *Nais*, situate in a great champain field: where a quarrell arising betwixt diuers inhabitants of the place, and certaine passengers, a great number of the Galileans were murdered. Which when the magistrates of Galilee vnderstood, they resorted to *Cumanus*, requiring him to execute iustice on those that had murdered their countymen: but he being corrupted with money by the Samaritanes, made no account of their complaint. The Galileans being prouoked by this contempt of his, perswaded the common people of the Iewes to betake them to their weapons, and maintaine their libertie; telling them that seruitude is of it selfe tedious; but that when it is accompanied with outrages, it is intolerable.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10. al. cap. 12. Certaine Samaritanes kill diuers Galileans in their way to Ierusalem. The year of the world, 4014. after Christs birth, 52.

The year of the world, 4014, after Christ's birth 52.
The Galileans in reuenge of their iniuries burn certaine villages of the Samaritanes and spoyle the same.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 8. al. 13.
The Samaritanes accuse the Iewes before Numidius Quadratus.

The Iewes lay the burthen of the warres on the Samaritanes and Cumanus.

Dortus with foure other are crucified.

Ananias, Ananias, Cumanus, Celer, and four other are sent to Rome.

Alias, cap. 13.

Agrippa moueth Agrippina to intreat Celer to beate the cause of the Iewes.

But their gouernours laboured to pacifie them, promising them to deale so effectually with *Cumanus*, that he should take punishment of the murderers: but they gaue them no audience, but fell to armes, requiring *Elezar* the sonne of *Dinaus* to be their chieftaine. This *Elezar* was a theefe, who for many yeeres made his abode in the mountaines: They therefore spoiled & burnt certaine villages of the Samaritanes. After that the report of all that which had passed, came to *Cumanus* eares, hee tooke a company of the souldiers of Sebaste, with foure bands of footmen, and armed the Samaritanes likewise to go and make warre against the Iewes; whom they tooke, and slew many of them, and led more of them away prisoners. When the chieft gouernours in Ierusalem saw into what an infinitie of mischiefs they were fallen, they clothed themselves in sackcloth, and cast ashes on their heads, exhorting those that were mutinous to forethinke themselves of the ruine of their countrey, the danger the temple was in to be burned, the seruitude both of themselves, their wiues and children, to prophane and strange nations; and desired them to change their aduice, and to lay aside their weapons, and cease to offer violence, to the end that they might hereafter liue in quiet, and that euery one of them would retire themselves peaceably to his owne habitation. By which words in the end they being perswaded, returned home, and betooke them to their busines. The theues also retired themselves againe into their strong holds, and from that time all Iudæa was replenished with thefts. The gouernours of Samaria relected to *Numidius Quadratus* gouernor of Syria, who dwelt at that time in Tyre, to accuse the Iewes for that they had fired their villages, and spoiled them; telling him that their losse did not so much trouble them, as for that they saw the Romanes were contemned by the Iewes: who notwithstanding ought to appeare before them as their competent Iudges; yet nailese that they assembled themselves in such sort, as if the Romanes were not their superiours. For which cause they addressed themselves to him, to the end they might haue redresse of those wrongs which they had receiued by them. This is that wherewith the Samaritans charged the Iewes: who answered to the contrary, alleading that the Samaritanes themselves had bene the authors of that mutiny & vprore; and that *Cumanus* being wholly corrupted by their money, had smothered the matter, and done no iustice on the murderers. When *Quadratus* heard this, he referred the iudgement till another time, telling them that he would giue sentence in the matter at such time as he came into Iudæa, and had examined the truth of both sides; so that they returned without doing any thing.

Anone after, *Quadratus* came into Samaria, where he heard that the Samaritanes had bene the authors of the trouble: and on the other side, knowing that some Iewes likewise intended some insurrection, he caused them to be crucified, whom *Cumanus* had left in prison. From thence hee transported himselfe to Lydda, which is a borow of no lesse bignesse then a citie: in which place he sitting on his tribunall seat, heard the Samaritans the second time, and discovered by the report of a certaine Samaritane, that one *Dortus* one of the principallest among the Iewes, and foure other his confederates induced the people to rebell against the Romanes. These did *Quadratus* cause to be executed. As for *Ananias*, who was the high Priest, and the capitaine *Ananias*, he sent them bound to Rome, to render an account to the Emperour *Claudius* of that which they had done. Moreouer, he commanded the chieft gouernours both of the Samaritanes and Iewes, that they should speedily repaire to Rome; whither *Cumanus* and captain *Celer* should conduct them, to the end they might be iudged by *Cesar* himselfe, vpon the information taken on both sides. And fearing least the common people of the Iewes should breake out into some rebellion, he repaired to the citie of Ierusalem, to giue order that the Iewes should attempt to raise no new stirres: but when he came thither, he found all in peace, and busied in the celebration of the feast and offering sacrifices to God, according to their accustomed ceremonies. Being therefore assured that no man would innouate or rebell in that place, he left them to their solemnities, and repaired to Antioch.

But the Iewes that were sent to Rome with *Cumanus*, and the principall Samaritanes had a day assigned them by the Emperour to decide the differents that were betwene them: *Cumanus* and the Samaritanes laboured all that they might by the mediation of *Cesar*'s friends and freemen, to haue the vpper hand of the Iewes, and indeede the day had bene theirs if yong *Agrippa* had not bene in Rome. For he seeing that the matter was handled to the disadvantage of the Iewes, besought *Agrippina* the Emperours wife, that she would labour her husband in such sort, that he would be pleased to take full knowledge of that which was done, and that afterwards he should execute due iustice on those whom he found guiltie of that sedition. *Claudius* fauourably gaue care to this request: and hearing the whole matter, he found that the Samaritanes were the

first

OF THE IEWES. THE XX. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4015, after Christ's Natinitie, 53.
Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 9. al. 14.
C. Iudius Felix gouernour of Iudæa.

Drusilla.

Mariamme.

Felix getteth Drusilla from her former husband.

Polemon king of Cilicia marrieth Bernice.

The year of the world, 4018, after Christ's Natinitie, 56.
Mariamme leorning Archelaus, marrieth Demetrius.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 10. al. 5.

Agrippina and Pætina Claudius wiues.

Nero Emperour.

The year of the world 4019, after Christ's birth. 57.
Nero a tyrant.

Neros tyranny

A first authors of all those mischiefs, and caused them to be put to death who came before him to pleade, and banished *Cumanus*: he gaue order also that capitaine *Celer* should be sent backe to Ierusalem, and that there in sight of all the people hee should be dragged about the Citie, vntill hee died. Furthermore, he sent *Claudius Felix*, *Pallas* brother, to gouerne Iudæa.

In the twelfth yeere of his raigne, he gaue *Agrippa Philips* Tetrarchy, with Batanea; and besides that, annexed therunto Trachonitis and Abila, which in times past appertained to *Lysanias* Tetrarchy, taking from him the prouince of Chalcis, which hee had gouerned for the space of foure yeeres. After that *Agrippa* had obtained this gift at *Cesar*'s hands, he married his sister *Drusilla* to *Azizus* king of the Emeseniens, who contented to be circumcised, because *Epiphane* king *Antiochus* sonne would not giue care vnto the mariage, for that he refused to entertaine

B the religion of the Iewes, although in times past hee had promised his father no lesse. He gaue *Mariamme* also to *Archelaus Chelcias* son, who by her fathers consent was before time promised him, on whom he begat a daughter called *Bernice*. A little after this, the marriage of *Azizus* and *Drusilla* was broken off, on this occasion following. At such time as *Felix* gouerned Iewrie, he saw *Drusilla* and was surprised with her loue, for that she surpassed all other women in beauty. He therefore sent her a certaine Magician called *Simon*, who was borne in Cyprus, and one of his greatest friends among the Iewes, who perswaded her to forsake her first husband, and to marry with *Felix*, giuing her to vnderstand that she should be happy, if she refused not this match. She vnadvised, and resolved to rid her selfe from the enuious affection, which her sister *Bernice* bare towards her (who hated her in regard of her beauty, and for this occasion ceased not to iniure

C her) she condescended to forsake the religion of the Iewes, and to marrie with *Felix*, by whom she had a sonne who was called *Agrippa*. His death hereafter will I declare, and how in the Emperour *Tiberius* time he died, & was burned in the fire of the mountaine *Veluius* with his wife. *Bernice* remained a widow, very long time after *Herods* death, who was both her vncl and her husband, and the report was that she had the company of her brother. Finally, she wrought so much, that *Polemon* king of Cilicia caused himself to be circumcised, to the end he might espouse her, purposing by that means to make it knowne how falsely she had been accused. Whereunto *Polemon* gaue care, because she was rich. But this marriage continued not any long time. For *Bernice* threw her impudencie, as it is reported, abandoned *Polemon*, who giuing ouer that marriage forooke also the religion of the Iewes. At the same time *Mariamme* hauing refused *Archelaus* her husband, married with *Demetrius* one of the chieft Iewes that were in Alexandria, both in

D regard of his descent, as also his riches, who at that time also exercised the office of Alubarcha, that is to say, the gouernour of Arabia. She caused the sonne she had by him to be called *Agrippinus*. But of all this, will I speake more exactly hereafter.

The Emperour *Claudius* died after he had raigned thirteene yeeres, eight moneths and twentie daies. Some say, that hee was poisoned by *Agrippina* his wife, the daughter of *Germanicus Claudius* brother, which was first married to *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of the greatest men of Rome: after whose death and long widowhood, she was finally married to *Claudius*, into whose house shee brought her sonne called *Domitius*, by his owne fathers name. *Claudius* had before time put *Messalina* his wife to death, for the ieaousie that hee had of her: although hee had had

E children by her, namely *Britannicus* and *Ostia*. He had *Ostia* also by his first wife *Pætina*, which was elder then her brethren, and was married to *Nero*, whom *Claudius* so named, and adopted for his son. *Agrippina*, fearing least *Britannicus*, growing to mans estate, should succeed his father in the Empire, & delirous to make her owne sonne Emperour, as it is reported: she left nothing vnattempted that might bring her husband to his death; and presently sent *Burrus*, who was generall of the army, with certaine other capitaines, and those of greatest power amongst his freemen, to bring *Nero* into the field, and to proclaime him Emperour. Hee being thus established in the Empire, caused *Britannicus* to be secretly poisoned; and not long after this he openly caused his mother to be put to death, yeelding her this recompence, not only for that shee had borne him in her wombe, but also for that by her policies he had obtained the Empire. He likewise murdered *Ostia* his wife, and diuers other noble men, vnder colour of some conspiracie intended against him. But I will no further prosecute this matter, for that there are diuers who haue composed *Neros* historie, of whom some haue had no regard of the truth, but haue spoken at their pleasure, for that he had bene their benefactor: other some transported with hatred and despite against him, haue not bene ashamed to publish such impudent lies against his renowne, as they deserue to be condemned. Neither doe I wonder that they haue inuented so many lies against *Nero*, considering that in those histories which they wrote as touching the precedent Em-

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perours,

perours, they haue not studied to speake truth, although they had not any occasion to hate them, considering that they liued a long time after their death. But let these contemners of truth write as them listeth, for that they seeme to take delight in that licence. For mine owne part I am intended to write nothing but the truth: neither stand I much on that which concerneth not the matter which I intreat of, purposing in al truth and diligence to declare that which hath befallen our nation of the Iewes, without omitting of either their misfortunes or follies, that haue proceeded with them. I will therefore returne to the discouerie of our affaires. *Agrippa* king of Emesene being dead the first yeere of the Emperour *Neros* raigne, his brother obtained the kingdom: *Aristobulus* the sonne of *Herode* king of Chalcis, had the gouernment of the signorie of the lesser Armenia from *Neros* hand. *Cesar* gaue *Agrippa* a certaine portion of Galilee, commanding those of Tiberias and Tarichæa to liue vnder him. Besides this, hee gaue him Iulias situate beyond Iordan, with fourteene boroughs neere adioyning thereunto.

CHAP. VI.

The acts and gests of Felix, gouernour of Iudæa.

Alas, cap. 16.
Felix punished the
theues, and
Magicians
and other seducers of the
people.
Eleazar the
sonne of
Dinaus sent to
Rome.

BUt the affaires of Iudæa grewe daily worse and worse. For the countrey was replenished againe with theues, and enchanterers, who deceived the common people. *Felix* apprehended many of them daily, and caused them to bee executed and put to death. Hee tooke *Eleazar* also the sonne of *Dinaus*, who was captaine of those outlawes & theues that ranged in the countrey, and surprised him by a subtiltie. For *Felix* had giuen him his word, that he should in no sort be endangered: Whereupon he came and submitted himselfe, and was presently fettered and sent to Rome. And for that he had conceiued a displeasure against *Jonathan* the hie priest, who had diuers times admonished him to vse more circumspection in the gouernment of Iudæa, for feare he should be blamed by the people, for that he had required *Cesar* that *Felix* might be admitted to the gouernment, he thought it not amisse to cut off *Jonathan*, who continually solicited and vexed him. For this cause, he perswaded and bribed a certaine man called *Dora*, who was borne in Ierusalem, & was one of those in whom *Jonathan* reposed his most trust, to bring in certaine theues to murder *Jonathan*, who willingly listned to his demands; and desirous to gratifie the gouernour, by this meanes that ensueth brought that to effect which he had intended. There were certaine theues that came vp to Ierusalem, vnder colour to adore God, who carrying their swords closely hidden vnder their garments, accosted *Jonathan* & slew him. Now for that this murder was let slip, and not punished; from that day forward the theues resorted boldly to the solempne feasts, hauing their weapons hidden vnder their garments, and thronging in among the people, slew some of those who were their aduersaries; and other some to pleasure those, who had hired them with ready mony to rid them of those they misliked. And these outrages committed they not onely in other parts of the Citie, but in the temple likewise, where they slaughtered some who little suspected that any impietie should be committed in that place. For mine owne part, I thinke that God hath destroyed our Citie in detestation of that impietie: and for that he accounted the temple for an impure mansion place, hee hath sent vs the Romans, who haue let fire on the same to purge the Citie, and make vs slaues with our wives and children, intending thereby to teach vs wilddome by our owne miseries. Thus was the Citie filled with these thefts and murders. And as touching the enchanterers and deceiuers, they perswaded the common people to follow them into the desert, promising them to shew them signes and miracles done by the power of God: whereunto diuers gaue care, and at last suffered the penaltie of their folly. For *Felix* recalling them backe againe, punished them.

The deceitfull
Magicians.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 12.
al. cap. 17.
A false proph.
draweth the
Iewes to the
mount Oliuet.

At that same time there came a certaine man from *Ægypt* to Ierusalem, who tearmed himselfe a prophet, who incited the common people to follow him to the mount called *Oliuet*, situate not far off from Ierusalem, and onely distant some fiew furlongs from thence, telling them from thence that hee would make them see the wals of the citie fall vnto the ground, by which way hee promised them to giue them entrie. Which being reported to *Felix*, he caused his soldiers to arme themselves, and departing out of Ierusalem with great store of horse and foote, he set vpon them, and slew foure hundredth of them, and tooke two hundredth aliue: as for the Egyptian he escaped out of the skirmish, and no man knew what became of him. The theues also incited the people anew to make warre against the Romans, telling them that they ought not to yeeld them obedience; and they burned and spoiled diuers of those boroughs which opposed themselves against them. It chanced also that the Iewes, which inhabited *Cæsarea*, mutined against

The yeare of the
world, 4019. after
Christs birth
Hedio & Rufinus,
chap. 13.
al. 18.
A broile in
Cæsarea betweene the
Syrians and
the Iewes.

Against the Syrians that were in the same Citie, in that they stroue to haue an equall authoritie in the gouernment of the state as well as they. The Iewes pretended the title of superiority, because that *Herod*, who was a Iew, had builded the citie of *Cæsarea*: on the other side, the Syrians auowed the Iewes sayings to be true; but they replied also that *Cæsarea* was in times past called the tower of *Straton*, and that at that time there was not one Iew that inhabited the same. Which when the gouernours of that countrey heard, they laid hands on the authors of this sedition, as well of the one as of the other partie, and gaue them the bastinado, pacifying by this meanes the trouble for a little space. For the Iewes once more beeing puffed vp with their riches, & contemning the Syrians, iniuriously reuiled and prouoked them: on the other side, the Syrians beeing weaker in substance, but as great in hart (by reason the greatest number of those that bare armes with the Romans were *Cæsareans* & *Sebastens*) at sometimes brake out into opprobrious speeches against the Iewes, and at length the quarrell grew to that heat, that they cast stones one at another: so that on both sides diuers of them were both slaine and hurt; yet had the Iewes the vpper hand. *Felix* perceiuing that this debate might breed a warre, came on betwene them, requiring the Iewes to desist from further violence, and commanding his souldiers to beate downe those who should refuse to obey him: by which meanes a great number were slaine, and diuers taken prisoners. Moreover, he gaue his souldiers libertie to spoile, and rob diuers very rich haggates. The other Iewes, who besides their authoritie were renowned for their moderation, fearing least the like miserie should befall them, besought *Felix* to found a retreat, and to call in his souldiers, and to spare that which as yet remained, beeing sore grieved at that which had hapned: to which *Felix* condescended. At that same time king *Agrippa* gaue the priesthood to *Ismael*, the sonne of *Phabeus*. There arose also a dissension betwixt the high priests, and the other priests and gouernours of Ierusalem, and each faction walked forth accompanied with a troupe of proud & mutinous persons, who decided their debates with bitter words, and flinging of stones; so that no man might pacifie them. For all things were so out of order, as if there had beene no Magistrates in the citie: and the impudencie and audacioulnesse of the high priests permitted so much, that they sent their seruants into the granges, to seize the tenths that were due vnto the priests; whereby it came to passe, that some poore priests died of needesitie, and want: so much did the violence of the seditions at that time preuaile aboue all right.

The yeare of the
world, 4020. after
Christs birth,
58.

Ismael the son
of Iulius the
high priest.
The strife betweene the
high, priests &
the priests.

CHAP. VII.

D

The gouernment of Portius Festus: and of certaine murderers.

AFTER that *Portius Festus* had been sent by *Nero* to succed *Felix* in the gouernment of Iudæa, the chiefe of those Iewes that inhabited *Cæsarea*, repaired to Rome to accuse *Felix*: and without all doubt he had been punished for the iniuries hee had committed against the Iewes, if *Nero* had not pardoned him vpon his brother *Pallas* submission and intreatie, who importuned him, and was at that time in great reputation with him. Furthermore, two of the chiefe amongst the Syrians wrought *Berillus*, who had some-times been *Neros* maister, & at that time was Secretarie of estate in the Greek tongue, by mighty bribes, to begge at *Neros* hand the reuocation of the right and title, which the Iewes enjoyed in the gouernment and administration of the common-weale. For which cause *Berillus* solicited the Emperour, & obtained a letter at his hands, which was the cause of those mischiefs that afterwards hapned in our nation. For the Iewes of *Cæsarea*, vnderstanding what commision the Syrians had gotten, were so much the more kindled and encouraged to make warre.

EAs soone therefore as *Festus* was arrived in Iudæa, hee found the country grieuouly afflicted with robberies, and the lower countrey was spoiled by sword and fire. The theues likewise at that time increased wondrously, and they vsed short swords after the manner of a Persian Cycmetre, and crooked like the Roman faulchion; with which they slew diuers men. For thrusting themselves into the presse of people that came in great multitudes on the festiuall daies to celebrate Gods seruice, they killed those very easily whom they list; and oftentimes repairing to their enemies villages, they spoiled and burnt the same. But *Festus* sent diuers forces both of horse and foote against certaine Iewes, that were seduced by an enchanter, who had promised the security and repose from all their troubles and molestations, if so be they would follow him into the desert; who slew both the deceiver and the deceived that followed him. At that time king *Agrippa* erected a stately building, within the palace at Ierusalem, neere vnto the porch. This palace in times past appertained to the *Asmonæans*; & was situate in a high place with a goodlie prospect, from

Alas cap. 19.
Felix accused

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 14.

The cutthroats among the
Iewes.
Festus discouereth a great
deceiuer with
all his followers.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 15.
al. 10.

The year of the world, 4020. after Christs birth 58.
The chiefeft men of Ierusalem, ftop vp the prospect of Agrippas houle.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE ANTIQVITIES

from whence they that lifted, might with pleasure behold the whole citie of Ierusalem, wherein the king rooke great delight, & beheld from thence that which was done in the temple. The chiefeft men of Ierusalem seeing this building, were fore displeased. For neither doth our custome or law permit that any one should looke on that which is done in the temple, and especially forbidder that no man should behold the sacrifices and oblations. They therefore builded a high wall vpon the gallerie, which was within the temple on the West side, which did not onely dampe the sight of the roiall chamber, but also that of the gallery without the temple on the West side, where the Romaines kept guard neere vnto the temple on the festiuall daies. Herewith was king Agrippa fore displeased, and the gouernour Festus farre more then he, who commanded them to pull downe the wall. But they belought him that he would giue them licence to send their Embassadors to Nero, to this intent, alleading that it was impossible for them to liue, if any part of their temple should be beaten downe. Which beeing granted them, they sent tenne of their chiefeft nobilitie, and with them Ismael the high priest, and Chelcias the Treasurer of the temple, vnto Nero: who no sooner heard their sute, but hee pardoned them, not onely for that they had done, but he commaunded that the building should remaine as it was. All which he did in fauor of his wife Poppea, who was intreated by the Iewes, for that shee was a deuout Princeesse, to sue for them. Shee therefore commaunded the tenne Embassadors to returne, and kept Chelcias and Ismael for pledges with her. The king vnderstanding how all things had past, gaue the high priesthood to Ioseph, surnamed Cabi, which was the sonne of Simon, who in times past had bene high Priest.

Ioseph Cabi the sonne of Simon made high priest.

CHAP. VIII.

The government of Albinus.

Albinus gouernour of Iudæa. Ananus the son of Ananus the high priest Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 16 al. 21. Ananus had five sons that succeeded him in the priesthood. The year of the world, 4025. after Christs birth, 53. James the brother of our Lord, stoned. Ananus accused before Albinus.

Iesus the son of Damneus possessed Ananus place.

Some forcibly gather the tenths of the priests.

Aesar beeing aduertised of Festus death, sent Albinus to gouerne Iudæa. But king Agrippa commaunded Ioseph to lead a priuate life, and aduanced in his steed a certaine man called Ananus, the sonne of Ananus, who is reported to haue been most happy. For hee had five sonnes, all which supplied the place of the high priest, after himselfe had long time before them enjoyed the roome: the like whereof hath neuer happened to any of our high priests. The younger Ananus, who, as we said, was aduanced to this place, was a rash and head-strong man, that followed the sect of the Sadduces, who (as we haue already declared) were amongst all other the Iewes the most seuer in executing iustice: whereas therefore Ananus was of this disposition, he thought that he had a fit occasion offered him to doe what him list after Festus death, and during the time that Albinus was as yet vpon his way. Hee therefore ascended and sat downe in the tribunall, assisted by the Iudges, and caused James the brother of Iesus, who was called Christ, to appeare before him, with certaine others; and accused them for transgressing the law, and blasphemy against God, and caused them to be stoned to death. They that were men of vpright conscience within the citie, and diligent obseruers of the law, were very much displeased with this act, and sent secretly vnto the king, beseeching him to prohibit Ananus, that hereafter he should commit no such like offence: for that his first action was not allowable. Some of them also went to meet Albinus, beeing on his way from Alexandria, to enforme him that it was not lawfull for Ananus to assemble the councill without his licence. Albinus perswaded by these words, wrote a cholerick letter to Ananus, wherein he threatned to punish him. And for the same cause king Agrippa dispossessed him of the Priesthood, after hee had held the same for the space of three months, and in his steed he established Iesus the sonne of Damneus. After that Albinus was arriued in Ierusalem, he employed all his care and studie to pacifie the country, by executing diuers of the thieues.

But the high priest Ananias daily increased in honour and credit, and purchased the good will of the citizens by his liberalitie and great gifts. But hee had certaine mischieuous seruants about him, who conuersed with those that were most intemperate and audacious, who repairing from graunge to graunge, tooke vp many tenths that belonged to the Priests, and beate those that refused to render them. The priests vsed no lesse force then did their seruants, hauing no man that might restraints them: whereby it came to passe that the priests, who were before time maintained by the tenths, died at that time for want of victuals. And the thieues renewing their entrance into the citie by night, during the feast that was celebrated at that time, took the Secretary of cap-tain Eleazar alie, who was Ananias son, who was the high Priest. And hauing bound him, ledde him

OF THE IEWES. THE XX. BOOKE.

A him out of the Citie, sending Ananias word, that they would deliuer his Secretary, if hee would labour so much with Albinus, as to deliuer them their ten companions then prisoners, who were taken by him. To the performance whereof, Ananias perswaded Albinus by manifest reason: and by obtaining his demaund, increased and begat a number of miseries. For the thieues vsed all the wile means they could deuise in apprehending some one of Ananias houle; and when they had taken any one of them alie, they would not deliuer him, except before they might haue one of their owne deliuered. So that increasing both in courage and number, they waxed more and more insolent to afflict the countrey.

At the same time king Agrippa enlarged the citie of Cæsarea, surnamed Philippi, and in honour of Nero called it Neronias. Hee builded also to his great charge a Theater in fauor of the Berytians, wherein euery yeere hee spent diuers thousands of siluer in sports. Hee distributed oyle and corne to euery one of the people, and garnished all the citie with most antique and goodly counterfaiert portraitures vpon the porches. Briefely, hee welny transported into the citie all the ornaments of the rest of his kingdom; for which cause his subjects beganne to hate him, seeing hee depriued them of their rare ornaments to adorne one strange citie. Iesus the sonne of Gamaliel succeeded in the priesthood, which the king had giuen him, and taken away from Iesus the sonne of Damneus: who resigned him his place against his will. Whereupon there arose a discord betwene them. For hauing assembled their resolute followers, they grew from bitter words to fatall blowes and stones. But amongst all the rest, Ananias was the richest in wealth, and by his bountie reconciled the more vnto him. Costobarus also & Saul gathered each of the a band of rascal-liance with Agrippa, they were well beloued. For which cause they were outrageous & violent, in spoiling and rauishing the fortunes of the weaker sort. From this time forward the estate of our citie grew desperate, encreasing daily more and more in wickednesse.

When Albinus vnderstood that Gessius Florus came to succeed him, desirous that they of Ierusalem should acknowledge some good turne at his hands, hee called before him all those prisoners that were notoriously guiltie of murder, & caused the to be executed. As for those that were imprisoned vpon any small or slight cause, vpon payment of their fines, he deliuered them: and in so doing, the prison was cleane of malefactors, and from that time the country remained full of thieues and robbers.

D The Leuites, who were ordained to sing the hymnes vnto God, solicited the king to assemble the councill, and thereby to permit them to wear the linnen Robe, which the priests were accustomed to vse, telling him that such an ordinance would dignifie his estate very much, in that hee would be alwaies famous in memory of this new establishment. This sute of theirs was easily respected & admitted: For the king after he had consulted with those, who were his assistants, suffered the Leuites that sung the hymnes, to lay aside their ordinarie Robe, and to apperrell themselves in linnen, as best liked them. Hee permitted also that another part of the Leuites, who intended the seruice of the temple, should learne to sing the hymnes and psalmes according as they had required. All which he did contrarie to the ordinances of the countrey, which beeing broken, there was nought else to be expected but punishment.

E At that time was the building of the Temple finished: And the people percciuing that more then eigheteen thousand workmen should be idle, and depriued of wages, vvhcreupon they were accustomed to liue in trauailing in the building of the temple: on the other side, beeing loath to reserue their money thorow the feare they had of the Romans; to provide for these vworkmen (in the entertainment of whom they resolved to employ their treasure: for if any one of them trauailed but one howre in the day, he was suddainly paid his wages) they requested the King that it would please him to repaire the Easterne gate on the outward part of the temple, situate in a descent, the wals whereof were in height foure hundred cubits, made of square stones of white marble, from the toppeto the bottome; and euery stone twentie foote long; and sixe foote thick.

F This worke was first builded by king Salomon; who was the first that builded our temple. But the king, to whom Claudius Cesar had giuen the commission of building the temple, thinking with himselfe that it was verie easie to breake it downe, but very hard to build it vp, & that to reedifie the porch, it would cost much time and expence, hee denied their request, permitting them neuertheless to pauer their citie with broad stone. He tooke the priesthood from Iesus the sonne of Gamaliel, and gaue it to Matthias the sonne of Theophilus. In whole time the warre betwixt the Romanes and Iewes grew to the first head:

But

Ananias, Costobarus and Saul, prepared to spoile the wealth.

Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 17. al. 21.

Albinus executed the malicious malefactors.

Agrippa giueth the robe of Leui, leave to wear linnen garments.

Agrippa permiteth the ministers of the temple to sing the sacred hymnes.

The people of the Iewes beseech the king that it may be lawfull for the to repaire the porch.

Matthias the sonne of Theophilus, high priest.

The yeere of the world, 4026. after Christ's Nativity, 64. Hedio & Rufinus, chap. 18. The succession & number of the high priests among the Iewes. Aaron and his progenie. There were 83 high priests in all.

But I thinke it not amisse, but very answerable to the course of this present historie, to speake of the priests, and to shew how they had their beginning, and to whom this honour may be lawfully communicated, and how many they were in number vntill the end of the waite. The first of them was *Aaron*, *Moses* brother, after whose death his children succeeded him, & from that time forward the honour hath continued with their successours. For it is a law obserued by our ancestors, that no man should be admitted to the priesthood, except he be of *Aarons* posteritie: for albeit he were a king, if so be that he were of another line, it was impossible for him to obtaine the priesthood. All the priests after *Aaron*, who (as we haue said) was the first, vntill *Phanias*, who the seditious created priest in the time of the war, haue been in number 83: whereof 13 haue executed the office from the time that *Moses* erected Gods tabernacle in the desert, vntill such time as arriuing in Iudaea, king *Salomon* builded a temple to God. For in the beginning, the high priesthood continued with the possessors for terme of life: but afterwards, although the priestes were yet aliae, yet were there other successors planted in their roomes. These 13 were of *Aarons* posteritie, and obtained this degree in succession the one after the other. Their first government was Aristocratie, which is the government of the nobilitie: afterwards a Monarchie; and finally, a royall government. The number of yeeres wherein these 13 flourished, were sixe hundred and twelve yeeres, from the day that our fathers departed out of Egypt, vnder the conduct of *Moses*, vntill the edification of the temple that was builded in Ierusalem by king *Salomon*.

After these 13 high priests, there were 18 others; who after *Salomons* time succeeded one after another, vntill the time that *Nabuchodonosor* king of Babylon, hauing encamped before the citie, tooke the same, and burned the temple, and transported our nation into Babylon, & led away the high priest *Iosedech* prisoner. The time of the priesthood, and continuance of these 18, was foure hundredth, sixtie sixe yeeres, sixe moneths, and ten daies: so long as the Iewes haue had the royall gouernment. After the surprisall of Ierusalem by the Babylonians, vntill such time as *Cyrus* king of Persia dismissed the Iewes, and gaue them leaue to returne from Babylon into their owne countrey, with permission to reedifie their temple, there are 70 yeeres: and at that time the captiues being returned, *Iesus* the sonne of *Iosedech* tooke vpon him the high priesthood, who with those of his posteritie to the number of fiftene, haue gouerned in a Democratic or popular estate, vntill the time of *Antiochus* surnamed *Eupator*, for the space of foure hundredth & fourteen yeeres. This *Antiochus* was the first, who with his generall *Lysias* displaced *Onias*, surnamed *Melaneus*, of his priesthood; commanding him to be slaine at Beryth, and after hee had driuen his sonne out of the succession, he established *Iacim* high priest, who notwithstanding was of *Aarons* race; but not of his familie. For this cause *Onias*, the sonne of *Onias*, and nephew to the deceased *Onias*, retired himselfe into Egypt: where growing familiar with *Ptolomey Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his wife, he perswaded them to build a temple in the confines of Heliopolis, not vnlike to that of Ierusalem, & to create a high priest in the same: of which temple in Egypt, we haue made very oftentimes mention. After that *Iacim* had held the priesthood for the space of three yeeres, he died without successor. For the Citie remained leuen yeeres without a high priest. Again, the Almonians recovered the gouernment of their nation, and after they had warred against the Macedons, they established *Jonathan* high priest, who exercised the office seauen yeeres: but afterwards he was slaine by an ambush, and traison conspired against him by *Tryphon*, as we haue declared else where. After him, *Simon* his brother vnderooke the priesthood, who was not long after slaine treacherously by his sonne in law at a banquet. After him succeeded his sonne *Hircanus*, who enioying this dignitie for the space of thirtie one yeeres, died when hee was very old, leauing behind him *Judas*, surnamed *Aristobulus*; who dying by sickness, left his brother *Alexander* his heire, both of the kingdome and high priesthood. After that *Aristobulus* had obtained the royall gouernment, he enioyed both dignities one whole yeere. For this *Judas* surnamed *Aristobulus*, was the first that set the diadem on his head, causing himselfe to be called a king. The which *Alexander* did continue: for he also ioyned the kingdome with the high priesthood, and reigned twentie-seauen yeeres: and feeling himselfe draw neere to his death, hee left in *Alexandras* his wiues hands to dispose of the priesthood as shee pleased. Shee therefore bestowed it on *Hircanus*; and as touching the kingdome, she kept it in her owne hands nine yeeres, and afterwards died. Her sonne *Hircanus* was high priest for so long time: for after *Alexandras* death, his brother *Aristobulus* made warre against him; and hauing overcome him, hee tooke the kingdome from him, and not onelic seized the crowne, but the priesthood. After hee had reigned three yeeres, and as many moneths, *Pompey* repaired to Ierusalem, and tooke it perforce, and laying hold of *Aristobulus*, sent him bound vnto Rome with his children. After which he restored the

A the priesthood once more to *Hircanus*, committing the gouernment of the nation vnto his hands, forbidding him in the meane space to weare the diadem. Besides the first nine yeeres, *Hircanus* gouerned twenty and foure, but *Barzapharnes* and *Pacorus* princes of the Parthians, passed Euphrates, and made warre against *Hircanus*, and tooke him aliae prisoner, and made *Antigonus*, *Aristobulus* sonne king. But after he had gouerned three yeeres and three moneths, *Solius* and *Herod* took him aliae perforce, & *Antonius* sent him to Antioch where he was put to death. After that *Herod* was created king by the Romans, there was neuer any high Priest created of the posterity of the Almonians (for he gaue the high priesthood to certain men of obscure and base condition, who were of the order of the priests) *Aristobulus* onely excepted. This *Aristobulus* was *Hircanus* nephew, who was prisoner among the Parthians; & hauing giuen him the Priesthood he married himself with *Mariamme* his sister, to the intent to continue himself in the good liking of the people in remembrance of *Hircanus*; but afterwards fearing, lest all of them should turne to *Aristobulus* side, he caused him to be slaine, by finding out a meane to cause him to be strangled, such time as he bathed himselfe in a fish pond neere to Iericho, as we haue declared before this. After him he bestowed the priesthood no more on any of the line of the Almonians, *Aristobulus* his sonne followed his fathers steps in respect of the priesthood, and from that time forward the Romans haue enioyed the souerainie ouer Iewry. All they then that haue exercised the priesthood from *Herods* time, vntill the day that *Titus* tooke the Citie and the temple, haue been in all twenty and eight: All the continuance of their gouernment was one hundredth and seuen yeeres. Certain of these gouerned during *Herods* life, and in the daies of *Aristobulus* his sonne: but after these two were dead, the gouernment was Aristocraticall, or of the nobilitie, wherein the Priests had the gouernment ouer the whole nation. Thus much haue we thought meet to speak at this time as touching the high priests.

CHAP. IX.

How Florus Albinus successor, offered many iniuries to the Iewes, which constrained them to take armes.

Essius Florus being sent by *Nero* to succeed *Albinus*, filled all Iudaea with many mischiefs and miseries: He was a Glazomenian borne, and was married to a certaine woman called *Cleopatra*, no lesse mischieuous then himselfe: who being beloued by *Poppa Neros* wife, obtained this dignitie for him. He behaued himselfe so outrageously and violently in all his gouernment, that thorow the great iniustice he committed, the Iewes praised *Albinus* as if he had been their benefactor. For he concealed his mischiefe, taking care least it should wholly be concealed or discoloured: but *Gessius Florus* behaued himselfe in such sort, as if hee had beene sent to make open shewe and sale of his villanies, publishing his iniustice in the eares of our nation, without omitting either rapine or iniustice in execution and inflicting punishment on the innocent. For, he was pitiless and couetous, and made no difference between noble & ignoble, and was not ashamed to be partaker with the eues of whom there were diuers that made it their profession, to steale without any feare, in that they were assured of their safetie, because he was partaker with them. And in a word, there was no moderation in him, in fort as the poore Iewes being vnable to endure the insolent rapines and spoiling of their goods that they receiued by these theues, were constrained to abandon their owne houses, and to flie their countrey, and remain in some more commodious place of security, yea though it were among strangers. What need I speake any more? Hee that constrained vs to raise our swords against the Romans, was *Florus*, who made his account that it was better for them to die all at once in great troups, then to perish by little & little. In briebe, the war began the second yeere of the gouernment of *Florus* in that prouince, which was the twelfth yeere of *Neros* Empire. But they that desire to know exactly all that which we haue been constrained both to do & suffer, may peruse my books as touching the Warres of the Iews. For which cause in this place I wil end this ancient history, after which I haue begun to describe the history of the Warre.

This ancient history containeth all that which hath beene reported to be done since the first creation of man, vntill the twelfth yeere of *Neros* Empire, omitting nothing that hath befallen the Iewes, as well in Aegypt as in Syria, and Palestine. All that likewise, which we haue beene enforced to suffer vnder the Assyrians and Babylonians; as also our estate vnder the Persians & Macedons, and finally vnder the Romans. All this, as I suppose, I haue compiled and gathered together with carefull diligence, and I haue enforced my self to recite the number of those, who haue

The yeere of the world, 4026. after Christ's Nativity, 64. *Aristobulus* slaine by *Herod*, Iudae. lib. 1. cap. 3.

The yeere of the world, 4028. after Christ's birth, 66. *Gessius Florus* gouernour of Iudaea. *Gessius Florus* worse then *Albinus*.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christ's Nativity, 68. *Florus* the original cause of the wars of the Iewes. The beginning of the warres.

The Epilog of the Antiquities of the Iewes.

The yeere of the
world, 4030. af-
ter Christs birth,
68.
Ioseph expert
in the Greeke
and Hebrew
tongues.

This volume
was written.
The yeere of the
world, 4059.
after Christs
Natiuitie, 95.

haue been high Priest for the space of two thousand yeeres. I haue also collected the succession of kings, their actions and governments, with the power of their monarchies, according as it is amply described in holy scriptures, as also I haue promised in the beginning of my historie. Furthermore, I dare boldly say, that what soeuer I haue set downe, is so assured, that there is no man either few or of what nation soeuer, yea although he should haue employed the vttermost of his power, could more exactly communicate the same vnto the Greekes, then I haue done. For in their confessions & opinions who are of our nation, I haue such knowledge in that which concerneth our doctrine, as I surpass them all. And as touching the Grecian disciplines, I haue studied & learnt the tongue, although I cannot boast of the familiar and fit pronounciation of the same, for that I haue liued in the countrey. For amongst vs we make but slender reckoning of those, who are exercised in diuers tongues, for that this study is accounted prophane by vs, and common not only vnto free persons, but also vnto slaues: and they onely are esteemed to haue profited in wisdom; who fully know the contents of the lawe, and who can expound the holy scriptures. For this cause, although diuers haue traualled in this exercise of writing histories, yet are there scarcely two or three of them that haue written successefully, and haue recciued the fruits of their labours. And it may be that it shall not be misthought of, if I freely speake somewhat of my progeny & life, considering that there are men at this day liuing, who can approve or reprove me in that I set down. And in this place I will make an end of mine ancient historie, which I haue reduced into twenty bookes, containing sixtie thousand verses. And if God grant me life, I will shortly entreat of our wars, and the euents of the same that haue hapned hitherto, which is the thirtieth yeere of *Domitianus Caesar's* Empire, and the fiftie sixt yeere of mine age. Moreover I am resolu'd to discover in foure bookes the diuers opinions of the sects of the Iewes, as touching God and his essence, and our lawes: according to which certaine things are permitted vs, and other some are forbidden.

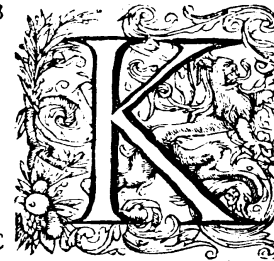
The end of the Antiquities of the Iewes.



A

THE LIFE OF FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS, THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELFE.

B



NOW therefore that I am not basely but nobly descended, being both on the father and mothers side, deriued from the line of the priests: and for as much as some are accustomed to draw the ground of their nobility, the one from this man, the other from that; so among our nation the marke of true nobilitie is to deriue a mans pedigree from the priesthood. Touching my selfe, I am not onely lineally issued from the Priests, but I draw my original from them, who amongst the foure & twenty ranks or families of priests iustly challenge the superiority. Moreover, by my mothers side I am of the blood royall. For the heires of the Alimonians, from whom she is descended, haue for a long time exercised the priesthood and princely power among our nation. I will likewise make it knowe,

Iosephus
linage.

how my predecessors haue succeeded the one after the other. My great grandfathers father was *Simon*, surnamed *Pfellus*, that is the stutterer, who liued at such time as *Hircanus* the high Priest the first of that name, & the sonne of *Simon* the high priest, was in office. This *Simon Pfellus* had nine sonnes: the one of these was *Matthias*, surnamed *Aphias*. This *Matthias* tooke to wife the daughter of the high priest *Jonathan*, by whom he had one sonne, who was *Matthias* surnamed *Curtus*, who was borne in the first yeere of *Hircanus* priesthood. *Matthias* begat *Ioseph* the ninth yeere of *Alexandras* government, and of *Ioseph* came *Matthias* the tenth yeere of the raigne of *Archelaus*; and *Matthias* begat me the first yeere of the Empire of *Caius Caesar*. I likewise haue three sonnes, mine eldest is *Hircanus*, who was borne in the fourth: my next, *Iustus*, who was borne in the seuenth: & *Agrippa* my last was borne in the ninth yeere of *Vespasians* Empire. This genealogie of mine doe I in this manner propose according as I haue found it written in the public registers, to put them to silence who shall pretend to reprove or detract the same.

Ioseph the son
of Matthias
was borne in
the first yeere
of Caius Ce-
sars Empire,
and the 4001.
yeere of the
world, and the
39 after
Christs birth.

My father *Matthias* was not onely famous for his expresse nobilitie, but hath also been praised by reason of his iustice and authoritie in Ierusalem, which is the mother city of all the rest in our country. My bringing vp during my tender yeeres was with *Matthias*, who was my brother by the same father and mother, with whom I happily profited in all kinde of science, having a good memorie and a quick apprehending spirit: so that, being as yet a child of fourteene yeeres of age, I was praised by all men in regard of the good affection I bare to learning, and the priests and noblest citizens alwaies attended about me, to receiue certaine exact instructions from me in any thing that concerned our ordinances. About the age of sixteene yeeres my desire was to haue a search and insight into the sects of our nation, which (as I haue said) are three: the first of the Pharisees, which is the chiefe. The second of the Sadduces. And the third of the Essenes. For I truly thought with my selfe, that I might easily choose the better of the three, at such time as I had bene exercised and acquainted with them all: for which cause with great abstinence and no lesse labour, I passed thorow them all: and not content with this experience, after I had heard that a certaine man called *Banus* liued in the desert, clothing himselfe with that which the trees brought forth, and feeding on no other kind of meat, but that which they willingly yeelded him, washing himselfe oftentimes by day and night in cold water to keep himselfe chaste: I began to imitate his course of life, and after I had liued with him for the space of three yeeres, and satisfied my desires, at last I returned into the citie.

Ioseph from
his infancy
very studious,
and addicted
to learning.

At the age of nineteene yeeres, I began to intermeddle with publicke affaires, following the sect of the Pharisees, which very neerely resembleth that sect among the Graecians, who are called Stoicks. After I was sixe and twenty yeeres old, it was my fortune to repaire to Rome vpon this occasion that ensueth: During such time as *Felix* gouerned Iudaea, there were certaine priests my familiars, men of much honour & more vertue, who vpon some slight occasion were bound and

Ioseph a Pha-
rifice.

sent to Rome by his commandement, to answer to that which was objected against them in *Cæsars* presence. Whereupon I being desirous to labour for their liberty, having especial intelligence, that notwithstanding the torments wherewith they were martyred, they buried not in forgetfulness that pietie which they ought to God, but liued on figges and nuttes: for this cause I departed for Rome, and was encountered with many great and grievous hazards by sea. For the ship, wherein I sailed, was wrackt in the midst of the Adriaticke sea, and there were about six hundred of vs that swamme all night long, and vpon the day spring by Gods providence a Cyrenian ship came in sight, and both I and certaine others to the number of fourescore ouerswimming the rest, were taken vp into it and saued. After I had in this sort escaped: I came to Dicæarchia, which the Italians call at this day Puteol, and grew acquainted with *Aliturus* a Iew borne, who was a plaier, and in good reputation with *Nero*; by whose meanes insinuating my selfe into *Poppeas* knowledge, who was *Cæsars* wife, I determined to beseech her to procure those Priests liberties, with all expedition: which done, I by her meanes recovered their present liberty: and being gratified likewise by her with many great gifts, I returned into my countrey. There found I the commonweale too much addicted to factions and troubles, and diuers too prone and readie to rebell and forget their allegiance to the Romans. I inforced my selfe to repress the seditious, and exhorted them to change their opinions, representing before their eyes the qualitie of those, against whom they enterprised their war, with whom they neither might compare in experience of warre, neither in good fortune: for this cause I aduised them not to hazard and overthrow their countrey by their rashnes and rage, and with it their posterities and themselves.

To this effect spake I vnto them, and instantly intreated them to forsake their vntamed resolution, for that I foresaw that the end of this warre would redound to our vtter ruine; but I preuailed nothing with them. For the fury of desperate and dissolute men preuailed above reason: for which cause fearing least by continuall inforcing of one thing, I should grow into hatred and suspicion among them, as if I fauoured their enemies; fearing likewise least if they should lay hold on me, they should be put to death, seeing that the sort of Antonia was already seized vpon by the seditious; I retired my selfe into the inward part of the temple. In proceesse of time, after *Manahem* and the chiefest among the theues were put to death, I came out again from the temple, and conuerſed with the priests, and chiefest Pharisees, who were surprisid with great feare. And grievously were we dismayed, when we saw the people in armes: and being vncertaine what to do, and wanting the meanes to pacifie these mutinies, and apparently perceiving their manifest danger, both I and the Pharisees told them our opinion was answerable to theirs, and counsailed them to containe themselves in peace, and not to prouoke the enemy. For our hope was that *Gesius* would with all expedition draw out great forces, and chastise those peace-breakers. But as soone as he arrived, and had fought with them, he was overcome, and a great number of his men were slaine: whereupon grew the vtter ruine of our whole nation. For such as desired the warre, were puffed vp with that victory, and conceiued an assured hope that in the end they should overcome the Romans. Besides that, this ensuing occasion presented it selfe. The inhabitants of the cities that bordered vpon Syria, laid hands on those Iewes that dwelt amongst them, and slue both them, their wiues, & children, without any iust cause or crime committed by them.

For they had not conspired any waies or intended to revolt from the Romans, or to vse any hostilitie or any secret conspiracie against any of those, with whome they were conuersant. But among all the rest, the citizens of Scythopolis exceeded all other in impietie and wickednes. For being besieged without by certaine of the Iewes, they inforced those Iewes that inhabited amongst them to take armes, & to charge those of their own nation (which is both prohibited & vnlawfull by our lawes) who fighting against them discomfited them: but after this overthrow, they in such sort falsified and forgot their faith, that they had giuen to their associates and fellow citizens, that they slew euery mothers sonne of them, to the number of many thousands. The like misfortune also fell vpon those Iewes that inhabited Damasco. But of this we haue more amply spoken in those our bookes, which we haue written of the warres of the Iewes, and at this M present I make mention hereof, intending to signifie and certainly perswade the readers, that the warre which was waged with the Romanes, proceeded not of a resolute intent and purpose, but for the most part of an inforced necessitie.

After that *Gesius* was overcome (as we haue heretofore declared) the chiefest men of Ierusalem perceiving that the theues made a partie among the seditious, and were strongly and plentifully armed and prouided, they began to feare least if they should be found disarmed, they should

A should sodainly be ouerthrowne by their enemies; as in effect it fell out afterwards: and hearing that all Galilee was not as yet wholly reuolted from the Romanes; but that a part thereof as yet entertained the peace, they sent me with two other priests *Ioazar* and *Iudas*, who were both virtuous and honourable men, to perswade the mutinous to lay by their armes, & to let them know that it was more behouefull for the good of the nation, that such men as were in authority and reputation, should haue the keeping thereof. The resolution that was taken by them was, that they had them alwaies ready vpon all occasions, but that they expected vntill they were certified what the Romans intended to doe.

B With this commission and such like instructions, I repaired into Galilee: where I found the Sephorites were in no small hazard in respect of their countrey, for that they of Galilee had resolved to forrage the same in regard of their league of friendship continued with the Romanes, and contracted and ratified by *Senius Gallus* Gouverneur of Syria. But I deliuered them all of that feare and appealed the common people by permitting them, to lend at all times when they pleased, their hostages to *Gesius*, who lay at Dora a Citie of Phœnicia. I found likewise that the inhabitants of Tiberias were already in armes, vpon this occasion following. There were in that Citie three different factions, the one of the nobilitie, whose chieftaine was *Iulius Capella*, & all those that accompanied him, that is to say, *Herode* the sonne of *Miarus*; *Herode* the sonne of *Gabalus*, and *Compſus* the sonne of *Compſus* (for *Crispus* his brother, who in times past had been gouernour for *Agrippa* turned the Great, was amongst his possessions on the other side of Iordan) at these I lay gaue counsel at that time to subscribe to the Romans authority, & to obey their king. But *Pisus* would no waies accord to this aduice, in regard of his sonne *Iustus*: for naturally he was vaine-glorious. The second faction was of the common sort, who concluded vpon war.

C *Iustus*, *Pisus* son, who was the ringleader of the third faction, carried himselfe very doubtfully as touching the warre; yet notwithstanding he sought and thirsted after innouation, hoping that by a change he should encrease his power. Presenting himselfe therefore in the midst of the multitude, he inforced himselfe to perfwade the common sort, that their Citie had alwaies belonged to Galilee, and that during the daies of *Herode* the Terrarch, who founded the same, it was the chiefest Citie, whose pleasure it was that the Citie of Sephoris should yeeld obedience to that of Tiberias. Furthermore, he showed that they had not lost that preheminance in the time of king *Agrippa* the father, but had continued the same till *Felix* obtained the gouernment of Iudæa. But D for the present wherein they had been giuen by *Nero* to the younger *Agrippa*, they had fallen and lost their superiortie. For the Citie of Sephoris obtained the soueraignie of Galilee, after that she acknowledged the Roman gouernment, who had abolished the table royall and publike registers. By these words and others of like nature, inforced against king *Agrippa*, he incited the people to rebellion, signifying vnto them that the opportunitie invited them to take armes, to the end that being associated with the Galileans, they might make themselves Lords, for that all of them would willingly ioyne themselves with them, thorow the hatred they bare to the Sephorites, on whom they would reuenge themselves with great force, because they continued in their allegiance, which they promised to the Romans.

E And by these words he wooon the peoples hearts vnto him: for he was a man that was very eloquent, and by his subtiltie and pollicke discourse, easily ouerthrew all that which his aduersaries produced against him. For he was not ignorant of those sciences that are knowen vnto the Greekes: but trusting to his wiiedome and good discourse, hee beganne to discouer how all things had past at that time, to the intent that by such colourable insinuations he might smother the truth. But in the proceesse of our discourse, wee will declare that he was a man of a dissolute life, and that by his and his brothers meanes, he wanted little of vtterly ouerthrowing his countrey. When as therefore this *Iustus* had perswaded the Citizens of Tiberias to take armes; and had constrained diuers men likewise, who were of the contrarie opinion, to do the like, he issued out with them, and burned the villages of the Gadareneans and Hippenians, that are situate in the confines of Tiberias and Scythopolis. In this estate was Tiberias: and as touching Gischala, their estate and affaires were brought to this issue. *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui* seeing some of the Citizens waxen proud by meanes of their reuolt from the Romanes, laboured to restrain them, and required them to continue in their allegiance: but notwithstanding all his perswasion and diligence, he could not containe them. For the nations round about them, as the Gadareneans, Gabaraganeans and Tyrians assembled a great armie and with the same assailed Gischala, and took it by force: and after they had consumed it by fire and vterly destroyed the same, they returned euery one to their dwelling places. *Iohn* being fore displeased with this act, armed all

Ecc 2

those

Ioeph ship-
wracke.

Ioeph obtaineth
the priests liberties.
The Iewes
seditious.

Ioeph delor-
ing the Iewes
from sedition
is suspected
by them of
treason.

The Iewes are
plagued both
by strangers
and their own
countymen.

The Iewes
contained
by necessity
to make war.

The danger
of the Sepho-
rites.

Sedition in
the Citie of
Tiberias.
Three factions
in the Citie of
Tiberias.

The oration
of Iustus,
Iustus sonne,
to the mul-
titude.

Iustus inciteth
the people to
rebellion.

Iustus the of-
spring of war.

Gischala bur-
ned & spoiled.

sent to Rome by his commandement, to answer to that which was objected against them in *Cæsars* presence. Whereupon I being desirous to labour for their liberty, having especial intelligence, that notwithstanding the torments wherewith they were martyred, they buried not in forgetfulness that pietie which they ought to God, but liued on figges and nuttes: for this cause I departed for Rome, and was encountered with many great and grievous hazards by sea. For the ship, wherein I sailed, was wrackt in the midst of the Adriatique sea, and there were about sixe hundred of vs that swamme all night long, and vpon the day spring by Gods providence a Cyrenian ship came in sight, and both I and certaine others to the number of fourescore outswimming the rest, were taken vp into it and saued. After I had in this sort escaped: I came to Dicæarchia, which the Italians call at this day Puteol, and grew acquainted with *Aliturus* a Iew borne, who was a plaier, and in good reputation with *Nero*; by whose meanes insinuating my selfe into *Poppeas* knowledge, who was *Cæsars* wife, I determined to beseech her to procure those Priests liberties, with all expedition: which done, I by her meanes recovered their present liberty: and being gratified likewise by her with many great gifts, I returned into my country. There found I the commonweale too much addicted to factions and troubles, and diuers too prone and readie to rebel and forget their allegiance to the Romans. I enforced my selfe to repress the seditious, and exhorted them to change their opinions, representing before their eyes the qualitie of those, against whom they enterprised their war, with whom they neither might compare in experience of warre, neither in good fortune: for this cause I aduised them not to hazard and overthrow their country by their rashnes and rage, and with it their posterities and themselves.

To this effect spake I vnto them, and instantly intreated them to forsake their vntamed resolution, for that I foresaw that the end of this warre would redound to our vtter ruine; but I preuailed nothing with them. For the fury of desperate and dissolute men preuailed above reason: for which cause fearing least by continuall enforcing of one thing, I should grow into hatred and suspicion among them, as if I fauoured their enemies; fearing likewise least if they should lay hold on me, they should be put to death, seeing that the fort of Antonia was already seized vpon by the seditious; I retired my selfe into the inward part of the temple. In proceesse of time, after *Manahem* and the chiefeft among the theues were put to death, I came out again from the temple, and conuersed with the priests, and chiefeft Pharisees, who were surprisid with great feare. And grievously were we dismayed, when we saw the people in armes; and being vncertaine what to do, and wanting the meanes to pacifie these mutinies, and apparantly perceiving their manifest danger, both I and the Pharisees told them our opinion was answerable to theirs, and counselled them to containe themselves in peace, and not to prouoke the enemy. For our hope was that *Gesius* would with all expedition draw out great forces, and chastise those peace-breakers. But as soone as he arrived, and had fought with them, he was overcome, and a great number of his men were slaine: whereupon grew the vtter ruine of our whole nation. For such as desired the warre, were puffed vp with that victory, and conceived an assured hope that in the end they should overcome the Romans. Besides that, this ensuing occasion presented it selfe. The inhabitants of the cities that bordered vpon Syria, laid hands on those Iewes that dwelt amongst them, and slue both them, their wiues, & children, without any iust cause or crime committed by them. For they had not conspired any waies or intended to revolt from the Romans, or to vse any hostilitie or any secret conspiracie against any of those, with whom they were conuersant. But among all the rest, the citizens of Scythopolis exceeded all other in impietie and wickednes. For being besieged without by certaine of the Iewes, they enforced those Iewes that inhabited amongst them to take armes, & to charge those of their own nation (which is both prohibited & vnlawfull by our lawes) who fighting against them discomfited them: but after this overthrow, they in such sort falsified and forgot their faith, that they had giuen to their associates and fellow citizens, that they slew euery mothers sonne of them, to the number of many thousands. The like misfortune also fell vpon those Iewes that inhabited Damasco. But of this we haue more amply spoken in those our bookes, which we haue written of the warres of the Iewes, and at this present I make mention hereof, intending to signifie and certainly perswade the readers, that the warre which was waged with the Romanes, proceeded not of a resolute intent and purpose, but for the most part of an enforced necessitie.

After that *Gesius* was overcome (as we haue heretofore declared) the chiefeft men of Ierusalem perceiving that the theues made a partie among the seditious, and were strongly and plentifully armed and prouided, they began to feare least if they should be found disarmed, they should

should sodainly be ouerthrowne by their enemies; as in effect it fell out afterwards: and hearing that all Galilee was not as yet wholly reuolted from the Romanes; but that a part thereof as yet entertained the peace, they sent me with two other priests *Ioazar* and *Iudas*, who were both veracious and honourable men, to perswade the mutinous to lay by their armes, & to let them know that it was more behoouefull for the good of the nation, that such men as were in authority and reputation, should haue the keeping thereof. The resolution that was taken by them was, that they had them alwaies ready vpon all occasions, but that they expected vntill they were certified what the Romanes intended to doe.

With this commission and such like instructions, I repaired into Galilee: where I found the Sephorites were in no small hazard in respect of their country, for that they of Galilee had resolved to forrage the same in regard of their league of friendship continued with the Romanes; and contrasted and ratified by *Senius Gallus* Gouverneur of Syria. But I deliuered them all of that feare and appeased the common people by permitting them, to send at all times when they pleased, their hostages to *Gesius*, who lay at Dora a Citie of Phœnicia. I found likewise that the inhabitants of Tiberias were already in armes, vpon this occasion following. There were in that Citie three different factions, the one of the nobilitie, whose chiefeftaine was *Iulius Capella*, & all those that accompanied him, that is to say, *Herode* the sonne of *Miarus*; *Herode* the sonne of *Gabalus*, and *Compfus* the sonne of *Compfus* (for *Crispus* his brother, who in times past had been gouernour for *Agrippa* turned the Great, was amongst his possessions on the other side of Iordan) at these I lay gaue counsel at that time to subscribe to the Romanes authority, & to obey their king. But *Pisilus* would no waies accord to this aduice, in regard of his sonne *Iustus*: for naturally he was vaine-glorious. The second faction was of the common sort, who concluded vpon war. *Iustus*, *Pisilus* son, who was the ringleader of the third faction, carried himselfe very doubtfully as touching the warre; yet notwithstanding he fought and thirsted after innouation, hoping that by a change he should encrease his power. Presenting himselfe therefore in the midst of the multitude, he enforced himselfe to perswade the common sort, that their Citie had alwaies belonged to Galilee, and that during the daies of *Herode* the Tetrarch, who founded the same, it was the chiefeft Citie, whose pleasure it was that the Citie of Sephoris should yeeld obedience to that of Tiberias. Furthermore, he aduised that they had not lost that preheminance in the time of king *Agrippa* the father, but had continued the same till *Felix* obtained the gouernment of Iudæa. But for the present wherein they had been giuen by *Nero* to the yonger *Agrippa*, they had fallen and lost their superioritie. For the Citie of Sephoris obtained the soueraignie of Galilee, after that she acknowledged the Roman gouernment, who had abolished the table royall and publike regifters. By these words and others of like nature, enforced against king *Agrippa*, he incited the people to rebellion, signifying vnto them that the opportunitie invited them to take armes, to the end that being associated with the Galilæans, they might make themselves Lords, for that all of them would willingly ioyne themselves with them, thorow the hatred they bare to the Sephorites, on whom they would reuenge themselves with great force, because they continued in their allegiance, which they promised to the Romanes.

And by these words he wooed the peoples hearts vnto him: for he was a man that was very eloquent, and by his subtiltie and polittike discourse, easily ouerthrew all that which his aduersaries produced against him. For he was not ignorant of those sciences that are knowen vnto the Greekes: but trusting to his wisdom and good discourse, hee beganne to discouer how all things had past at that time, to the intent that by such colourable insinuations he might smother the truth. But in the proceesse of our discourse, wee will declare that he was a man of a dissolute life, and that by his and his brothers meanes, he wanted little of vterly ouerthrowing his country. When as therefore this *Iustus* had perswaded the Citizens of Tiberias to take armes; and had constrained diuers men likewise, who were of the contrarie opinion, to do the like, he issued out with them, and burned the villages of the Gadareneans and Hippenians, that are situate in the confines of Tiberias and Scythopolis. In this estate was Tiberias: and as touching Gischala, their estate and affaires were brought to this issue. *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui* seeing some of the Citizens waxen proud by meanes of their reuolt from the Romanes, laboured to reframe them, and required them to continue in their allegiance: but notwithstanding all his perswasion and diligence, he could not containe them. For the nations round about them, as the Gadareneans, Gabaraganeans and Tyrians assembled a great armie, and with the same assailed Gischala; and tooke it by force: and after they had consumed it by fire and vterly destroyed the same, they returned euery one to their dwelling places: *Iohn* being fore displeased with this act, armed all

The danger of the Sephorites.

Sedition in the Citie of Tiberias. Three factions in the Citie of Tiberias.

The oration of Iustus, Iustus sonne, to the multitude.

Iustus inciteth the people to rebellion.

Iustus the offspring of war.

Gischala burned & spoiled.

Josephs shipwracke.

Joseph obtaineth the priests liberties. The Iewes seditious.

Joseph denouncing the Iewes from sedition is suspected by them of treason.

The Iewes are plagued both by strangers and their own countrymen.

The Iewes constrained by necessity to make war.

those that were with him, and set vpon these abouenamed nations: and hauing obtained the victory, he redified Gischala in farre better sort then it was before, inclosing it with a wall, to the intent it might be the better fortified against future inuasions.

Gamala faithful to Rome. The danger wherunto Philip Iacims sonne was fallen.

Varus iniuliy executeth him that brought the letters. Varus tyranny in gouerning the countrey. Varus seeketh to conceale his power and tyranny.

But those of Gamala persecuted in their faith towards the Romans, for the occasion that ensued. Philip the sonne of Iacim, who gouerned vnder king Agrippa, elcaping beyond all opinion, and flying to the royall palace in Ierusalem at such time as it was besieged, fell into another great danger; to wit, to be slaine by Manahem, and those theeeues that were with him: but certaine Babylonians his kinsmen being at that time in Ierusalem, hindered the theeeues from executing their purpose at that time. When as therefore Philip had sojourned there for the space of foure daies, on the fift he fled away, disguizing himselfe in a false haire, for feare he should be discovered: And as soone as he was arrived in one of those villages which was of his owne possession, situate neere vnto the mount Gamala, he sent for certaine of his subiects to make their repaire vnto him. But God would not permit it; but for Philips greater good, he crossed the scope of his intent, which otherwise had been the ruine of many: for being surprisid by a sodain feuer, he committed certaine letters of his, written to Agrippa and Bernice who were yet but young to one of his free-men, commanding him to deliuer them to Varus, who was put in trust by the King and Queene, to administer the affaires of their kingdome, for that they were gone to Beryth to meete with Gesius. As soone therefore as he had receiued Philips letters, and understood that he was escaped, hee tooke it very hardly, for that he thought it would bee said that the king and the Queene had no vse of him since Philip was arrived. He therefore brought him that had the charge of these letters, into the peoples presence, objecting against him that he had forged that writing, alleading that he falsely lied in that he reported that Philip was in Ierusalem, making warre with the Iewes against the Romans: and for that cause he commanded him to be executed. Philip being ignorant of the cause why his free-man did not return, sent another with letters, to the intent he might discover what was become of his first messenger, & for what cause hee staid so long. But Varus accusing this second messenger also very falsely, commanded him to be executed, as hee had done the first. For the Syrians that inhabited Cæsarea, had made him proud, in so much that he aspired to high and great matters, by telling him that Agrippa should be put to death by the Romans, in regard of those faults which the Iewes had committed; and that Varus, who was royally descended, should possesse his gouernment. For without question Varus was held to be of the blood-royall, for that he deriued his pedigree from the Tetrarch Selemus that gouerned the countrey that abutted on Libanus. For these causes, Varus grew proud, and retained Philips letters by him, hoping by these means that the king should haue no knowledge thereof; and hee set watch in euery passage, for feare least any man should flie and certify the king of that which had hapned; and to giue the Syrians the better content, who dwelt in Cæsarea, he put diuers of those Iewes that dwelt among them to death. Hee intended also to vnder take a warre against the Iewes of Bathanea, who were called Babylonian Iewes, by confederating himselfe with the Trachonites of Bathanea. For which cause, sending for twelue of those Iewes who were of most estimation among the inhabitants of Cæsarea, he enioyned them to repaire to Ecbatane, to signifie vnto those of their nation that dwelt there, that Varus understanding that they pretended to take armes against their king, and scarcely beleeuing it, had sent them vnto them, to perswade them to lay by their armes. And that this should bee a certaine signe, by which they might perfectly expresse that hee had no reason to giue credite to their reports, who had inforced and objected so much against them. Furthermore, he commanded them that twelue of the chiefe of them should be chosen out, to answer to those accusations where-with they should be charged. These twelue arriving in Ecbatane, and entertained by those of their nation, found that they neither imagined nor intended any commotion: for which cause, they perswaded them to send their seuentie men: which they did, little suspecting that which would happen.

Varus killeth the seuentie Iewes with the embassadours. The Iewes retire themselves into the fortress of Gamala, and thither resorteth Philip also.

As soone therefore as these with the other twelue embassadours came to Cæsarea, Varus hauing inkling of their coming, met them on the way with the kings forces, and slew them altogether with the foresaid embassadours, and tooke his way towards the Iewes of Ecbatane. But one of the seuentie, who had escaped, resorted thither with all expedition preventing Varus, and certified the rest of that which had hapned. Whereupon they incontinently set to armes, & with their wiues & children retired themselves to the fort of Gamala, abandoning their villages which were stored with all kind of goods, and many thousand cattell. When Philip had tidings herof, he repaired himselfe also to the fort of Gamala: where he no sooner arrived, but the people cried out

A out with a lowd voice, exhorting him to take the soueraignie, and to make warre against Varus and the Syrians of Cæsarea. For they had intelligence that the king was dead. But Philip moderated their fury, recounting vnto them what benefits the king had bestowed on them, & of what power the Romans were, against whom it was but a folly for them to take armes, and in the end hee perswaded them to peace. The king vnderstanding that Varus was determined to kill and murder all the Iewes that were in Cæsarea, with their wiues and children all in one day (who were as many in number) hee sent vnto him Equus Modius to supply his place, as it hath beene by vs declared in another place. Meane while Philip kept the fort of Gamala, & the countrey thereabouts, persevering in their fidelitie and loyaltie to the Romans. As soone as I arrived in Galilee, and had perceiued and learnt all occurrences that had hapned, by those who reported the same vnto me, I presently signified the whole estate by my letters, to the council at Ierusalem, to know what their pleasure was I should doe. Who gaue me this answer, that I should remaine where I was, and retaine those embassadours that I had with me, if they thought good to take charge of Galilee. But they being very wealthy, by means of thole tenths and tithes that were giuen them; and verie willing, because they were due, to gather them vp in right of their priesthood, resolved with themselves to returne to their owne houses. But for that I intreated them to remaine with me, vntill such time, as we had settled the affaires, they willingly consented vnto me. I therefore departed with them to the citie of Sephora, and came into a borough called Bethmaus distant from Tiberias some foure furlongs, and from thence I sent a messenger to the councill of Tiberias, exhorting the chiefe among the people to come and speake with me: who coming forth to visit me, accompanied with Iustus also, I tolde them that I was sent embassadour vnto them, with those other, by the communalie of Ierusalem, to perswade them to desist that building that was erected by Herod the Tetrarch, wherein diuers figures of liuing creatures were painted; for that our lawe forbade them to allow or doe such things, and I exhorted them to suffer vs to doe that execution as soone as they might.

Gamala still faithful to the Romans. Ioseph by the commandment of the councill remaineth in Galilee.

Capella and those of his partie, did for a long time refuse to consent thereunto: but in the end wee inforced them to much, that they condescended. Now whilest we debated vpon this conclusion, Iesus the sonne of Saphias (of whom we haue spoken heretofore, declaring how he was the chiefe and conductor of the faction of failers and poore men) tooke with him certaine Galileans, and set fire on all the palace, vnder hope to get great riches thereby (for that there were certaine roofes of the house couered with gold) who spoiled many things against our consent. For after we had conferred with Capella, and the chiefe of Tiberias, wee retired our selues from Bethmaus into the higher Galilee. In the meane time Iesus men slew all the Greekes that remained there, and who before the warre had been their enemies. Which when I was certified of, I was grievously displeased, and came down to Tiberias, and disposed of the kings moueables, for feare least they should be carried away by the robbers: and hauing recovered a candlestick of Corin. hian worke, princely tables, and no small quantity of massie siluer, I resolved with my self to referre it to the kings vse. Calling therefore ten of the chiefe Senators and Capella, Antillus Ioseph procurerth the safety of the kings goods.

E From thence, with mine associates I went vnto Iohn at Gischala, to know what his minde and resolution was, and I presently smelt out by him, that he affected innoation and tyrannie. For he besought me to grant him libertie, to transport Cæsars wheat that was stored vp in the villages of higher Galilee, telling me that he would bestow the same in reedifying and repairing the walls of his countrey. But I smelling out both his drift and counsels, denied him that liberty. For I thought that that wheat would either serue the Romans, or my selfe, for that already I had the care of that countrey committed to my hands by the Citie of Ierusalem. When as therefore he could winne nothing at my hands, hee appealed to my companions, who were improuident of those troubles that were to come, and greedy of rewards, and obtained at their hands thorow his lawfull liberalitie a libertie to dispose of all the corne that was in the prouince, in that I my selfe was vnable to contradict them both. After this, Iohn vsed another subtiltie: for he said that those Iewes, who inhabited Cæsarea Philippi, being by the command of their king, to whom they were subiect, kept prisoners within their walls; being in want of pure oyle, desired to buy the same at his hands, for feare least contrary to their custome, they should be compelled to vse that of the Greekes. But this spake he not in respect of religion or deuotion, but for his filthy lucre sake. For knowing that among the Cæsareans, two sextaries were sold for a drachme, and that at Gischalis eightie sextaries were sold for foure drachmes, hee sent all that oyle that was in that

Iohns acts in Gischalis and his counsell.

place vnto them, doing it (as he thought) by my permission. But I did not willingly descend thereunto, but for feare least if I should withstand the same, the people should stone me to death. As soone therefore as I had giuen him leaue, *Iohn* gathered a great summe of money by this cunning shift.

From this place dismissed I my companions, and sent them backe to Ierusalem, imploying my selfe wholly afterwards in preparing armour, & fortifying cities. After this, calling the stoutest theues before me, when as I perceived that I might not recouer their weapons from them, I perswaded the multitude to hire them by rewards, telling them that it was more profitable for them to entertaine them in their seruice, then to suffer their countrey to be spoiled by their excursions. And thus hauing taken their oathes, did I dismiss them vnder condition, that they should not come into our region, except they were called, or to receiue their due pay vnder condition, that they should abstaine from spoiling either the Romans or the inhabitants of the country. But about all things my care was to keepe Galilee in peace. And whereas my desire was to get leuenty pledges of their loyalty, chosen out amongst their nobility vnder pretext of friendship, as soon as they came vnto me in way of friendship, I made them my companions & fellow Iudges, and decreed many things according to their opinions, hauing an especiall care least thorow rashnes I should iniury Iustice, or thorow corruption of rewards distaine mine incorrupted honour. At such time therefore as I was thirty yeeres olde, at which yeeres although a man bridle himselfe from vnlawfull affections; yet hardly can he escape from the poisoned sting of detraction, especially if a great authoritie bee annexed to his greene yeeres: I neuer offered vaine and vnlawfull courting to any woman, neither could any man fasten bribe on me, in that I pretended want of nothing: yea, I refused those tenths which in right of priesthood I might haue receiued from those, that brought them me. Yet after the conquest of the Syrians, I tooke part of the spoile, which (as I freely confesse) I sent to Ierusalem to my kinsmen. And whereas at two times I had forcibly overcome the Sephorites, the Tiberians four times, & the Gadarenians once, and had brought *Iohn* vnder my subiection, who had oftentimes sought to intrap me; neither could I endure to reuenge my selfe on him, neither on any of the aboute named people, as in the sequel of this storie I will make manifest.

For which cause I suppose that God, who is the trier and searcher of all iust hearts, both deliuered mee at this time out of the hands of mine enemies, and afterwards, and that many times out of dangerous and seuerall misfortunes; as he after shall appeare in time and place. But so great was the faith and beneuolence of the common people of Galilee towards mee, that their cities beeing ouerthrowne, and their families led into captiuitie, they spent not so many teares for their owne calamities, as they bestowed cares for my preservation and securitie. Which when *Iohn* perceiued, he began to enuie mee, and besought me by his letters, that I would giue him licence for his health sake, to bathe himselfe in the hot baths of Tiberias: which I, suspecting no treason, willingly granted him that which he demanded. Moreouer, I wrote vnto those, to whom I had committed the trust and administration of the citie, to prepare him a lodging, & to furnish all his companions with victuals, and to prouide him also of all things necessary for his diet and entertainment. In the meane space, I my selfe past my time in a certaine village of Galilee called Cana. But after that *Iohn* came to Tiberias, hee wrought the townsmen in such sort, that forgetting both their faith and dutie, they reuolted vnto him; and many of them lent a willing eare vnto his entreaties, especially such as reioicing in innouations were too prone to change, and greedy of dissension: but in especiall *Iesus* and his father *Pistus*, willingly entertained this occasion to reuolt from my obedience, & to submit themselves to *Iohn*; yet was this conspiracy of theirs preuented by my speedy accesse. For a certaine messenger came vnto mee from *Silas*, whom I had in former time preferred to the government of Tiberias, who certified me of the citizens intent, and exhorted me in all haste to make my repaire thither, for that otherwise the citie would shortly fall into another mans hands. As soone therefore as I had perused *Silas* letters, I trauailed all night long with two hundred cholen men; and sending a messenger before me, who might signifie my approach to the citizens, I lost neither time nor way: And in the morning when I drew neere vnto the citie, the whole people came out to meet mee, and among the rest *Iohn*, who after he had beheld me, and saluted me with a suspicious countenance, fearing least his treason beeing discovered, hee should grow in daunger of his life, speedily retired himselfe into his lodging. And when as I drew neere the citie within a furlong, dismissing all my guard but one, and retaining onely ten armed souldiers with mee, I beganne to expostulate with the Tiberians from a certaine high place, from whence I might be heard, and I coun-

Ioseph sedeth back his companions to Ierusalem. *Ioseph* president of Galilee.

Ioseph ioynd seueritie of the nobilitie with him. *Ioseph* at thirtie yeeres of age offered no woman violence, and would not be bribed.

Ioseph s bountie towards his enemies.

The Galileans faith and loue towards *Ioseph*. *Iohn* desireth that he might bathe himselfe in the hotte baths of Tiberias.

Iohn s treason.

The people of Tiberias came out to meete *Ioseph*.

Ioseph s exhortation to the Tiberians.

A failed them that they should not reuolt, least in so doing they might shortly repent them of their mutabilitie and breach of faith: for that no man hereafter would giue them credit, beeing already either suspected or guiltie of this their perfidioulnesse.

Scarcely had I spoken this, but that I heard one of my attendants, who perswaded mee to descend, telling me that this was no time now to reconcile the Tiberians, or to perswade them: but rather to seeke for mine own securitie, and how I might escape mine enemies. For after that *Iohn* had learnt that I was destitute of followers, he sent a thousand of his chosen souldiers, commanding them to kill me; who were at hand, and ready to commit the murder, had I not speedily leapt down with my seruant *Jacob*, and beeing relieved by *Herod* the Tiberian, had beene brought to the lake; where finding a barke by chance, and putting forth to sea, I escaped contrarie to mine enemies expectation, and came to Taricheas.

As soone as the inhabitants of that citie vnderstood how perfidiously and traiterously the Tiberians had dealt with me, they were sore displeased, and betaking themselves to their weapons, perswaded me to leade them forth against them, telling mee that they would reuenge the iniurie that was offered vnto their gouernour, and they blased this treason of theirs thorow all Galilee. For which cause a number of armed Galileans came vnto me, requesting me that I would inuade Tiberias, and entering it that I would spoile the same; and in the ruines thereof, that I would sell the inhabitants with their whole families vnder the speare. The like did my friends, who escaped with me out of the Citie, perswade mee. But I in no sort would admit their sute, supposing it to be a matter vnworthy my discretion, to reuiue a cause of ciuill warre, imagining with my selfe, that such a contention ought to proceed no further then words: yea I protested vnto them, that such reuenge would be preiudicial to themselves also, if the Romans standing at gaze, they should spend themselves in ciuill discords. By this meanes at length the Galileans wrath was appeased.

But when as *Iohn* perceiued that he failed of his purpose, he beganne to feare: for which cause taking with him those armed men which he kept about him, and forsaking Tiberias, he repaired to Gischala, and from thence he wrote his letters vnto me, excusing the fact, as if he had beene no waies guiltie thereof, and he besought me that I would in no sort suspect him, and confirmed his words with execrable oathes, whereby he might winne the more credit to his writing. But the Galileans who were gathered in great multitudes from all parts of the region, knowing that hee was a wicked and perfidious man, besought me that I would lead them forth against him, promising me to ouerthrow both him, Gischala, and all his Country. After therefore I had giuen them thanks for their loue towards mee, I promised them that mine offices of loue should be answerable to their kindnesse. Yet besought I them to restraine themselves, and to grant mee pardon, for that I thought it better to appeale then procure troubles.

This request of mine the Galileans granted: Whereupon we presently came to Sephoris. But the townsmen, who were resolved to continue faithfull towards the Romane people, fearing my approach, induoured themselves to distrust mee with some other affaires, whereby they might liue in more securitie. Whereupon, sending their messenger to *Iesus*, the captaine of the thieues, that kept vpon the confines of Ptolemais, they promised him a great summe of money, if with his army of eight hundred men, who liued vnder his command, hee would wage war with vs. He allured by their promises, bethought himselfe to assault vs suddenly and vnawares: for which cause he besought me by a messenger, that I would grant him leaue and libertie to come & salute mee: which when he had obtained, for that I was wholly ignorant of his treason, taking with him a troupe of his thieues he hastened speedily towards me: yet failed hee of his purposed treason; for when he was not far off from me, a certaine fugitiue of his troupe discovered his intent towards me. Which when I heard, I went out into the market place, faining that I knew nothing of his secret fraud, attended with a multitude of armed Galileans, and among these with certaine Tiberians.

Afterwards, sending abroad certaine spies, who should scoure the high waies, I commanded the keepers of the gates, that they should onely suffer *Iesus* to enter with the foremost of his company, and exclude the rest: and if they should attempt to breake in by force, they should beat them off. Who fulfilling that which was commanded them, *Iesus* entered with a few: and being commanded by me presently to lay down his weapons, except he desired to be slaine, he seeing himselfe inuironed with armed souldiers, obeyed. Whereupon they that followed him, and were excluded, perceiuing that their captaine was apprehended, suddenly betooke the flight: and leading *Iesus* apart, told him that I was not ignorant of those treasons which he intended against mee; neither by whose prouocations he attempted the same. Yet told I him that I would pardon him, if so be by changing

Iohn seeketh to betray and murder *Ioseph*.

The Galileans require that they may inuade Tiberias

Iohn excuseth himselfe to *Ioseph*.

Iesus captaine of thieues.

Iesus seeketh to betray *Ioseph*.

Ioseph politically surpriseth *Iesus*.

Josephs bound-
tie towards
Icius.

Josephs care
of religion.

Ebutius* against
Joseph.

Ebutius de-
parteth with-
out perform-
ing any
thing.

Joseph trans-
porteth corne
into Galilee.

Joseph against
Neopolitanus.

John malig-
neth Iosephs
good successe.

The Gabare-
nians revolt
vpon Iohns
persuasion.

The Dabarit-
tenians spoile
Ptolemeis
wile.

changing his manners, he would be faithfull vnto mee heereafter. Who promising mee all that which I requested, I dismissed the man, & gaue him leaue to depart with his weapons: yet threaten-
ed I to punish the Sephorites, except hereafter they desisted from their treasons. About the same
time there came two noble men vnto me, who were subiect to the king of Trachonitis, bringing
with them both horsemen, armour, and money: whom when the Iewes would haue constrain-
ed to be circumcised, if so be they would remaine amongst them, I would not permit them to
be trouble some to the Trachonites, alledging that euery man ought according to his own mind,
and not by other mens impulsio, serue God: And that it was not to be suffered, that they, who
for their securitie sake were fled vnto vs, should repent thei selues of their trust they put in vs. And
thus hauing perswaded the multitude, I freely & abundantly furnished these men with all things
necessarie.

In the meane space, Agrippa sent out his forces vnder the conduct of *Equus Modius*, to take the
Castle Magdala by force, which for that they durst not assault, they beset the waies, & the rather
troubled Gamala. But *Ebutius Decadarchus*, who had the gouernment of the great champain,
hearing that I was come to a certaine village called Simonias, situate vpon the confines of Galilee,
and distant from the same some sixtie furlongs, tooke with him by night one hundred horse that
attended him, and about two hundred footmen, with certaine inhabitants of the citie of Gaba
their associates, whom he conducted by night, and assailed and beset the borough where I was.
Against whom after I had drawne forth a valiant band of men, *Ebutius* laboured all that he might
to rouse vs into the champaine, for that he trusted very much in his horsemen: but he easily per-
ceiued that we might not be wonne. For knowing the aduantage which the horsemen had, if wee
I should encounter them in the plaine, considering that wee were but footmen, I resolved to fight
in the place where we were: and *Ebutius* charged vs for a while very valiantly. At length, percei-
uing that he had no vse of his horsemen in that place, he founded the retreat, and departed backe
again, with lost labour to Gaba, hauing onely lost three men in the battell. But I presently pur-
sued him with two thousand armed men: and when I came to Besara, which is situate on the con-
fines of Ptolemais, distant some twentie furlongs from Gaba, where *Ebutius* encamped at that
time; and besetting all the passages with courts of guard, wherby we might be more secure from
the excursions of our enemies, vntill wee had caried out the wheate, whereof there was a great
quantitie stored vp in that place, which was gathered out of the townships thereabout, belong-
ing to Queene *Berenice*, and loading diuers Camels and Asses, which to that end I had brought
with me, I sent the same come into Galilee. And hauing finished this businesse, I offered *Ebutius*
the battell: and whereas he detracted the same, being terrified by our boldnesse, I tooke my course
to encounter with *Neopolitanus*, who (as it was reported) was in the territorie of the Tiberians,
and foraged there. Now this *Neopolitanus* was a captain of horsemen, and had vnderaken to
defend Scythopolis against their enemies; Hauing therefore driuen him from doing any wrong
in the countrey belonging to the Tiberians, I provided for the securitie of Galilee.

But *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*, who (as wee said) liued at Gitchala, after hee heard that all things
fell out fortunately with me, and that I was loued of my subiects, & feared by mine enemies, was
sore aggrieved therat: and supposing his owne fortune was embayed by my felicitie, and being
touched with no small enuie, and in greater hope that he should hinder my good successe, if so be
that he could bring me in hatred with my subiects; hee solicited those of Tiberias and Sephoris
to forsake me, and supposed also that the Gabarenians would revolt vnto him, which Cities are
the chiefe in Galilee. For he told them that vnder his conduct the common-weale should be more
directly gouerned: but among the rest, the Sephorites gaue least care vnto him, for that neg-
lecting vs both, they onely held for the Romans.

As for the Tiberians, they would not consent to rebell: yet notwithstanding they promised
him some friendship. But the Gabarenians wholly addicted themselves vnto *Iohn*, by the meanes
of one *Simon*, a principall Citizen, who was *Iohns* fellow and friend. Yet did they not openlie
seeme to allow him, for that they vehemently feared the Galileans, whose good will towards
mee, they were long time assured of, but priuile they sought another meanes to entrap me. And
truly I fell into great danger vpon this occasion. For vvhens as certaine Dabarittenians (being
audacious young men) had intelligence that *Ptolemeis* wife the kings steward, vnder the con-
duct of certaine horsemen should in great pompe trauell along the great Plaine, out of the kings
countrey into the Romane gouernment, they suddenly set vpon them, and putting the woman
to flight, they spoiled all that which she caried with her. Which done, they draue to Taricheas,
a place where I then kept, certaine Moyles laden with apparrell, and household stuffe of diuers
sorts;

A sorts; among which there were diuers siluer vessels, and five hundred peeces of gold. Intending
therefore to reserue these things for *Ptolemeis*, as being one of the same tribe, in that our law per-
mitteth not to defraud, no nor our enemies, if they be of the same tribe; I told those that brought
the goods thither, that they must be kept to be sold, to the end that the price of the goods might
be bestowed vpon the building of the walles of Ierusalem. This motion of mine, the young men
interpreted very hardly, in that they were cutte off from the part of the prey which they hoped
for. For which cause, dispersing themselves in the streetes of Tiberias, they spred a rumour that
I would betray that countrey to the Romans, alledging that I onely fauined that the prey was des-
tinated toward the repairing of the walles of Ierusalem: vvhich the truth was, that I kept the
same to the intent I might restore it to the owner. In which matter they were no whit deceived
B in their opinion. For after the departure of the young men, I called vnto me two chiefe citizens,
Dafion and *Iannaeus* the sonnes of *Leui*, intire friends to the king, and commaunded them that
taking the household stuffe with them, they should conuay it vnto the king, threatening them with
death, if they reuealed this secret vnto any man.

But when as the rumour was spredde thorow Galilee, that I would betray the region into the
hands of the Romans, and all of them being grievously bent and intent against me to punish me;
they of Taricheas also giuing credit to the young mens fained speeches, perswaded my guard, and
the rest of the souldiers, that forsaking me whilst I was asleepe, they should come into the horse-
race, and consult with other in that place how to degrade me, and giue the honour vnto another.
They being perswaded, came to the appointed place, where they found many others there ar-
riued, and all of them cried out with one content, that it was meet to take punishment on a tra-
itor, who hath sought the destruction of the common-weale. But he that most of all incited them
C to these troubles, was *Iesus* the sonne of *Saphias*, who at that time had the magistracie of Tibe-
rias in his hands, a man giuen ouer to all wickednesse, and borne to breed troubles, and stirre vp
seditions.

This man, bearing *Moses* tables in his hands, and coming out into the midst of the assem-
bly, spake thus with a loud voice: If (said hee) you be touched with no care of your selues; yet at
the least wile contemne not these sacred lawes, which this your chiefeaine *Ioseph*, a man worthy
to be hated by all men, hath of long time dared to betray, & for that cause is worthy of extreame
punishment.

D After he had spoken thus, and was applauded by the acclamations of the people, hee leading
the armed men with him, hastily repaired to the house where I kept, with a certaine intent and
purpose to put me to death. Meane while, I suspecting nothing of all this tumult, and tired with
labour and wearinesse, tooke my rest; when as suddenly *Simon* one of my guard, who at that time
only remained with me, seeing the incurfion of the people, came and awaked mee: and certify-
ing me of mine instant perill, he gaue me counsell likewise, that rather like a noble and vndaun-
ted chiefeaine, I should shorten mine owne life, then shamefully die by mine enemies directi-
on. Whilst he gaue me this counsell, I committing my safetie to Gods hands, and changing my
garments, went forth into the assembly, after a mournfull manner, and wearing my sword hang-
ing about my necke, stealing by that way, by which I knew that none of mine aduersaries might
E meet me: and coming into the horse race, I offered my selfe to euery mans eye, and lying pro-
strate on my face, and watering the earth with my teares, I moued all men that beheld me to com-
passion. And vvhens I perceiued that the affections of the people were changed, I laboured all
that I might to diuide them in opinions, before the armed souldiers returned from my house: &
confessing my selfe that I was not wholly cleere of that which was objected against mee, I be-
sought them to vnderstand to what vse I reserued that prey that was brought vnto my hand; after
which, if they list they might kill me. And whilst the multitude commaunded me to speake, the
armed men returned backe, and beholding me, rushed in vpon me with an intent to murder me:
but being restrained by the peoples exclamations, they moderated their furie, supposing that af-
ter my confession of treason, and reueration of the kings money, they might haue a better occa-
F sion to finish my Tragedie.

For which cause, after silence I beganne thus: Men and brethren (said I) if in your opinion I
deserue death, I refuse not to die; yet before my death will I certifie you of the whole truth: Tru-
ly when as I perceiued that this Citie was most commodious and fit to entertaine strangers, and
that I perceiued that many men forsaking their owne countries, were delighted with your con-
uersions, and willing to partake with you in all sorts of fortune: I was resolved to build vp your
walles with this money; for which being thus destituted to do you good, your indignation is pro-
uoked

Ioseph laboureth
to restore
Ptolemeis to
his goods.

Sedition a-
gainst Ioseph:
Iesus the son
of Saphias
conspirith a-
gainst Ioseph.

Simon, one of
Iosephs guard
awaketh him.

Ioseph mooueth the peo-
ple to com-
passion.

Iosephs orati-
on and confes-
sion before
his aduersa-
ries.

uoked againſt me. Vpon theſe words the Taricheans and ſtrangers cried out, giuing mee thanks, and willing me to be of a good courage. But the Galileans & Tiberians continued in their hatred, inſomuch as they grew to debate betwixt themſelues, the one threatening me with puniſhment; the other contrariwiſe, willing me to aſſure my ſelfe of ſecuritie. But after I had promiſed the Tiberians that I would reedifie their walles, and fortiſie other conuenient Cities, they giuing credit to my words, repaired euery one of them to their owne houſes. And I beyond all expectation eſcaping from ſo great a perill, with certaine of my friends, and ſome twentie ſouldiers, returned to my houſe.

Ioseph eſcaped from danger.

Ioseph in another danger.

Iosephs ſtratagem.

Another ſedition.

Ioseph priuately diſmiſſeth the Taricheans.

The Tiberians letters to Agrippa. ſeuē ſtadia make almoſt a German mile. Sedition and rebellion in Tiberias.

But once againe the thieues and authors of ſedition, fearing leaſt they ſhould be puniſhed for theſe their offences, begitt my lodging with ſix hundreth armed men, intending to conſume it with fire. Of whole arriuall, as ſoone as I had intelligence, imagining with my ſelfe that it would be much diſhonour for me to flee, I reſolued to vſe valour and courage againſt them: for vvhich cauſe commaunding the gates to be ſhut, I required them from the toppe of the houſe, that they would ſend in ſome of them vnto mee, to receiue that money, for which they had bene drawne into this mutinie: whereby they might haue no further cauſe to be incited againſt me. Which done, laying hold of one of the moſt troubleſome fellows, that with the reſt came in vnto mee, I cauſed him to be beaten with many grieuous ſtrokes, and his hand to be cut off, & hung about his necke; & thus handled, we thruſt him out of doores to returne vnto thoſe who had ſent him. But they being wondrously affraid herewith, and ſuſpecting the like puniſhment if they ſhould ſtay there any longer, for that they ſuſpected that I had diuers armed ſouldiers in my houſe, they ſuddainly all of them fled away: and ſo by this ſtratageme eſcaped I the other dangers. Yet wanted there not ſome, who incited the people once more againſt me: ſaying, that the kings ſeruants, who were fled vnto me for refuge, ought not to liue, except they ſubmitted themſelues to their lawes and cuſtomes, from whom they required protection.

They likewiſe accuſed them, that they were of the Romane faction, and priſoners, and preſently the people began to mutine, being deceived by their words, who laboured to flatter them. Which when I heard of, I once more informed the people, that they ought not to perſecute thoſe who reſorted vnto them for reſcous: & I ſteſt at their folly, who accuſed them of poiſoning, and that the Romans would not vainly nourish ſo many thouſands of ſouldiers; if they pretended to make away their enemies with poiſon. Being by theſe words ſome-what pacified, they had ſcarcely with-drawne themſelues awhile, but that by certaine out-caſts & wicked men, they were incited againſt the nobilitie, ſo that with armed weapons they reſorted to the houſes of the Taricheans, intending to murder them. Which when I heard, I was ſore affraid; that if this wickedneſſe ſhould be committed, no man hereafter ſhould dare to truſt his life in my hands. For which cauſe, being aſſiſted by diuers others, I haſtily reſorted to their lodging, and ſhut vp the gates: & cutting a trench betwixt it and the lake, I called for a barke, and entring into the ſame with them, I croſſed ouer into the confines of the Hippenians: and furniſhing them with money to buy the horſes, for that they could not tranſport their own with them in that ſlight, I diſmiſſed them, requiring them to digeſt their preſent miſfortunes with a conſtant mind. For my ſelfe tooke it very heauily, that I was once more inforced to land thoſe men in the enemies countrey, who had committed themſelues to my truſt: yet thinking that if it ſhould ſo fall out, that they ſhould fall into the Romans hands, they ſhould bee ſafer, then if by ſuffering them to remaine in my countrey, I ſhould ſee them oppreſt: I aduentured them thus. Yet were they ſaued, and the king gaue them pardon. And this was the end of this tumult.

But they of Tiberias wrote vnto the king, requiring him to ſend a gariſon into their countrey, and promiſing him to reuolt and follow him. Which done, as ſoone as I came vnto them; they required me that I would build them thoſe wals which I had promiſed them: for they had already heard that Taricheas was inuironed with wals. Wherevnto I condeſcended, and gathering ſtuſſe from euery place, I ſet the workmen to their taſke. But ſome three daies after, departing from Tiberias towards Taricheas, vvhich was thirtie ſtades diſtant from thence, by chance a troupe of Romane horſemen were diſcovered, not farre from the Citie, which made the inhabitants beleeue that they were the kings armie: Whereupon they preſently beganne to venter many things in honour of the king, and more in my reproche. And preſently a certaine friend poſſed vnto me, and told me what their mind was, and how they intended to reuolt from mee. Which when I vnderſtood, I was wondrously troubled: For I had ſent backe my men of warre from Taricheas to their houſes, for that the next day was the Sabbath day: For I would by no means that the Citizens of Taricheas ſhould bee charged or troubled with entertaining ſouldiers. And at all times

A times, when I remained in that citie, I tooke no care of the guard of mine owne perſon, hauing had often prooſe of the loyaltie of the inhabitants towards me. Seeing therefore at that time attended onely with ſeauen ſouldiers, & a few of my friends, I knew not what to do. For I thought it not fit to call backe my forces, for that the day was welny paſt; and although they ſhould haue bene with me the next morning, yet they might not haue taken armes, becauſe our lawes forbade the ſame, how great ſoeuer the occaſion be that is offered. And although I ſhould haue drawne forth the Taricheans and the ſtrangers that were retired thither, and if vnder hope of prey I had led them forth, yet ſaw I that they were too feeble to reſiſt their forces. On the other ſide, I alreadie perceived that if I ſtaied ouer-long, the army which was ſent by the king being already entered the citie, would haue excluded me: I therefore determined to vſe this ſtratagem. I preſently therefore garded the gates of the Taricheans with my moſt truſtie friends, ſuffering no man to paſſe out of them; and aſſembling the chiefeſt of euery familie, I commaunded euery one of theſe to lanch their boates into the lake, and to follow me with the maſters of their ſhips. After vvhich both I and my friends, and ſeauen other ſouldiers, betooke vs to a barke, and ſailed toward Tiberias. But when the Tiberians perceived that they had no forces come from the king, and that the whole lake was covered with barkes; amazed and fearing the ruine of their citie, for that they ſuppoſed the ſhips to be laden with ſouldiers, they changed their former opinion. For which cauſe laying by their weapons, they themſelues with their wiues and children came forth to meet mee, entreaining me with happy acclamations: for that they thought I had heard no inkling of their intents, beſeeching me that for the ſaferie of their citie, I would enter the ſame. But I drawing neere the citie, commaunded the maſters of the barks to caſt anchor ſurre off the ſhore, leaſt the townſmen might perceiue that the ſhippes were emptie: and I my ſelfe drawing neere with mine owne barke vnto them, accuſed them, for that contrarie to their oathes, they had bene ſo fooliſhly induced to reuolt. Afterwards, I promiſed them aſſured pardon, if ſo be they would deliuer mee tenne of their chiefeſt nobilitie: vvhich when they had incontinently performed, I ſhipped them in a barke, and ſent them priſoners to Taricheas: and by this policie one after another, I at laſt gotte all the Senate of Tiberias, and manie of the chiefeſt Citizens, and caried them thither alſo.

Ioseph in danger for the Tiberians ſakes.

Ioseph ſaileth to Tiberias.

Clytus the author of the ſedition in Tiberias.

Clytus cutteth off his owne leſt hand.

At length, the reſt of the multitude, as ſoone as they perceived in how great danger they were, they beſought mee that I would puniſh the chiefe author of this conſpiracie, vvhich was called *Clytus*, a bold and raſh young man. But I, that held it a wicked act to kill one of the ſame Tribe, and yet was inforced to puniſh him, commaunded *Leuius* one of my guard to goe vnto him, and cut off his hand: who not daring for that he was alone to enter into ſo huge a multitude, for ſcare leaſt his cowardice ſhould be diſcouered by the Tiberians, I called *Clytus* vnto mee, and ſaid vnto him; Sith vngratefull and perſidious man, as thou art, thou deſerueſt to loſe both thy handes, I charge thee to become thine owne executioner, for ſcare leaſt thorow thy delay thou procure thy further puniſhment. And vvhence with many prayers hee beſought mee to grant him one of his handes, I hardly condeſcended: at length of his owne accord, for ſcare leaſt hee ſhould loſe both, hee tooke a knife and cutte off his left hand: and thus was this tumult appeated.

E As ſoone as I returned to Taricheas, and the Tiberians vnderſtood what ſtratagem I had vſed with them, they were all amazed, ſeeing how I had puniſhed their ingratitude and diſobedience without any bloodſhed or murder. After I had ſent for thoſe of the people of Tiberias that were in priſon, amongſt whom was *Iuſtus* and his father *Priſtus*, I inuited them to ſuppe with mee: and during the repaſt, I told them that I was not ignorant, that the Romane armie excelled all men of the world in power & force: notwithstanding that I kept my ſelfe ſilent in the reſpect of thoſe theues that were round about, and I counſailed them that they alſo would doe the like in expectation of ſome better daies; and yet that in the meane time they would not thinke amiſſe of my gouernment, becauſe the time afforded them not a more affable and commodious gouernour. I admoniſhed *Iuſtus* alſo that before I came from Ieruſalem, the Galileans had cut off his brothers hands, accuſing him to haue forged falſe letters before the warre; and that after *Philips* departure the Gamalites, being at odds with the Babylonians, ſlew *Chares*, *Philips* own kinsman, and had moderately puniſhed his brother in law *Ieſus*, who had married his ſiſter. After this diſcourſe during ſupper time, I diſmiſſed *Iuſtus* and his friends early in the morning, with their freedoms. But before this came to paſſe, it hapned that *Philip* the ſonne of *Iacimus* departed from the fort of Gamala vpon this occaſion that enſued. As ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Varus* was reuolted from king *Agrippa*, and that *Modius Equus* who was his friend, was ſent to ſucceed him, hee certified

Ioseph diſmiſſeth the Tiberians.

Philip the ſonne of Iacimus.

certified him of his estate by his letters: which when he had receiued, hee highly reioyced at *Philips* safetie, and sent those letters to the King & Queene, who liued at Berytum. Whereupon the King vnderstanding the false rumour that ranne as touching *Philip*, that he was the chiefeaine of the Iewes armie, who vnderooke the warre against the Romans, sent certaine horsemen to *Philip* to bring him to his presence: before whom hee no sooner arrived but hee embraced him verie kindly, and shewed him to the Romane captaines, telling them that that was *Philip*, of whom it was commonly reported, that he was in rebellion against the Romans. He therefore charged him, that taking with him certaine horsemen, he should poste in all diligence to the fort of *Gamala*, & drawing his household seruants from thence, he should lead and reestablish the Babylonians in *Batanea*, and trauaile to his vttermost power that the subiect should be continued in obedience and peace. After *Philip* had receiued this commandement from the King, he hasted to performe the same.

Agrippas kindness and humanity toward *Philip*.
Hedio, Gadara

Ioseph stirred up a sedition in *Gamala*.

Many Iewes revolt from the Romans.

John labourerth to supply *Ioseph* in his government.

Simons countaie against *Ioseph*.

Simons second countaie against *Ioseph*.

But *Ioseph* a certaine drougier or treacle seller, gathering together a sort of bold young men, and inciting the nobilitie of *Gamala*, perswaded the people to fall from the king, and that betaking them to their armes, they should recouer their former libertie: and thus drew they other into their opinion, killing those that durst contradict them. Amongst these died *Chares* and *Iesus* his kinsman, and the sister of *Iustus* the Tiberian, as we haue heretofore declared. After this they requested me by letters, that I would send them aide, and certaine labourers to begirt their towne vvith a wall. To both vvich requests of theirs, I easily condescended. About this time the countrey of *Gaulonite*, as farre as the borough of *Solyma*, rebelled against *Agrippa*. I also inclosed *Seleucia* and *Sogon*, which were two strong places vnaccessible, and fortified by nature, vvith *avalles*. I did the like also by *Iamnia* *Amerytha*, and *Charabe*, a borough of higher *Galilee*, although they vvere situated amongst the rocks. I fortified in like sort *Taricheas* also and *Tiberias*, and *Sephoris*, Citties of *Galilee*; and the borough of the caue of the *Arbaliens*, *Berfobe*, *Selamen*, *Iorapa*, *Capharath*, *Comofogana*, *Nepapha*, and the mountaine *Itabyrium*. In those places hoorded I vp great store of corne, and laid vp store of armour, and munition for defence.

Meane while, *John* the sonne of *Leui*, increased his hatred daily more and more towards mee, being greatly aggrieved to see my fortunes happy, and the successe answerable: and whereas hee was wholly resolu'd to rid me of my life, after he had encompassed his countrey *Gischala* vvith walles, he sendeth *Simon* his brother vvith one hundred souldiers to *Ierusalem*, to *Simon* the son of *Gamaliel*, requiring him to labour the matter in such sort vvith the Cittie, that my authoritie might be disannulled, and that *John* by the common consent of all, might be ordained gouernor ouer the affaires of *Galilee*. This *Simon* was borne in *Ierusalem*, noble in birth, and in sect a Pharisee (which sect of all other seemed most exactly instructed in the lawes of our countrey) a man of excellent vvifedome, who by his counsaile was able to repaire the decaying ruines of his countrey, vvho of long time had made vse of *Iohns* friendship, because hee was at that time mine enemy.

This man solicited by the intercessions of his friends, perswaded the high priest *Ananus* and *Iesus* the sonne of *Gamala* and others of his line and faction, to cut off my increasing honours, and not to permit me to attaine the fulnesse and content thereof. For it should be very profitable for them also, if I were removed from the gouernment of *Galilee*. Further, hee told *Ananus* and the rest, that they were not to delay the matter, least vpon the discouerie of their counsaile, I should invade the Cittie vvith mine armie. Thus spake *Simon*, yet *Ananus* the high priest replied, that it might not easily be done, for that diuers priests and gouernours of the people bare vvinefle for me, that I behaued my selfe honestly in that gouernment, and that it was ill done to intend an accusation against a man, who might not be touched vvith any misdemeanour. When *Simon* had heard what *Ananus* had said, he besought him & the rest also to speake nothing thereof; neither to make his motion knowne, certifying them that he had providently provided, that I should be speedily driuen out of *Galilee*: And calling vnto him his brother *John*, hee charged him to send presents to *Ananus*. For (said hee) in so doing they would so much worke vvith him, that they would make him change his opinion. In the end, *Simon* obtained that vvich he long time sought after. For *Ananus* and his adherents were corrupted vvith money, and accorded to cast mee from the gouernment of *Galilee*, vvithout the consent or allowance of any other of the Citizens. For vvich cause they thought good to send certaine noble men in birth, and no waies inferior to one another in learning, vvhereof two of them were of the common sort, and *Pharises*; the one called *Jonathas*, the other *Ananias*; the third was *Iozarus* of the tribe of *Leui*, vvho was also a Pharisee, and of the race of the priests. But *Simon* was of the order of the priests, and the youngest of

A of them all. These did they commaund, that calling together a councell of the *Galileans*, they should demanda why they loued me so well, commanding them that if they answered that I was a *Galilean*, they should likewise say that *Ierusalem* was their countrey. But if they allowed in me the knowledge of the law, they were likewise willed to say, that they knew their countrey customes; or if in regard of the name of priesthood, they should say they loued me, they should likewise a-uerre that two of them were priests. Being thus instructed, and receiuing fortie thousand silver drachmes of the publike treasure, for their fellow and comfort *Jonathas*, they set forward.

Embassadours with souldiers sent to *Ioseph*.

And for that at the very same time a certaine man called *Iesus* of *Galilee*, was come to *Ierusalem* vvith a band of sixe hundred souldiers, they sent for him and hired him, and gaue him three moneths pay, commanding him to follow *Jonathas* and his companions; and to doe that vvich they should commaund them: and to these annexed they three hundred Citizens, vvhome they hired vvith reward. Vvith this preparation the Legates set forward, being accompanied vvith *Simon Iohns* brother, vvho had one hundred souldiers vvith him, vvho had commissiion from those that sent them, that if I willingly gaue ouer armes, they should send mee aliue to *Ierusalem*: and if I resisted, by their authoritie they might lawfully kill me. They had letters also directed to *John*, vvich incited him to make warre against me. Moreover they charged the *Sephorites*, *Gabarites*, and *Tiberians* to maintaine *John* against me. After that I had intelligence hereof, by my fathers letters, vvho had intelligence thereof by *Iesus* the sonne of *Gamala*, one of those vvho were present at the deliberation, and vvho intirely and familiarly loued me; I was much grieved, seeing

Iosephs fathers signifieth all these newes vnto him.

C vvith how much ingratitude my countymen required mee, vvho of malice had decreed vpon my death: and for that my father inuited me by most affectionate letters to draw my selfe homeward, telling me how much he desired to see me, vvho was his sonne, before he left this life; I imparted these things to my friends, and certified them that vvithin three daies I would forsake their countrey, and retire my selfe into mine owne. Whereupon they were altogether surpris'd vvith great sadness, and besought mee vvith weeping teares, that I would not forsake them, for that they should be viterly ouerthrowne, if so bee they were left destitute of my conduct. But vvhereas by no meanes they might perswade me, and the care of mine owne securitie preuailed very much vvith me; the *Galileans* fearing least I should leaue them, and by that meanes the theues should be encouraged to set vpon them, they sent messengers thorow all *Galilee*, to signifie vnto them D the resolution of my departure. Whereupon diuers of them being made priue to these newes, resorted vnto me from all parts, bringing vvith them their vvives and children; not so much, as I suppose, for the sorrow they conceiued at my departure, as the feare that they had of their owne estates: For they perswaded themselves, that if I remained among them, there could no mischiefe befall them. They assembled therefore in a great Plaine, called *Asochim*, vvhere I remained.

Ioseph resolueth to returne home.

That night in my sleepe I had a wonderfull dreame: For lying in my bed, and being wholly disconsolate and troubled vvith the newes I had receiued, me thought that a certaine man from aboue spake vnto me after this manner: Pacifie thou the passions of thy spirit, and bee thou free from all feare. For that vvich discomforteth thee, shall be that vvich shall make thee great, and E happie beyond thine expectation. For not onely these things shall turne to a fortunate ende or issue, but also many other. Be not thou therefore dismayed, but remember thy selfe that thou art referred to make warre against the Romans. After I had this dreame, I awaked; and so prepared as I was, went I downe into the Plaine: and as soone as I came thither, all the people of *Galilee*, vvith their vvives and children, humbling themselves vpon the earth, and weeping, besought mee that I would not leaue them for a pray to their enemies: neither that I would abandon their countrey to serue for a pray and mockerie to their aduersaries. But seeing that I made small reckoning of their prayers, they constrained me by oath to remaine amongst them, and vvitered diuers iniurious outrages against the people of *Ierusalem*, that enuied them the peace and happines vvich they enioyed.

A number of *Galileans* besought *Ioseph* that he would not forsake them.

F After I had heard these words, and seene the desolation of the people, my heart was broken vvith compassion, and I resolu'd my selfe that in respect of so great a multitude, my life could not be better hazarded then for their contentment: I therefore gaue my consent to remaine vvith them. I gaue order that five thousand of their best souldiers, vvith their prouision, should attend mee: as for the rest, I sent them backe euery owne to his owne house. When these five thousand presented themselves, I annexed them to the other three thousand that I had vvith me, and drew out vvith them foure score horsemen, and marched on towards *Chabalon* a borough vpon the marches

Ioseph consenteth to stay in *Galilee*.

Placidus a-
gauit Ioseph.

marches of Ptolemais, where I vndertooke to prepare them for the battell, expecting some assault from *Placidus*, who was come with two companies of footmen and one of horsemen, sent by *Cestius Gallus* to burne the countrey townes of Galilee, and other little boroughes that bordered on Ptolemais. And for that he was entrenched before the Citie of Ptolemais, I encamped mine army likewise not farr from the borough Chabalon, some fixtie stades off: and diuers times drew I out my forces to bid him battell, but neuer would he offer any thing but skirmishes. For *Placidus*, perceiving my forwardnesse to fight, was abashed thereat, and retired himselfe: yet departed he not from Ptolemais.

Jonathan's let-
ter to Ioseph.

About that time came *Jonathan* with the other Embassadors, who (as wee haue heretofore declared) were sent by *Simon*, and the high priest *Ananus*, who laboured to entrap mee by policie, for that they durst not assaile me in open field. They therefore wrote a letter vnto me to this effect: *Jonathan* and the Embassadors with him, who are sent by those of Ierusalem, to *Ioseph* Greeting. We are certified by the chiefe men of Ierusalem, that *John* of Gischala hath oftentimes sought to betray you: for which cause we are sent to repress his malice, and to exhort him hereafter to submit himselfe vnto you: and being desirous to conferre with you, as touching that which concerneth the publike profit, we pray you to resort vnto vs as soone as you can, with some few attendants, because the borough is not able to entertaine many. To this effect wrote they vnto me, hoping that one of these two effects would fall out: either that I comping disarmed, should be easily surpris'd by them; or that bringing with me a great companie, I should be condemned for an enemy of my countrey. The messenger that brought me this letter was a valiant young man, mounted on horsebacke, who had in times past borne armes for the king. The time when hee came vnto me, was two houres within night, and euen then was I banquetting with my friends, and the chiefe gouernours of Galilee. After that one of my householde seruants had certified me, that a certaine Iew on horsebacke came to speake with mee, I commanded hee (should be brought in; who embracing me but coldly, and deliuering me the letter, said vnto mee: They that are come from Ierusalem, send you this letter; giue them a speedy answer: For I am commanded to make a speedy returne. They that sat at the table with me, were amazed at the souldiers bouldnesse. But for my selfe, I willed him to sit downe, and to make merrie with me: but he refusing the same, I kept the letter in my hand in such manner, as I had receiued the same, and began to talke with my friendes of other affaires: and not long after arising from supper, and dismissing therest to their rest, I onely retained with me some of my most inward friends, and commanding my page to fill me wine, I opened the letters before any man perceiued the same: and conceiting incontinently what they meant, I sealed them anew, and as if I had knowne nothing of the contents, hauing the letter in my hands, I gaue order that the souldier should receiue twenty drachmes for to beare the charges of his voiage. He hauing receiued the same, and giuing me thanks; I perceiued well that he was addicted to gaine, and might easily be wrought with money. Whereupon I said vnto him, If thou wilt drinke with me, thou shalt haue a drachme for euery glasse thou drinkest. To this the souldier listned willingly, and hauing drunke good store of wine, to get him the greater store of money, he grew drunken; so that he was vnable any longer to conceale his secrets: but of his owne accord he declared the treason that was prepared, and how the sentence of death was giuen by them against mee. Which when I vnderstood, I answered them to this effect. *Ioseph* to *Jonathan*, and those that accompanie him, Health. I am verie glad to hear that you are arrived in Galilee in good health, especially for that I may now redeliuer into your hands the gouernment of the affaires thereof, to the end (according as I haue long time desired) I might returne into my countrey. I will not onely therefore visit you at Xallon: but in a nicke further place also, notwithstanding you had neuer sent for mee. Notwithstanding pardon me, though I come not at this present: for I am now at Chabalon to confront *Placidus*, who pretendeth to invade Galilee. Resort you therefore vnto mee, who shall reade my letters. Farewell.

Iosephs answer
to Jonathan.

After I had written this answer, and deliuered it to the souldier to carrie it vnto them, I sent by the same way thirtie of my most approoued friends of Galilee, commanding them to salute them that were come, without any further speech: I assigned also to each of these one of my most resolute and best souldiers to take heede least any of those I sent should conferre with *Jonathan*'s men. They therefore set forward on their way: and *Jonathan* and the other seeing their first purpose failed them, they sent me another letter, after this tenour which ensueth: *Jonathan* and his companie to *Ioseph*, Health: We command you that within three dayes, you make your appearance before vs, without any of your souldiers, in the borough of Gadara, to the ende you may

Jonathan's
message and
letter to Io-
seph.

A may answer to that which *John* hath obiected against you. As soone as they had written this, & saluted those whom I had sent, they went to Iapha, which is the greatest towne of Galilee, defended with strong walles, and peopled with manie inhabitants. Against these the people of that Citie, their wiues and children came forth, exclaiming against them with huge cries, charging them to returne backe, and not to deprive them of the good gouernour they had. *Jonathan* and his companions were prouoked with these cries; yet durst they not make any open shew of their displeasure, but without returning them any answer they resorted to other Cities, where they met with no lesse effectually exclaimes from the multitude, protesting with a loud voice, that no man should be able to disswade them from continuing *Ioseph* in authoritie in their gouernment. Whereupon *Jonathan* with his followers marched forth without any further speech, and came to B Sephoris, the greatest Citie of Galilee. But the inhabitants thereof being addicted to the Romans, came forth to them: but for my part, they neither praised nor blamed mee. Departing from Sephoris, they came to Asochim, where the Citizens sung the same song, that the Iapheans did. Whereupon they being vnable to containe their displeasures, commanded their souldiers to beat them with their truncheons, who exclaimed against them, and claimed mee for their gouernour. And when they drew neere to Gabara, *John* came out to meet them, accompanied with three thousand souldiers; and I hauing intelligence by their letters, that they were resolu'd to make warre against me, departed from Chabalon, accompanied with three thousand souldiers; and hauing committed the campe to the charge of my trustiest friend, I went to Iotapara, because I would be within foure stades of them, and sent them this letter: If your will bee that I must needly come vnto you, there are in Galilee two hundreth and foure Cities and boroughs, I will meet you in any one of them, which you please, except Gabara or Gischala: for that the one is the place of *John*'s nauitie, and the other is his associates and friends.

The Embas-
sadors of Ieru-
salem coldly
entreated in
Galilee.Ioseph writeth
again to them.

As soone as *Jonathan* had receiued this answer, he replied not any more, but sought the means to entrap mee. *John* was of the opinion to write vnto all the Cities and boroughs of Galilee, supposing that without question there were one or two in them that were mine enemies, whom they might incense against me, as against their common enemy. He gaue order also, that this his resolution should be sent to Ierusalem, to the end that those of the Citie vnderstanding that I was adiudged an enemy by the Galileans, might in like sort confirme that their decree by their opinion. For he said, that by this meanes it would come to passe, that the Galileans, who were well affected towards me, should forsake me for feare they had of them. This aduice of *John*'s maliciously pleased them all, & was presently brought vnto me about the third houre of the night, by one *Saccheus*, who flying from them, came and brought me the newes, & particularly related to me their intent. For which cause perceiuing that the time required no longer delay, and supposing that *Iacob* was one of my most assured and trustiest seruants, I commanded him to take two hundreth men with him, and to belay the waies betweene Gabara and Galilee, and to send mee those whom he should surpris, that came that way; and especially those that carried letters. I sent *Jeremy* also, who was one of my friends, to the marches of Galilee, with sixe hundreth men at armes, to keepe the passages that way towards Ierusalem, commanding him to laie hands on all thole that carried letters, and to committe the men to prison, and to send me their piqueets.

The confu-
sation of the
Embassadors
against Ioseph.Ioseph befe-
reth the waite
of Galilee.

After I had in this sort instructed those whom I sent, I willed and commanded the Galileans the next day following, to take their armes, and to furnish themselves with victualles for three daies, and to attend me at the borough of Gabaroth. Those souldiers that I had distributed in foure companies, and kept those with mee in whome I reposed most confidence for the guard of my person: and hauing appointed captaines ouer them, and commanded them to be carefull, I charged them to suffer no vnknowne souldier to enter in among them. The next day I came to Gabaroth, the sixth houre of the day, where I found all the fields about the Citie full of men of warre, of those of Galilee, who resorted thither to assist mee, according as I had commanded them. Thither also came there a multitude of other men from other boroughs. As soone as I came to their presence, and was ready to speake vnto them, all of them began to crie out, calling me their benefactor, and maintainer of their countrey. After I had solemnly giuen them thanks for this fauour they had shewed me, I charged them neither to offer war, or attempt any spoyle in the champaine countrey, but to encampe amidst the fields, contenting themselves with that prouision they had brought with them. For I tolde them all in generall, that I would extinguish those troubles without effusion of blood. It hapned the same day that *Jonathan*'s messenger and letters fell into their hands, who had the guard of the passages by my appointment, and ac-

Ioseph with
his troups
resorteth to
Gabaroth.

John and the
embassadors
forces retire to
Jesus house.

according to my direction the men were kept in securitie, as I gave order: and finding the letters that were brought me to be full of nothing but slaunders and lies written by the Embassadors; I said not a word to any man, but thought it best policie to set upon them. But *Jonathan* souldiers hauing intelligence of my coming, retired both themselves and their goods, and with them *John* also into *Jesus* house, which was a great tower, nothing different from a citadell, in which they hid a number of men of warre, and locked vp all the other gates saue one; expecting that I should come that way, to salute them. In a word, they had commanded their souldiers that when I should enter, they should suffer no man else to enter with mee, but exclude all the rest. For they made no other account, but that by this meanes they might easily lay hold on mee. But they were deceived of their hopes: for hauing notice before hand of their intents, as soone as I came thither, entring into a lodging that was right ouer against theirs, I fained that I went to take my rest. Whereupon *Jonathan* souldiers supposing that I was asleep, & that in troth I was safe; they came forth in all haste into the Plaine, labouring to dissuade my souldiers from their loue and alleageance, and detracting my gouernment. But all things fell out contrarie to that they thought: for as soone as they were discovered, the Galileans gaue a great shout, testifying the good will they bare vnto mee, who was their gouernour, and they blamed the Embassadors for that without any cause of iniurie, they were come to disturbe the publike peace, willing them to be gone, for that they intended to admit no other gouernour. When these things were signified vnto me, I made no doubt to aduenture my selfe among them: for which cause I speedily went out to heare what these Embassadors could alledge against mee. Vpon my arriuall the whole troupe shouted for ioy, and applauded mee with a loud voice, giuing me thanks for my happie and peaceable gouernment.

Ioseph presenteth
himselfe
among his
enemies.

Jonathan and his adherents hearing this were affraid, least if the Galileans should set vpon them, they should grow in daunger of their liues, and began to be hinke themselves how they might escape. But perceiuing that they might not retire, for that I required them instantly to stay, they were altogether dismayed, and past their senses. I therefore commaunded the people to cease their shouting, and planted the souldiers of greatest trust in euery passage, to prevent least *John* should charge them vnawares. After this, I exhorted the people to berake them to their weapons, to the end that if the enemy should suddenly assaile them, they might not be driuen to disorder. This done, I first of all beganne to rippe vpe to *Jonathan* souldiers and fellows, what letters they had written, and how they had certified him, that they were sent by the communitie and inhabitants of Ierusalem, to make an end of those debates that were between me and *John*; and how they had incited me to come vnto them. Afterwards in the sequell of my discourse I produced their letters in open viewe, to the end they might not deny any thing, seeing themselves conuicted by their owne hand writing, and spake thus vnto them.

Ioseph obiection
treachery
against the
embassa. ors.

In the month
of two or three
witnesses, con-
fitteth truth.

If being accused by *John*, I should produce two or three witnesses that were men of reputation, to testifie for my life, it were a matter most euident, that thou shouldest bee compelled, *O Jonathan* and you my Lords Embassadors (after you had forfeinquired of their liues) to acknowledge mine innocencie, and to acquit mee of that whereof I am accused. But to the intent you may know that I haue faithfully gouerned the estate of Galilee, I suppose that three witnesses are too little for an vpright man, for which cause I produce all these. Enquire of them how I haue liued, and whether I haue gouerned this countrey in all honestie and iustice. I adiure you all therefore, who are my fellowes and friendes of Galilee, that you hide nothing of the truth, but that before these men, as before your iudges, you professe, if I haue done any thing that is contrarie to right. Whilst I spake after this maner, all of them with one accord called me their benefactor and defender, and gaue testimonie of my forepassed gouernment, and exhorted mee to continue the same hereafter. And all of them affirmed by a publike oth, that I had carefully prevented, least any woman should be violated, or any man by my meanes should be drawne into any iniurie, or inconuenience. This done, I publicly read the two letters in the presence of all the Galileans, which were taken from *Jonathan* souldiers by those, who were appointed by me to beset the waies, and were by them sent to mee, which were full of iniuries and falsehoods, alledging that I rather behaved my selfe like a tyrant then a gouernour towards them: and besides that, there were diuers other things written and yrged verie impudently. These letters (said I) were voluntarily offered me by those that caried the same. For I was vnwilling that mine aduersaries should know that I had beset the waies, fearing least they should forbear to write hereafter.

The Galileans
testimony of
Iosephs good
gouernment.

Ioseph openly
reudeth Iona-
thans epistles.

The people hauing heard this, were displeased and animated against *Jonathan* & his followers, and

The wrath and
furie of the
people against
Jonathan and
his fellowe em-
bassadors.

A and flocked on to murder them; and they had surely done it, had I not pacified the displeasure of the Galileans. As for the Embassadors that accompanied *Jonathan*, I told all of them that I pardoned whatsoever was past, if so bee they would repent themselves of that which was done, and as vpon their returne into their countrey, they would truly report vnto those who had sent them, how all things had past vnder my gouernment. This said, I dismissed them, notwithstanding that I knew they would performe nothing of that which they had promised. But the whole multitude prosecuted their displeasure against them, requiring me to giue them leaue to punish those with all rigour, who had committed this slanderous act. But I laboured all that I might to perfwade them, to lay no hands vpon them, knowing full well that whatsoever mutinie it bee, it cannot but breed preiudice to the common weale. This notwithstanding the multitude would by no meanes be satisfied, but all of them ranne in heapes with great furie to the lodging, where *Jonathan* and the Embassadors kept. Whereupon seeing that it was impossible to restraine their furie, I incontinently betooke me to my horse, and commaunded the people to follow mee to Sogan a borough of the Arabians, distant from thence some twenty stades. By this stratageme I brought to passe, that the beginning of the ciuill warre might not be imputed to me.

Ioseph pacifi-
eth the sediti-
ous without blood-
shed.

After I came nere to Sogan, I assembled the people, and told them that they should not violently submit themselves to their froward displeasures, nor entertaine their vnquenchable desire of reuenge; & I commanded them to pick out an hundredth of the chiefeft & oldest men amongst them, who should make their repaire to the citie of Ierusalem; and there complaine vnto the people against those that had kindled sedition in their country. And I said vnto them, If the people be fauourable and listen to your discourse, you shall perfwade them to write vnto mee, that according to their command I remaine in Galilee; and that *Jonathan* and his partners depart from hence. After I had giuen them this charge, and that they were furnished with all things necessarie for their iourney, in all expedition on the third day after the generall assembly, I dispatched them, and sent five hundredth armed men with them. I wrote also to my friends in Samaria, so to further them that they might finish their iourney in all securitie. For Samaria was already in subiection to the Romans; and it behooued my men of necessitie, who would make a short iourney, to passe that way. For from Galilee by this meanes a man may in three daies arrive at Ierusalem. Furthermore I guarded the Embassadors my selfe as farre as the frontiers of Galilee, laying forces and guards vpon the waies, to the end that no man might easily discover or knowe of their departure. Vvich done, I sojourned for a certaine time at Iapha.

Ioseph sendeth
one hundredth
embassadors
to Ierusalem.

But *Jonathan* and his companions hauing failed of their purpose intended against me, dismissed *John* to Gischala: as for themselves they went to Tiberias, hoping to bring the same vnder their obedience; for that *Jesus*, who was President at that time, had written vnto them, and promised them to perfwade the people to entertaine them, and take their part if they came; & vnder this hope they also retired themselves thither. *Silas*, who (as I declared) was left by me as mine Agent in Tiberias, certified me of all this by his letters, requiring me to vse all diligence: and I condescending thereunto, was brought in daunger of my life vpon this occasion that ensueth. *Jonathan* and his followers being come to Tiberias, perfwaded diuers who were mine enemies, to reuolt from me; but after they were certified that I was there in person, they were affraid, and came vnto me, and saluting mee, told mee that they reputed mee happy, for that I had so wisely behaved my selfe in Galilee: and they reioyced also in appearance, for that I was returned with honour, telling me that the honour that was done vnto mee was their ornament, for that they were my instructors and fellow citizens, and that the friendship which I bare them was more iust then that of *John*: they therefore required me to repaire vnto my house, promising verie shortly to deliuer *John* into my hands: & these speeches of theirs they scoded with dreadful oaths, which made me thinke that I had no cause to misbelieve them. Furthermore they required me to take vp my lodging in another place, for that on the morrow was the Sabbath day, & it were an inconuenient that the citie of Tiberias should be drawn into trouble on that day. I that suspected nothing repaired to Taricheas, leauing notwithstanding certaine of my friends behinde me in Tiberias, who might curiously obserue what the common talke was of me: and all along the way betwixt Taricheas & Tiberias I laid certaine men in wait, who from one to another might certifie mee of that which was discovered by them who remained in the citie. The next day therefore all of them assembled in the Prosceucha or Oratorie, which was an ample house wherein they prayed, and was able to containe a great multitude. When *Jonathan* was entred into this place, he durst not manifestly speake vnto them of a reuolt, but only told them that their citie had need of a better Gouernour. But the President *Jesus* without dissembling, spake plainly after this maner vnto them.

The embassa-
dors hope to
get Tiberias
into their hands
and possession.

Ioseph falleth
in daunger.

Jonathan and
his contem-
nates policie.

The people
assemble in
the Prosceucha.

The Tewes first
houre is to va-
cien or
twelue a clock
at noone.

Jonathan and
his associates
subtiltie.

False accusa-
tions & Epistles
produced by
the embassa-
dors against
Ioseph.

Ioseph discov-
ereth the
subtiltie of the
embassadors.

Ananias one
of the embassa-
dors a wicked
man.

Jonathan writ-
eth to Iohannes
from vnto him.

"It were better for you (my friends) that you were subiect to foure men of nobilitie & great wife-
dome, then to one: and therupon he shewed them those who accompanied *Jonathan*. Hereupon
Iustus arose and praised that which *Iesus* had proposed, and drew some of the people to his opi-
nion. But the greater part tooke no pleasure therein: and there had presently followed a mumme,
had not the assembly bin dismissed, by reason it was midday, which is the ordinary hour amongst
them to take their repast in. Thus did *Jonathan* comforts remit the determination of the matter
vntill the next day, retiring themselves without any good done. Which being presently re-
ported vnto me, I resolved with my selfe the next morning to repaire to the Citie of *Tiberias*: and
on the morrow I arrived there in due time, for I found the people already assembled in the place
of prayer, and they that were drawne to that conuocation, knew not the cause why they were as-
sembled. *Jonathan*'s partners (seeing me there in person contrarie to their expectation, were verie
fore troubled, and bethought themselves of this subtiltie. They tolde the multitude that a cer-
taine friend of theirs had informed them, that he had discovered certaine *Romane* horsemen vpon
the frontiers of that territorie, some thirrie stades off of the citie, in a place called *Homonoe*:
and that the newes being brought to them, those of *Iohannes* faction had presently signified the same
vnto them: to the intent they should not endure their countrey to be sackt by the enemy. They
vsed this speech, supposing that vnder pretext of rescuing the countrey, they might drive mee a-
broad, and strengthen the Citie for themselves.

Now although I knewe verie well what their intent was, yet gaue I care vnto them, least I
should drive the *Tiberians* into an opinion, that I was negligent and carelesse of their securitie:
I therefore rode out, and came to the place of which they had spoken: where finding scarce a
footstep or appearance of an enemy, I returned speedily without delay to *Tiberias*. When I
came there I found the whole councill assembled with a multitude of people, & *Iohannes* partakers
vrging against me a verie vehement accusation, that I made no account to relieue them in their
warres, but that I studied nothing but mine owne pleasure. And whilest they spake these wordes,
they produced foure letters, as being written vnto them by those who were vpon the marches of
Galilee, requiring them to come and succour them, for that the *Romane* horsemen and footmen
would within three daies forrage and spoyle their countrey: for which cause they made haste, &
would not neglect their suit who belought them. The *Tiberians* hearing these allegations, and
supposing them to be true, cried out saying, that it behoued them not in that manner to dallie
time, but to go and succour their countrey men inuironed with great dangers. Whereunto I
answered, that I was ready to obey them, and promised to march forth against the enemy with
all expedition. Now knewe I well the pretence of *Iohannes* partakers, and was of the opinion, that
since those letters said that the *Romans* gathered head in foure diuers places, it was requisite to
divide our power into five companies, appointing euerie one of them a chiefeine ouer them.
For it is an honour for good men not onely to giue counsell, but also when need required to bee
the first and foremost in action: For I tolde them that it lay not in my power to leade any more
then one company. This my aduice was pleasing vnto all the people, who presently constrained
these men to march out vnto the warre: whereby it came to passe that they were greatly confused
to see that they might not finish that which they had imagined, because I crossed all their en-
terprises. Hereupon one amongst them called *Ananias*, a wicked and peruerse man, counsailed
the people to celebrate a solenne fast the next day in honour of God, and gaue direction at the
same houre that all of them should gather together in that place in armes, to protest before God
that if they obtained not succours at his hands, they held all sort of resist vnprofitable. Hee spake
this, not for any piete that was in him, but to the ende to surprize both mee and my followers vn-
armed. To this aduice of his was I enforced to condescend, to the end it might appeare that I
contemned not that which appertained to the seruice of God. As soone therefore as we were re-
tired euerie one of vs to our severall lodgings, *Jonathan* and his partakers wrote to *Iohn*, to re-
sort vnto them early in the morning with his men of warre, and all the power he could make: for that
they might easily lay hands on mee, and accomplish that which they had so long time longed af-
ter. Hee receiuing this letter, willingly obeyed. The next day I commanded two of my strongest
and faithfullest souldiers to hide their short swords vnder their gownes, and to attend mee, to the
end that if in any sort we were assailed by the enemy, we might defend our selues. I put on my
curets also, and girt my sword by my side in such sort, as no man might perceiue the same, and
came with them to the place of prayer.

But *Iesus* as soone as I was entred with my friends, hauing the guard of the gate, would not
permit the rest of my followers to enter with me: and at such time as we were ready to begin our
prayers,

A prayers, according to the custome of our countrey, *Iesus* arising demanded of me what was be-
come of the household stuffe that was taken out of the kings palace when it was burned, & where
the bullion of silver was, and with whom I had left the same: of all which he therefore made
mention, that he might delay the time till *Iohannes* approche. I answered, that *Capella* had all, and
those ten of the chiefeest nobilitie of *Tiberias*; and willed him to aske of them whether it were
true that I spake: who confessed that they had it. What (sayd hee) are become of those twentie
pieces of gold, that you receiued by the sale of a certain waight of masse silver, where are they?
I answered him, that I had deliuered the same to the Embassadors, to defray their charges in
their voiage towards *Ierusalem*. Hereupon *Jonathan*'s partakers said, that I had done amisse, in
employing the publike treasure to the vse of priuate Embassadors. The people being displeased
herewith (for I verie easily perceiued the wicked disposition of these men) and seeing that a sedi-
tion was likely to arise, I thought it best to whet and animate the people the more against them:
I said, that if I had done amisse in rewarding the Embassadors on the common stocke, they
should need to take no further displeasure for that: for said I, I will repay those twentie pieces of
gold out of mine own purse. Hereupon the people were incensed the more against them, in that
they manifestly discovered what hatred they wrongfully bare vnto me. Whereupon *Iesus* fear-
ing least some change might arise, commaunded the people to depart, and required the councill
to stay, for that it was vnpossible to examine matters discretely where so much trouble and tur-
moile was. The people cried out, that they would not leaue mee alone among them. Where-
upon there came one vnto *Iesus*, who secretly informed him that *Iohn* with his armed men was
at hand, who for that cause being vnable to containe and conceale his ioy, God so providing for
the conseruation of my life (for had their purpose taken effect, *Iohn* and his followers had utterly
ouerthrowne me.) For beare (said he) ye *Tiberians* to enquire of the twentie pieces of gold: for
Ioseph meriteth not punishment for this matter, but because he affecteth the tyranny, and that by
his wordes he hath deceiued the people of *Galilee*, and gotten the fourtignitie to himselfe. Whi-
le he spake these wordes, they sought sodainly to lay hands on mee, intending to murder mee.
But those two, whom I had with me, perceiuing their intent, drew their swords, threatening those
who should dare attempt to offer me violence. The people likewise gathered stones to cast at *Jo-
nathan*'s partakers, and puld me away violently from mine enemies: and for that if I should haue
gone but a little further, I had mee with *Iohn* and his army, thorow the feare I had, I turned an o-
ther way. For crossing downe a priuie way that led me to the lake, I betooke me to a boate and
went by water to *Tarichea*, auoyding this danger beyond all hope.

Whereupon I incontinently sent for the chiefeest men of *Galilee*, and told them how contrary
to all law and right I had almost bene murdered by *Jonathan* and the *Tiberians*. For which
cause the *Galileans* were grievously displeased against them, and willed mee without delay to
make warre against them, or if I list not my selfe, to suffer them with all expedition to cut off both
Iohn and *Jonathan*, with all their followers. Yet did I retrain them the best I could, and pacifi-
ed their displeasure, and prayed them to expect vntill such time as we knew what newes our Em-
bassadors would bring that were gone to *Ierusalem*. For I told them that wee ought to execute
no kinde of thing without their approbation and consent: and by these means I perswaded them.
But *Iohn* seeing at that time that his policie had but verie slender successe, returned backe againe
to *Gitchala*.

Some few daies after, our Embassadors, who were returned from *Ierusalem*, certified vs, that
the people of *Ierusalem* were sore displeased with *Ananias* the high priest, and *Simon* the sonne
of *Gamaliel*, for that without their common consent they had sent Embassadors into *Galilee*,
and sought to displace me of the government there, and their displeasure was so kindled that they
were ready to set their houses on fire. They brought me also letters, by which the gouernours of
Ierusalem vpon the instant request that the people had made vnto them, confirmed me in the go-
uernment of *Galilee*, commanding *Jonathan* and his associates to returne backe againe with all
expedition. After I had receiued these letters, I repaired to the borough of *Arbela*, where I as-
sembled the *Galileans*: before whom I commanded the Embassadors to report how much the
people of *Ierusalem* were displeased and discontented, in regard of those things which *Jonathan*
had iniured me in; and how they confirmed me in the government of this countrey, and had
called and commanded both *Jonathan* and his confederates backe againe to *Ierusalem*, to whom
I speedily sent that letter that was directed to them, commanding the messenger to obserue verie
carefully both their actions and acceptance. After they had receiued the letters, they were great-
ly troubled, and sent for *Iohn* and those of the councill of *Tiberias*, with the gouernor of *Gabara*,
and

Iesus talke
with *Ioseph*
Ioseph debate
with *Iesus* for
twentie peeces
of gold.

The peoples
loue to *Ioseph*.

Ioseph almost
sodainly sur-
prise the
enemy: as
deliuered from
perill.

Ioseph certifi-
eth the *Galileans*
how traitorous-
ly *Jonathan* &
the *Tiberians*
had dealt with
him.

The hundred
Embassadors
returne from
Ierusalem.

An assembly in
Arbela.

The councill
held against
Ioseph: by
Jonathan & his
companions.
and

and consulted with them what they were best to do. The Tiberians opinion was that they should continue and maintaine their estates, and that they should not forsake the Citie which had already subscribed to their authoritie, especially for that I would invade them: for that I had so threatened them they were not ashamed to faime and imagine. This aduice not onely pleased *Iohn*, but hee furthermore gaue this counsell, that some two Embassadors should be sent from them to the people of Ierusalem, to accuse mee for that I had vniuſtly gouerned the common weale of Galilee, telling them that they might verie easily incense the people against mee, both in regard of their authoritie, as also for that the common people are by nature variable and inconstant. This counsell that *Iohn* gaue was allowed by them all: whereupon it was thought fit that *Jonathan* and *Ananias* should in person repaire to Ierusalem, and that the other two should remaine at Tiberias, and for their conuoye they gaue them a hundred armed soldiers.

The Tiberians intend warre against Ioseph, Jonathan with his followers taken and kept captiue.

The Tiberians had before this prouided for the securitie of their wals, and gaue commandement to all the Citizens to take armes, and afterwarde sent for some supplies to *Iohn* to strengthen their garrison, if they should any waies be prouoked by mee. For *Iohn* kept at Gischala. Meane while *Jonathan* trauiailing on wards of his journey came to Dabaritra, a Citie situated vpon the vttermost borders of Galilee in a great Plaine: and there met he about midnight with some of my troupes that kept the watch, who commanded the to lay by their armes, and kept them safely bound, as I had commanded them. Hereof *Leui*, who had the charge of this quarter, certified me by his letters: for which cause dissembling the matter for some two daies, I sent letters to the Tiberians, by which I counselled them that laying their armes aside, they should dismisſe euery one to his own dwelling place. But they returned me an iniurious answer: for they supposed that *Jonathan* and his traine were already arrived in Ierusalem. But I setting light by their iniuries, resolved to circumvent them by this cunning stratageme: For I thought it a dangerous matter to kindle warre against the Citizens. Being therefore verie willing to drawe them out of their wals, I chose outten thousand of my best souldiers, whome I distributed into three bands, and lodged one companie of them secretly at Dora, to lie there in ambush: I encamped also an other thousand in a certaine borough situate in a mountainous place, some foure stades distant from Tiberias; commanding them that as soone as I gaue them a watchword or signe, they should breake forth: as for my selfe, I withdrew my selfe and kept in the open field, and late me downe on the grasse. Which when the Tiberians perceiued, they made continuall excursions towards me, vying many bitter and iniurious taunts against me: and to great folly possessed them, that they spread a magnificent couch in the open Plaine, and marching round about the same, they scornfully seemed to lament me, as if I had lien therein, whilest in the meane time I tooke pleasure to laugh and looke vpon their follies.

The Tiberians seeke vaine glory against Ioseph.

But being verie desirous to surpriſe *Simon* by some policie, and *Idazar* also with him, I sent vnto them, requiring them that they would march forth a little without their walles, attended by their friends and guard for their securitie sake; for that I was determined to conferre with them vpon a peace, and to confirme the one halfe of the gouernment vnto them. Hereupon *Simon* deceived by his folly, and overcome and blinded with greedy desire, came forth with all expedition: but *Idazar* suspecting some stratageme, would not aduenture without the wals. As soone as I saw *Simon* attended by his friends and guard, I went out to meete him, and embraced him kindly, giuing him thanks for that he was come downe; anon after walking along with him, as if I intended to communicate somewhat with him in secret, I withdrew him from his friends, and laying hands on him, I deliuered him to my friends to lead him into the borough, and gaue a signe vnto my souldiers that they should come downe, and with them I assaulted the Citie of Tiberias. There was a sharpe skirmish on both sides, and the Tiberians had welne gotten the victory: For my souldiers began to flie; but perceiuing how the matter went, I animated those of my companie, and with them gaue a valiant onset on the Tiberians, who almost had the better, and chased them into their Citie, and sent another company by the lake to set fire on those houses which they should first fall vpon. Hereupon the Tiberians thought that their Citie was taken by force, and cast downe their weapons for feare, praying me to haue compassion of their wiues and children, and to pardon their Citie. For this cause being moued with compassion, I restrained the furie of my souldiers; and for that it was late I retired my selfe with my souldiers, both to the intent I might spare the Citie, and relieue my wearie and wounded souldiers. Hereupon I sent for *Simon* to come and banquet with me, and comforted him in his misfortune, promising him to send him to Ierusalem, and to assure him in his journey homeward, and to furnish him for

Ioseph surpriseth Simon by force, and leads him away prisoner.

A his ordinarie expences with all things necessarie. The next day I assembled ten thousand souldiers, and presently made mine entrie into Tiberias, and hauing assembled the chiefeſt Citizens in the horse rafe, I commanded them to discouer vnto me who they were that were the authors of that rebellion: who hauing satisfied me, I laid hands on them and bound them, and sent them incontinently to Iotapata. As for *Jonathan* and his consortes, I let them at libertie, and gaue them money for their charges, & sent them back to Ierusalem with *Simon* & *Idazar*, and true hundred souldiers for their guard. Hereupon the Tiberians reassembled themselves before me, beseeching me to pardon their misdeeds, promising me to recopence by their future fidelitie their forepassed and foule faults: beseeching me also to restore those goods vnto the citizens, which in way of pillage were taken from them. Whereupon I gaue a present command, that all the pray should be brought and laid before mee: and whereas the souldiers delayde to performe the same, I spying one of those souldiers that stood by mee, better apparelled then hee was wont to bee, asked him where hee had gotten that garment: who confessing that hee had taken it in the spoyle of the citie, I chastised him with strokes, and threatened a worse punishment to all those that would not restore that which they had taken away: whereby recovering a great part of the pray together, I gaue euery citizen that which he knew to be his owne.

Ioseph sends the authors of the rebellion to Iotapata.

Those goods that were taken from the citizens are restored.

In this place I cannot chuse but in some fort I must reprehend *Iustus*, who wrote vpon this argument; and others, who promising a historie are not a raid in contempt of truth, either for fauour or hatred, to commit lies to their posteritie. For they differ nothing from counterfeiters of euidences, and racers of records; but that these men are more corrupted by impunity. For he to the ende he might seeme to employ his time wel, vnder taking to set downe the events of this warre, hath belied me in many things, and hath not bene ashamed to belie his owne country. For which cause I am necessarily enforced in this place to discouer that which hitherto I haue concealed, & to reprove that which he hath falsely testified of me: neither is it to bee wondered at that I haue to long time deferred the performance thereof. For whosoever writeth a historie ought of necessity to speake the truth; yet is it not lawfull for him to inueigh against the wickedder fort too vehemently, not for that they are worthy of this fauour, but for his owne modesties sake.

A reproofe of Iustus the historiographer, that falsely accused Ioseph.

Tell me therefore *Iustus* (for thou desirest to be held for the man of greatest note amongst all other historians, and art not ashamed to vaunt and boast thy selfe of that title) tell mee I pray thee in familiaritie (for I must to take with thee as if thou wert present before me) how I & the Galileans haue bene the authors of that rebellion, which thy country began both against the Romans and their king. For before I was chosen gouernor of Galilee by the people of Ierusalem, both thou and all the Tiberians were not onely vp in armes, but had already made warre against the ten Cities of Syria. Thy selfe hadst burnt their villages, and one of thy seruants died in that country: yet not I alone protest this, but it is extant also in writing in the records of the Emperour *Vespasian*, how the inhabitants of these tenne cities cried out to *Vespasian* in the citie of Ptolemais, requiring that thou mightst be punished, as the author of their mischiefs: and assuredly thou hadst bene punished by the Emperour, had not *Agrippa*, who had receiued commission to execute thee, vpon the instant request of his sifter *Berenice* spared thee life, and kept thee bound in prison for a long time. Furthermore, thy politicke behaviours do sufficiently expresse what the rest of thy life hath bene, and how thou hast caused thy country to rebell against the Romanes: whereof I will produce hereafter most euident arguments, and for thy cause will I vige somewhat against those other Tiberians; and I will make it plaine to those that shall read these histories, that thou hast bene no friend to Rome, nor faithfull to thy king. And I enforce these my authorities from the greatest cities of Galilee, Sephoris and Tiberias, in which thou *Iustus* wert borne. For Sephoris is situate in the heart of Galilee, hauing round about it a number of villages, and being a citie sufficiently able in it selfe to attempt and execute any noble action at their pleasure; yet notwithstanding the citizens thereof resolved to oblerue their faith to the Romanes, and thrust mee out of doores, forbidding euery man among them to beare armes for the Iewes. And to the end they might bee more assured in my behalfe, the inhabitants deceived me in that they intreated me to incompassse their citie with a wall: and that done, they willingly entertained a garrison which was sent them from *Cestius Gallus*, who was general of the Roman Legions in Syria in contempt of me, although at that time I had a great power, and terrified the country round abouts. But when our great citie of Ierusalem was besieged, and that temple which was common to all our nation, was in danger to fall into the enemies hands, the Sephorites sent no succours, to the end it might not be said that they tooke armes against the Romanes:

Tiberias, Iustus country. Sephoris and Tiberias two chiefe cities of Galilee.

But

But thy countrey Iustus being situate vpon the lake of Genazareth distant from Hippus thirtie G stades, from Gadara sixtie, from Scythopolis sixscore, in a countrey obedient to the king, hauing not any citie of the Iewes round about it, might haue verie easily kept their faith to the Romans, if they had list. For both the citie and people were furnished with munition in all abundance, But as thou saist, I was the cause at that time. And who afterwarde? For thou knowest that before the siege of Ierusalem, I was in the Romans hands, & that Iotapata was taken by force, & diuers other castles; and that many other Galileans were spent in diuers battels. At that time shouldst thou haue deliuered thy self of that feare thou hadst of me, laying thine armes aside, & presenting thy selfe to the king & the Romans, when thou vndertookst armes not of thine owne accord, but enforced. But the truth is, you expected *Vespasians* coming, euen vntill such time as he begirt your citie wals with a siege, & then laid you your armes aside for feare of danger: yea euē thē had your citie bin ouerthrowne, except the king in excuse of your folly, had obtained your pardon at *Vespa-* H *sians* hands. It was not therefore my fault, but your offence, that behaued your selues like enemies. Do you not remember how often times I haue obtained the victorie against you, and how fewe times you could complaine of bloudshed? But you falling at dissension one with another haue bene the instruments of your owne ruine; & not for the loue you bare either to the King, or the Romanes, but of your owne malice slewe one hundredth eightie and fise citizens, at such time as I was besieged by the Romanes in Iotapata. Nay more, is not this true, that during the siege of Ierusalem, whereof I haue made mention, there were more then two thousand Tiberians slaine, or otherwise taken prisoners? But perhaps thou wilt alledge, that at that time thou wert no enemy, for that thou wert fled to the King; but I tell thee that thou fleddest thither for the feare thou hadst of mee. I am a wicked man, as thou sayst: but what art thou? whom King *Ag-* I *grippa*, vpon many presents deliuered from punishment, at such time as thou wert condemned by *Vespasian* to lose thy head. For what cause hauing made thee prisoner twice, and hauing so many times past the sentence of banishment against thee, & hauing once commanded thee to be thine owne murderer, hath he giuen thee life vpon the importunate sollicitation of his sister *Ber-* nice? And after so many crimes committed by thee; hauing entertained thee for his secretary, whē he found thy corruption in that office, he banished thee from his presence.

But I will not too exactly touch thee with these matters, yet notwithstanding I wonder at thine impudence, that hast openly protested, that thou hast written more exactly and perfectly of this matter, then any man: whereas thou art vtterly ignorant of those things that were done K in Galilee. For at that time wert thou at Berytum with the king, and wert no waies priuie to the siege of Iotapata; seeing thou didst not follow vs. Neither couldst thou be able to learne how I behaued my self therein, for that there was no one left aliue to giue thee certain intelligence. Thou wilt perhaps say, that thou hast carefully described that, which hapned during the siege of Ierusalem. And how may this bee possible? For thou wert neither agent nor looker on in that warre; neither hast thou read the commentaries of *Vespasian*. But I coniecture hereby that thou hast not read them at all, forasmuch as thou hast written clean contrarie to that which is contained therein. And if thou art so confident, that thy historie is truer then other mens, why didst thou not publish it during *Vespasians* and *Titus* liues, who were the generals of that warre; neither before king *Agrippa* and those of his race, who were all of them very expert in the Greek tongue? L For thou hast kept it written by thee about twentie yeeres, and mightst haue produced wines of thine exact diligence before them, who were priuie to all things. But now when they are dead, & thou thinkest that no man liueth that may reprove thee, thou hast vnderaken this boldnes to publish thy work. But I haue vsed no such policie or feare in my bookes, but haue presented them to the Emperours themselves, who haue bene eie witnesses and actors thereof. For I knewe in mine owne soule that I had set downe all things truly: Whereupon I obtained my expected approbation. Moreover I communicated the same historie with diuers others, whereof some of them were present at the warre, as was king *Agrippa*, and some of his kinted. And *Titus* the Emperour himselfe was so desirous that men should search for the truth of that historie out of these bookes, that he placed them in a librarie, and caused them to be published, being M subscribed with his owne hand. As for king *Agrippa*, he sent me seuentie two Epistles, testifying the truth of my bookes, whereof two of them are vnderwritten, to the end that the truth may appeare thereby. King *Agrippa* to his deere friend *Ioseph*, Health. I haue with great contentment over-read thy book, wherein thou seemest in my opinion to haue handled this matter more exactly, then any other. For which cause I pray thee send me the rest. Fare well my deere friend. King *Agrippa* to *Ioseph* his deere friend, Health: I perceiue by thine owne writing, that thou needest

Iustus condemned to death.

Iustus knew nothing of the warres of the Iewes.

Iustus published his booke when Titus and Vespasian were dead.

Manifest testimonies of the truth of Iosephus historie. The first Epistle. The second Epistle.

A needest no intelligence from me, how matters haue passed from the beginning: yet when wee meet next, I will betweene me and thee certifie thee of certaine things which thou knowest not. Thus was he a witness of the truth of my accomplished historie: not flattering me, for it became him not; neither deriding me, as you perhaps may obiekt; for farre was it from so noble a mind to be subiect to so seruile a folly: but only to this end, that the truth of my writings might be commended to the reader by the worth of his testimonie. And thus much haue I thought good to set downe in way of answer to *Iustus*.

Now as soone as I had pacified these troubles in Tiberias, and had established a counsell of such as were well affected towards me, I bethought my selfe of that which concerned me to doe in respect of *Iohn*. All they of Galilee were of the opinion, that I should atone them all, and that B in battell array I should march against *Iohn*, and doe iustice vpon him, as he that had been the author of all this mischief. But for mine owne part, I misliked their counsels, for that my desire was to extinguish these troubles without bloudshed; and for that cause I incited them with all diligence that was possible, to learne the names of all those who serued vnder him: which being done, and I made priuie what they were, I published a proclamation, by which I promised both safetie and pardon to all those, that would forsake *Iohn*, assigning them the terme of twentie daies, to determine of that which seemed best for their owne securitie: and I threatened to set fire on their houses, and confiscate their goods, except they gaue ouer their armes. They hearing these things, were greatly troubled, and forsooke *Iohn*: and after they had laid downe their weapons, they came vnto me to the number of foure thousand: so that onely fiftie hundred men remained with *Iohn* or thereabouts, either of Citizens, or strangers of Tyre. When *Iohn* perceiued that he was circumvented by this policy, he euer after remained quiet in his country in great feare.

At that time the Sephorites grew so bold, that they tooke armes vnder the confidence and strength of their wals, and for that they saw me distracted with other businesse. They therefore sent to *Cestius Gallus* gouernour of Syria, praying him to reparaire vnto them, with all expedition, to take possession of their Citie, or to send them a garrison of men at the least. *Gallus* promised to come vnto them, but he set downe no certaine time of his approche: whereof when I was aduertised, I tooke the men of warre that I had, and marched against the Sephorites, and tooke their Citie by force. The Galileans verie glad of this opportunitie, and supposing the time was D come wherein they might satisfie the insatiable hatred that they bare against that Citie, marched on with that intent, as if they would haue wholly ruined the Citie, with all the inhabitants. They therefore traquailed the streetes, and set fire on the houses, which they found wholly desolate: For the inhabitants were fled away for feare, and were retired into a forresse. They therefore ranfackt all things, and left nothing vnspoyled: neither was there any kinde of miserie which they inflicted not on their countremen. Which when I sawe, I was sore grieved; and commanded them to giue ouer, signifying vnto them that it was impieie in them, to shew themselves so sauage towards their countremen. And seeing that neither by any prayer or commaund that I made, I could draw them to obedience, for that their hatred surpassed my counsels, I commanded those that were about me, and whom I most trusted, to spread a rumour that the Romanes charged vs on the other side of the Citie, with great force. All which I did, to the ende that by this rumour I might pacifie the furie of the Galileans, and saue the Citie of Sephoris: and this policie tooke good effect. For when they heard this newes they were affraid, and forsooke their pillage, to trust to their heeles, in especial for that I who was their general did the like. For I made a shew, that I beleued the rumour to be as true, as they beleued it: and by this stratageme the Citie Sephoris was saued beyond all hope.

And hardly escaped Tiberias from being spoyled by the Galileans, thorow this occasion which ensueth. The chiefe of their counsell wrote vnto the king, that he should come vnto them, and take possession of their Citie. The king promised to satisfie them verie shortly, and answered the E by his letters, and deliuered them to one of his chamber, called *Crispus* a Iewe borne, to carrie them to the Tiberians. The Galileans knowing this messenger, tooke him and brought him vnto me: which when the common people vnderstood, of meere spleene they fell to armes, and the next day diuers of them assembled themselves from all parts; and came to the Citie of Ascho where I made my abode, and made huge exclamations, calling the Tiberians traytours, and the kings friends, and demanding of me licence and libertie that they might reparaire to Tiberias, and raise it to the ground, being as much displeased against the Tiberians; as they were against the Sephorites.

Iosephus prosecuted his historie, and taught to rebate with Iustus.

Four thousand of Iohns followers forsake him, and follow Ioseph.

Sephoris spoyled.

Tiberias in danger of ruine.

Which

Joseph consuleth with himselfe.

The Galileans wrath pacified, concerned against the Tiberians.

Iustus desired to command Galilee.

Joseph assaileth the walls of Sephoris.

Silas captaine of the kings guard.

Joseph putteth the kings souldiers to flight.

Which when I heard, I stood in great doubt how I might deliuer the Tiberians from that G displeasure, which the Galileans had conceiued against them: for I could not denie but that the Tiberians had written and sent for the king: for the answers which he made them, did evidently expresse the truth. And hauing a long while debated the matter with my selfe, I sayd vnto them, I know as well as you, that the Tiberians haue offended: neither will I hinder you from spoiling their Citie; yet must you proceed to the execution thereof with some iudgement. For the Tiberians alone doe not betray our libertie, but others also, who are more accounted of in the countrey of Galilee. Stay therefore vntill such time as I am thorowly informed, who they be that are authors of this treason; and then you shall haue them all vnder your hands, with all those amongst them, whom you may particularly thinke worthie punishment. By these perswasions I wonne the people, who departed from me wholly contented and pacified. As for the messenger H that was sent by the king, I caused him to be imprisoned, hauing respect to an vrgent necessitie of mine owne, which constrained me to depart out of the kingdome within a little while. And calling *Crispus* secretly vnto mee, I charged him to make those souldiers drunke, who had the charge of him, to the end that he might in all securitie flee backe to the king. Thus Tiberias being ready to be destroyed, the second time by my government and prouidence, auoyded at that time a great and fatali danger.

At the same time *Iustus*, the sonne of *Pisus*, fled vnto the king without my knowledge: the cause of which flight of his, I will orderly expresse. As soone as the Romans had begun their warre against the Iewes, the Tiberians concluded to obey the king, and in no sort to rebell against the Romans. But *Iustus* egged them on to take armes, thirsting after alteration, and hoping both to obtaine the government of Galilee, as of his owne countrey: but his hope failed him of a successfull end. For the Galileans being enuiously bent against the Tiberians, for those iniuries they had suffered at their hands before the warre, could not allow *Iustus* to be their gouernour. My selfe also, whom the people of Ierusalem put in trust with the government of Galilee, was oftentimes so much moued, that I failed little of killing *Iustus*; so intolerable was his wickednesse. Hee therefore fearing least my displeasure should shorten his daies, went vnto the king, supposing that hee might liue more freely and securely with him. The Sephorites beyond their expectation hauing escaped this first danger, wrote vnto *Cestius Gallus* the second time; requiring him to come vnto them, to the end that hee might be the sooner seized of their Citie; or that he should send them forces to withstand the incursions of their enemies: and finally they K wrought so much, that *Gallus* sent them store of horsemen, and after them footmen, who came by night, and were receiued into their Citie. But seeing that the countrey round about them was but in poore estate, by reason of the Roman horsemen, I tooke my souldiers, and came to Garizim, where I encamped some twentie stades off of Sephoris, and by night I approached the same, and set ladders to the wall, with which I entered a number of my souldiers, and became master of the better part of the Citie; from whence notwithstanding we were afterwards constrained to retire, for that we knew not the place, killing before our departure twelue Roman footmen and two horsemen, with some Sephorites, to the onely losse of one of ours. Afterwardes a fight hapning betweene vs and their horsemen in open field, wee fought for a long time with disadvantage: For the Romans hauing inuironed mee on all sides, my reward thorowe the feare L they conceiued, began to retire. In this skirmish I lost one of my guard, called *Iustus*, who in times past had serued in the verie same place vnder the king. At that verie time the kings forces both of horse and foote came thither, vnder the government of *Silas* captaine of the guard, who encaping some fiue stades off of Iulias, beset the high waies that bended towards Cana with men of warre, and the fort of Gamala, to hinder the inhabitants from receiuing any commodities from the countrey of Galilee.

As soone as I receiued newes hereof, I sent out two thousand souldiers, with *Jeremy* their coronell: who shrouding themselves within a stade of Iulias, neere vnto the floud Iordan, offered nothing els but light skirmishes, vntill such time as I had gathered three thousand souldiers more, and was come vnto them. The next day hauing planted an ambush in a certaine trench M neere vnto the enclosure of their campe, I couled out the kings souldiers to skirmish, hauing first forewarned my souldiers toaine a flight, vntill such time as they had drawne their enemies as far as the ambush: which they cunningly executed. But *Silas* supposing that our men fledde for cowardize, set forward to follow them as fast as he might possible: but they that lay in ambush charged him on the backe, and discomfited his armie: and I presently turning and making head against them, constrained the kings forces to trust to their heeles. At that time the estate of the country

A countrey was at a good point, had not some cursed spirit thwarted mine honest purposes, for the horse whereon I rode, falling into a certaine bog, cast mee on the ground, whereby mine hand being thrust out of ioynt about the wrist, I was carried into a borough of Cepharnom. My souldiers hearing hereof, and fearing least some more sinister misfortune had befallen mee, then indeed had done, restrained themselves from pursuing the enemy any further; and turned their backs thorow the griefe they had conceiued by reason of mine accident. Hauing therefore sent for Physicians, and caused my selfe to be dressed, I staid there for that day; and being seized with a feuer, I was carried by night to Taricheas, according to the aduice of my physicians.

Silas and his souldiers hauing newes of mine accident, recovered their courages: and vnderstanding that we kept but slender watch in our campe, they laid an ambush by night on this side B Iordan, with their horsemen, & as soone as the day appeared, he drew out our souldiers to fight, who willingly condescended thereunto, and being come into the Plaine, they perceived the enemy that lay in ambush, by whom they were put to flight, and six of our men were slaine. But they pursued their victory no further: For hauing newes that certaine souldiers had past the water of Taricheas to Iulias, they were affraid and returned backe.

Not long after *Vespasian* arrived at Tyre, accompanied with king *Agrippa*. Against whom the Tyrians began to utter many reproaches, telling *Vespasian* that the king was both an enemy to the Tyrians & the Romans, alleading that *Philip* his Generall had betrayed the kings palace and the Roman army in Ierusalem, and that by the kings commission. Which when *Vespasian* vnderstood, hee reprooued this impudent boldnesse of the Tyrians, for blaming a king of that C power, and a friend to the Romans: and aduised the king to send *Philip* to Rome, to yeelde account of his actions. But notwithstanding that *Philip* was sent thither, yet presented he nothing self before *Nero*; for finding him extremely busied with troubles and ciuill warres, he returned vnto the king without doing any thing. VVhen *Vespasian* was arrived at Ptolemais, the gouernors of the ten cities of Syria cried out against *Iustus* the Tiberian, accusing him for burning of their boroughs. *Vespasian* therefore deliuered him bound vnto the king, to the end that the subiects of his kingdome might haue him punished. Bet the king before that time, vnwitting to *Vespasian*, had kept him prisoner, as it hath been heretofore declared. The Sephorites also referred to *Vespasian*, to salute him, and receiue a garrison from him, with their commander *Placidus*, who made many roades into the countrey, and pursued them vntill such time as *Vespasian* arrived in D Galilee: of which arrivall I haue amply spoken in my booke of the Warres of the Iewes; how he came, how he fought against me, the first time neere to the Citie of Tarichea: how I departed from thence to repaire to Iotapata, my taking, my deliuerance, and all my actions and fortunes during the warres of the Iewes, and the siege of the Citie of Ierusalem. But now mee seemeth that it is necessarie, that I describe other things exploited by mee during my life time in other places then in the warres of the Iewes. After the siege of Iotapata was ended, I was prisoner with the Romans and kept very carefully: yet notwithstanding *Vespasian* did me much honour. For by his commandement I married a virgin, that was one of those that had been taken captiue in Casarea. But she remained not long time with me: for after I was set at libertie, and that I followed *Vespasian*, shee retired her selfe to Alexandria. After which, I married another woman E in Alexandria, from whence I was sent to *Titus* to the siege of Ierusalem, where I was oftentimes in danger of death. For the Iewes laboured what they might to take and punish me: and the Romans supposing that as many and oftentimes as they were repulsed, it was by my treason, cried out continually to the Emperour to execute mee for a traitor. But *Titus* well experienced in the changes of warre, pacified the violence which his soldiers intended against me, by his silence. And after the Citie of Ierusalem was taken, *Titus* often solicited mee to take that which I liked among the ruines of Ierusalem, promising to giue it me: But I making but small account of any thing after the ruine of my countrey, besought him that hee would giue me certaine free men, and the sacred Bible, which I receiued for a great consolation in my miseries. All which he graciously granted me. Not long after hauing begd my brother and fifty other of my friends, F they were giuen me, and I was refused in nothing. Entering into the temple by *Titus* permission, I found a great number of prisoners shut vp therein; and all those women and children of my friends and familiars, whom I knew, I deliuered them, to the number of one hundredth and ninety, without paying any ransom: and I restored them to their former free condition. Being sent with *Cerealis* and one thousand horse into the Citie of Thecoa by the Emperour *Titus*, to espie if the place were fit for a campe, in returning from thence I saw diuers prisoners, who were on the gibbet, amongst which were three of my familiars; whereat I was grieved in my soule, and

Joseph misfortune and matcheth the enemy.

Vespasian and Agrippa arrive at Tyre.

The gouernors of Decapolis accuse Iustus. Of Vespasians arrivall, and the siege of Iotapata, read Ioseph lib. 4. cap. 5. of the warres of the Iewes.

The dangers that Ioseph past betwixt the Romans and Iewes.

Ioseph discharged a number of captiues.

Ioseph deliuered three of the gibbet.

and I came and signified the same vnto *Titus* with teares: who incontinently commanded that they should be taken downe, and as carefully drest and cured as might bee; two of which died notwithstanding the vtmost diligence of the Physicians, and the third suruiued.

Ioseph repaired with *Titus* to Rome, and is honourably entertained by *Vespasian*.

Ioseph enuied & slandered.

Iosephs third wife.

The perpetual fauour of the Cæsars towards Ioseph.

After that *Titus* had appeased the troubles of *Iudæa*, coniecturing with himselfe that the possessions which I had in *Ierusalem*, would yeeld mee but little profit, by reason of the Roman garriſon that should be placed there; hee planted me in a possession in a champaign country: and intending to embarke himselfe to depart for Rome, he tooke me with him in his owne ship, & did me great honour. As ſoone as we came to Rome, *Vespasian* had great care of me, for hee lodged me in his owne house, where he kept before he was Emperour, and honoured me with the title of a citizen of Rome, and gaue me an annuall pension in money; and as long as he liued, continued his good affection towards me, forgetting no kinde of bountie which he might vse towards me. Whereupon I was so much enuied, that I grew in danger thereby to lose my life: For a certain Iew called *Jonathan*, hauing stirred vp a sedition in *Cyrene*, and gathered about him some two thousand inhabitants of the country, was the cause of their ouerthrow: & as touching himselfe, being bound by the gouernour of that countrey, and afterwards sent vnto the Emperour, he said it was I that had sent him armes and money. But *Vespasian* knew his falshood, & condemned him to death, and commanded him to be executed. After this, mine enemies objected diuers crimes against me, in regard that I was in good reputation: but God so wrought that I escaped them all. Moreover, I receiued in gift from *Vespasian* an ample possession in *Iudæa*, & at that very time I forsooke my wife, because her manners pleased me not, although she were the mother of my three children, of whom two are deceased, and the third, who was called *Hircanus*, is yet aliue. After this I married a wife that was borne in *Candie*, and was by nation a Iew, and by birth noble, and one of the greatest reputation amongst the inhabitants, endowed with as laudable manners as any other vertuous woman whatſoever; as her after-life most plainly expressed. By her I had two sonnes, *Iustus* who was the eldest, and *Simonides*, who also was surnamed *Agrippa*. Thus far as touching my domesticall affaires. That bountie which I receiued from the hands of the Cæsars, hath alwaies continued mine. For after *Vespasian*s death, *Titus* who succeeded him in the Empire, continued the same fauour which his father had shewed mee. For although I were oftentimes accused, yet were not mine aduersaries beleecued. *Domitian*, who succeeded him, augmented mine honours. For he punished those Iewes that accused me, and gaue order that the Eunuch & slave whom I kept to teach my sonne, and by whom I was accused, should be punished. He granted me exemption also from all the tributes of *Iudæa*, which is one of the most greatest honours that a man may receiue. And as touching *Domitia* the Emperours wife, shee alwaies continued her good affection towards mee. Behold heere the short recitall of my whole life: whereby let each man coniecture of my manners, as him listeth. But O thrice excellent *Epaphroditus*, after I haue giuen and offered thee all this auncient historie of our nation,

I will for this present pause in
this place.



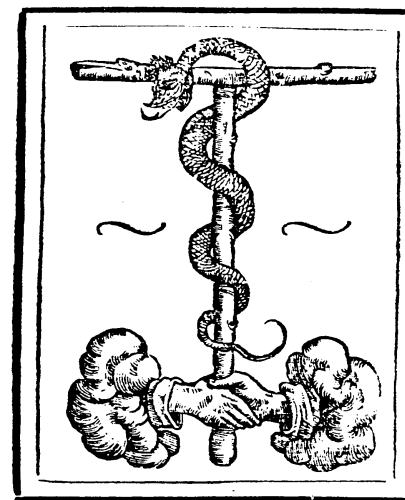
L
THE

M

THE LAMENTABLE AND TRAGICALL HI- STORIE OF THE VVAR AND VTTERRVINE OF THE IEWES:

COMPRISED IN SEVEN BOOKES
BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS, THE SONNE
OF MATTHIAS:

AND NEWLY TRANSLATED OUT OF THE
Latin, and French, into English, by *Tho. Lodge*, D.M. P.



Printed at London on Bread-street hill, at the signe
of the Starre. 1609.

(••)



TO THE RIGHT VVORSHIPFUL HIS
esteemed friend, M. *Anthony Palmer* Esquire.

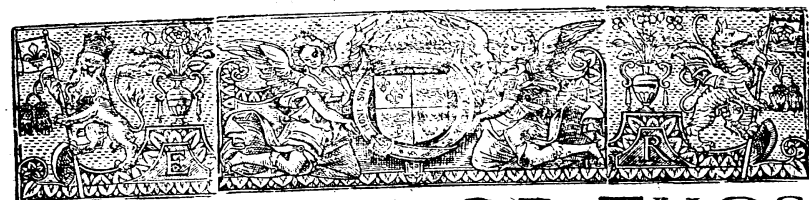


I R, my affection, that had rather bee an A&or then
an Orator (do well, then speak well,) hath pickt you
out to be the patron of this tragicall historie of the
wars of the Iewes. The reasons that draue me here-
vnto, are neither the expectance of worldly bene-
fits, nor the fruitlesse vp-shot of ostentation: but
your virtue (which is not beloued respectiuely, but
onely for it selfe) hath created this good conceit in
me, which (if you so please) your acceptance maie
continue. Now since as the Philosopher supposeth,
it is an action worthy a good man, to do good vnto
his friend; so it is no lesse commendable to accept an office of kindness from a
friend. For by giuing, wee bewray our well wishing; and by receiuing, we pro-
portion and continue friendship: vpon this ground I pray you build the good
entertainment of my present, and nourish this good custome in me (which was
vsuall both amongst Grecians and Latins) I meane my translation: which if it
please you, I haue my wish. As for my maligners, I expect no worse from them
then *Iason the Thessalian*, who being assailed and wounded by an enemy (who
had an intent to kill him) had an impostumation opened that saued his life: their
stabbe and stroke of disgrace shall cure and heale the hidden and neglected in-
firmities of my minde; and notwithstanding I shall both *Genio & ingenio* liue to
loue you, and lament their want of charitie. Thus heartily commending me,
I hastily take my leaue, beeing tied prentise of late to other mens impor-
tunities.

Your louing Friend,

THO. LODGE.

A



**THE FIRST OF THOSE
SEVEN BOOKES, WHICH WERE
WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS THE SONNE
OF MATTHIAS, AS TOVCHING THE WARRE,
AND DESTRUCTION OF THE IEWES.**

B

THE PRÆFACE,

In which the author taxeth diuers Historiographers of vn-
truth: and declarer his intent, and specifieth the princi-
pall points of this Historie.

C



Or as much as the warre which was enterprised betwixt the Iewes
and Romans, hath (amongst all other) bene the greatest that ey-
ther hath bene attempted in our age, or heard of in any other; ei-
ther betwene citie or citie; or nation against nation: there haue
been some, who (rather building their discourse on the vaine and
improbable report of others, then their owne iudgements) haue
(according to the manner of orators) made a historie of their
hearsay, & haue filled their discourses not onely with vanitie, but
also with contradiction. Others there were (who for that they
were eie witnesses or actors of the same) haue according to their
owne fancies preferred many lies; either to flatter the Romans, or

The dutie of
an Historio-
grapher, and
how things
that are past
should bee
written.

D

exercise their hatred against the Iewes: forging some willes accusations, otherwhiles breaking out
into praises, without any obseruation of historie: all veritie. For this cause, I Ioseph the sonne of Mat-
thias, by birth an Hebrew, and a citizen and priest of Ierusalem: who in the beginning of these wars
bare armes against the Romanes, and after wards (being therunto forced by necessitie) was present
at all those things, which were attempted and prosecuted in these warres; haue thought good to dis-
course in the Greeke tongue (in fauour of all those who acknowledge the soueraigntie of the Roman
Empire) all that, which heretofore in my owne language I haue imparted to those Barbarians that
inhabit the East. For at such time (as I haue already spoken) as the most bitter and busie warres

Ioseph himself
had a hand in
the warres of
the Iewes.

E

tooke their beginning; the Romanes were at ciuill warres among themselues: and as touching the
Iewes (who were in yeeres valiant, and in wits turbulent) they being both strong in power, and rich
in money, did so insolently abuse the time, that being animated by the greatnes of those seditions and
troubles; they somewhiles swamme in hope, sometimes sweltered in feare of possessing or losing cer-
taine soueraignties in the East. For the Iewes hope was, that all those of their nation (euen they who
inhabited the parts beyond Euphrates) would haue both followed them in their rebellion, and secon-
ded their follies with their forces. Moreover, at that time the Frenchmen (who bordered vpon the
Romans) suffered them not to liue in peace: and the Germans also began to take armes. Finally, af-
ter the death of Nero, seditions raigned euery where: so that by reason of the opportunitie of these

After Neros
time all things
full of trouble.

F

tous desire of gaine, desired nothing more then trouble and alteration. For which cause, I thinke it a
matter both worthy reproofe, and ill becomming my reputation, if in so waightie affaires, I should
suffer the truth to be smothered in incertainties, and should permit the Parthians, Babylonians, and
the farthest distant Arabians, and those of our nation inhabiting beyond Euphrates, together with
the Adiabenes, to obtaine the true knowledge of those euents by mine industrie; whilst the Gre-
cians, and diuers of those, who haue not borne armes with the Romans, being distracted with fashi-
ons, & decciued by adulation, should be ignorant hereof. Yet some of these there bee, who (notwith-
standing

Ioseph had
written this
historie in the
Hebrew tongue
before.

The glory of the Romans is diminished if you derogate from their labours at the siege of Jerusalem.

Titus his piety towards the Iewes.

All calamities that happened since the beginning of the world being compared with those the Iewes suffered are of no moment.

The Grecian Historiographers euer praise the wars of the Iewes, with silence.

Who may rightly be called a Historiographer.

standing their false informations) stick not to write histories, not onely void of all truth, but also no waies answerable to the subiect which they undertake. For whilest they labour to dignifie & extoll the Romans, they altogether suppress the same and fortunes of the Iewes: yet cannot I coniecture by what means they may be held great, who triumph in the conquest of men so obscure & abiekt. Nay whilest they thus extoll the Romans valour in conquering the Iewes, they nothing at all respect the continuance of the wars, nor the multitude of the Roman soldiers, nor the honour of their captaines; whose titles are much embased if they (having laboured so much to conquer Jerusalem) should have anything derogated from the honour & prosperitie of their attempts. For mine owne part I am not resolved to contradict those who shall enhance the glory and noble actions of the Romans, neither to extol and dignifie the deserts of mine own nation, but my resolution is in all truth and sincerity to set downe each occurrent, without respect or partialitie towards either part. In performance whereof I will fashion my discourse according to the matter I entreat of, and as my griefe and sorrow shall invite me to lament the miseries of my country: For the ciuill dissension that dismembred the same, was the cause that brought it to confusion: and those tyrants that raigned amongst vs, were such, who forcibly drew the Romans with sword & fire to seeke the desolation of our holy temple. The truth whereof Titus Cæsar himselfe can iustifie, who destroyed the same; who during all those warres still pitied the people, for that they (as he well perceiued) were kept in awe by the seditious: And who oftentimes of his owne accord deferred the surprisall of the Citie, purposely protracting the siege, to the intent that in the meane time the authors of the sedition & bloody warres might haue leasure to repent and submit themselves. Now if any man thinke that I write this, as one that exclaimeth against the tyrants and their theueries; or that in bewailing the miseries of my lost country, I accuse their villanies, and thereby transgresse the limits of a historie, let it bee imputed to my griefe, and so pardoned. For amongst all the Cities that were euer gouerned by the Romans, our citie only attained to the top of felicitie, which now alas is brought into extreame miserie, captiuitie, and desolation. Nay, if all the misfortunes and calamities which the world from the beginning hath scene, be compared with the infelicitie and fall of the Iewes, they are slight and of no moment.

And to encrease our sorrow, no forrainers but our own familiar friends, & countymen haue been the actors of our tragedy. This considered, if any man of too seuerer & stoicall iudgement shall reprehend this my lamentation, let such a one attribute the deeds I recount, to the historie which I write; and reuerse the lamentations and sorrows thereof to me, who am the historiographer: although in my mind I may iustly challenge the smooth tongued Grecians, for that (notwithstanding these our so miserable, & so memorable wars hapned in their daies, in respect whereof al other former troubles were obscure & of no reckoning) they haue restrained their tongues & pens, and undertaken an ouercurious silence, to the end they might carpe at those with greater liberty, who undertake the publishing thereof: whom though in learning and eloquence they both exceed and outstrip, yet are they inferiour vnto the in the matter and subiect they intreat of. For they forsooth discipule and set downe the valiant acts of the Assyrians & Medes, as who should say the ancient writers had but coldly and scarce conceitfully handled the same: & yet God knoweth they come so far behind those auncient authors in their writings, as they neither second them in sense, nor equal them in understanding. For such as in times past published any worthy historie, endeouored to write that which they themselves had scene: and for that each of them were eye witnesses of those affaires they committed to writing, they more effectually performed all that which they promised; the rather for that they accounted it to bee an act of dishonesty, to report and publish lies in stead of a historie. And truly in my opinion that man is both worthy commendation and praise, who strueth by his studious indeuours, to register not onely the occurrences of times past, but also those memorable euents that haue hapned in his daies: and hee only and truly is to be accounted industrious, not that altereth and pruneth at his pleasure another mans workes, but he that of himselfe compileth a historie, whereof no man hath before time written.

For mine owne part (the rather for that I am a stranger) I haue bene enforced to my no small labour and expence, to register the memory and truth of these euents in the eares of the Greeks and Romans. For as touching their owne learned men, their mouthes are alwaies open to games and controuersies, and to this purpose their tongues still runne on pattens: many if they come to a historie wherein they should both tel truth, & with great labour enquire of those things that are past, here are they mum, the trauell is too tedious, the bit is in their teeth, so that they leaue the matter to their performance, who are incapable and vnapt both in stile and study, to register the noble actions of royall princes.

Since therefore the Grecians make no account of the truth of historie, it behooueth vs both to esteeme and honour it. Now to discover vnto you the original of the Iewes, what their estate hath been in times past, and after what manner they departed out of Aegypt, to shew what countries they conquered,

A red, and what colonies they planted, were in my iudgement both impertinent and to little purpose: considering that diuers of mine own nation haue before my time made and written an exact historie of the noble attempts of our ancestors: yea many Greeks also haue translated these mens writings into their own tongue, & haue as truly, as rhetorically exemplified the same. I wil therefore begin my historie in that time where these writers and our own prophesies ceased, and set downe at large all those wars that hapned in my time: and as for those things that exceeded my knowledge and remembrance, I will only touch them briefly, and in a word or two. First how Antiochus (surnamed Epiphanes, who tooke the citie of Jerusalem, and possessed the same for the space of three yeeres & six moneths: and finally how he was driuen out of that country by the Asmoneans. After this I wil set downe the dissensions that hapned amongst Antiochus successors for the kingdome; and how by this means they drew Pompey and the Romans into the managing and medling with their affaires. How Herod likewise the son of Antipater, being assisted by Solius, utterly ouerthrew & cancelled their felicity and authority: and how in Augustus Cæsar's time & after the death of Herod, and during the gouernment of Quintilius Varo, a sedition was raised among the people: and how in the twelfth yeere of Neros raigne the war began to take head and continuance. This likewise which hapned in Cestius time, & what warlike executions the Iews performed in their first attempts and reuolts, how they strenghtened the cities and forts about the, & how Nero (hearing of the great overthrow which his army reueined vnder Cestius their Generall, and fearing lest he should lose all made Titus Vespasian the General of his army: who being attended by his eldest son, came into Iudea accompanied with as great a company of Romans as he could possibly gather: what number of their allies inuaded & spoiled Galilee, what cities they surprisid in that place, either by forcible assault, or by any other composition. Besides al these things, I wil expresse what order & discipline the Romans obserue in their wars, and wherein they are are accustomed to exercise their soldiers. I wil note downe also the places & nature of the country of Galilee, & the description of Iudea, together with the mountaines, lakes & fountains thereof, with all the properties of the same, not forgetting those miseries which the captiue cities suffered: neither how they were surprisid, al which (together with al these euils & miseries which during those troubles befel me) wil I discover, and discourse with all truth and diligence, the rather in that I publish them in their eares, who are no waies ignorant of them. After this I wil set downe how (upon the declining and downfall of the Iewes) Nero died; and how (at such time as Vespasian had undertaken the expedition to Jerusalem) he was withheld from the action, to receive and enjoy the imperiall dignity: how at that instant when he retired himself into Egypt to establish that estate, the Iewes began to mutiny among themselves; how many tyrants arose among them, who hatched much ciuill discord and debate in their gouernment. I gaue, how Titus departing out of Egypt, came the second time into Iudea, and ranged ouer the country, and how and where he leuied & encamped his armies. How and how oftentimes the city hath been vexed by sedition, especially at such time as hee himselfe was present. What onsets he gaue, and how many mounts he raised in beginning the city with a treble wal: the strength and prouision of the city, the situation and plat of some of the temple, and the altars therein: the rites and ceremonies which were used upon festiual daies, the 7. purifications & offices of the priests: the garments also of the high priest, and the holy sanctuary of the temple. Al which I will recount without any dissimulation, or strauing from the truth of historie. After this I wil relate what cruelty the tyrants used against their owne countymen, and what humanity the Romans shewed towards strangers, and how oftentimes Titus (who aspired the safety both of the city and temple) prouoked and inuited the seditious to mutual amity. Furthermore, I will report how the people of the Iewes (after these many & grievous wounds which they both suffered and sunke under, sometimes by war, otherwhiles by sedition, and many times by hunger) were at length ouerthrowne to their utter confusion. Neither wil I omit the slaughter of such as reuolted, neither the punishment inflicted on those that were captiue: but I wil set downe how the temple was burned against Cæsar's will, & what an infinit masse of sacred treasure was deuoured by the fire. But to shut vp the historie, I will annex the surprisall of the citie, and what signes and wonders hapned before the same: the captiuitie also of the tyrants themselves, and the number of those that were led away into captiuitie: and what miserie they endured: how the Romans continuing their warres, utterly rased the fortresses of their captiues: finally, how Titus in traouailing thorow the whole countrey, established a forme of gouernment therein; and after ward returning into Italy, triumphed with much honour. All these things haue I comprehended in Ieuon bookes: indeuouring as much as in me lieth, to flye and auoide all the occasion of reproofe and reprehension from those men, who knew these affaires and were actors in the wars. All which I haue done for their sakes, who rather affect truth, then follow their pleasure: and according to that order and forme I haue proposed, I will begin and prosecute my stile and historie.

Antiochus Epiphanes the first author and fountaine of the warres of the Iewes.

The Epitome of the warres of the Iewes.

The signes & changes after Nero's death.

Titus besiegeth Ierusalem.

The manners and sacrifices of the Iewes.

The humanity of the Romans towards the Iewes.

The burning of the temple, and the overthrow of the citie.

The Romans triumph ouer the Iewes.

The cause why he wrote this historie.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS

IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 1. booke.

- 1 The destruction of Ierusalem by Antiochus.
- 2 The succession of princes from Ionathan, vntill Aristobulus time.
- 3 Of Aristobulus, Antigonus, Iudas Essæus, Alexander, Theodore and Demetrius.
- 4 Of the warre attempted betweene Alexander, Antiochus and Aretas, and of Alexandra and Hircanus.
- 5 Of the warre betweene Hircanus and the Arabians, and of the Expugnation of Ierusalem.
- 6 Of the warre of Alexander with Hircanus and Aristobulus.
- 7 Of the death of Aristobulus, and the warre of Antipater against Mithridates.
- 8 How Antipater was accused before Cæsar, and how Hircanus was high priest, and Herod began to make warre.
- 9 Of the dissension of the Romans after Cæsar's death, and of Malichus his deceits.
- 10 How Herod was accused and set free.
- 11 Of the warre of the Parthians against the Iewes, and of Herods flight and fortune.
- 12 Of Herods warre for the recovering of Ierusalem after his returne from Rome, and how hee warred against the theenes.
- 13 Of Iosephus death, brother to Herod; and how Ierusalem was besieged by the same Herod, and how Antigonus was slaine.
- 14 Of the treacherous practises of Cleopatra against Herod, and of his warre against the Arabians, and of a great earthquake.
- 15 How Herode was confirmed in the peaceable possession of the kingdome of Iudæa by Augustus Cæsar.
- 16 Of the Cities and monuments repaired and builded by Herod, and of his felicitie, and liberalitie towards strangers.
- 17 Of the discord betwixt Herod and his two sonnes Alexander and Aristobulus.
- 18 Of Antipaters conspiracie against his father Herod.
- 19 How Herod should haue been poisoned, and how the treason was discovered.
- 20 How Antipaters practises against Herod were knowne and punished.
- 21 Of the golden Eagle, and of Antipater and Herods death.

CHAP. I.

How Ierusalem was destroyed by Antiochus.

The year of the world, 3802.
before Christ
Nativity, 162.
Ant. lib. 12. c. 6.
Antiochus
being stirred
vp by Tobias
sons, invadeth
Iudæa, and
surpriseth
Ierusalem.
Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 4.



At such time as Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes, made warre against Sextus Pompeius for the whole gouernment of Syria, there arose a sedition among the Iewes: wherein euery one indeuoured himselfe to haue the soueraigntie ouer others; and those of chiefe authority and nobilitie amongst the rest, disdained to submit themselves to such as were their equals. At that time a certaine man called Onias (who was one of the high priests) hauing gotten the vpper hand, did driue the sonnes of Tobias out of the Citie; who flying to Antiochus for refuge, besought him in al humility that he would leade his forces into Iudæa; offering themselves to be his guides in that expedition and voiage. Antiochus (who long before that time desired such an occasion) easily condescended to their requests; & leuying a great army, entred

Antiochus entred their country, and tooke the citie by force, and slew the most part of them, who fauoured Ptolomy: and giuing his souldiers libertie to sacke the citie, he himselfe spoiled the temple also; and for the space of three yecres and fixe moneths, forbad all sacrifices & ceremonies, which before time were accustomed and vsed in that place. Whereupon Onias the high Priest fled vnto Ptolomey, and hauing obtained a grant of a peece of ground from him, within the liberties and precinct of Heliopolis, he built a towne and temple in that place, resembling the citie and sanctuarie in Ierusalem.

But neither was Antiochus satisfied with the v unexpected surpris of the citie, nor with the pillage & slaughter of the citizens, but was so far transported by his passions, & incensed with the remembrance of those euils which he sustained during the siege of the citie, that he compelled the Iewes to forsake the customes of their country; commanding them from that time forward to vse no more circumcision of their children, but that they should immolate swine vpon the Altar: which when all of them iointly refused to obey, the most constant among them were for that cause put to death. Bacchides being made chiefe of the garrisons by the appointment of Antiochus, what with his innated cruelty, & the impious commandement that was left him, omitted no occasion to further his wicked impietie, in so much as hee particularly tormented such as were of noble birth, and qualitie: that each day for the most part, hee represented vnto them the fresh face and memorie of the deuoliation of their citie: till all of them at the last being prouoked and whetted on through the grievousnes of that which both themselves and others indured, addressed themselves with confidence to prosecute their reuenge. At length Matthias the son of Asmoneus, one of the Priests, who was borne in a village called Modin, accompanied with his siue sons and his own household armed with sword, slue Bacchides: and fearing the power and multitude of the enemies garrisons, speedily retired himselfe into the mountaines. Thither resorted diuers of the people vnto him: for which cause he waxing more confident and courageous, came down from the mountaines, and ouercomming the captaines of Antiochus, draue them out of the borders of Iudæa. At such time therefore as through his happy successe he became potent, and was by common consent of the people (for that he had deliuered them from the subiection of strangers) made their Ruler: he died, leaving his eldest sonne, who was called Iudas to succeed him in the gouernment. VVho fearing least Antiochus would still continue warres against him, gathered together an armie of his countymen, and was the first among the Iewes that made a league with the Romanes; and draue backe Antiochus Epiphanes at such time as hee enforced himselfe once more to invade the borders of Iudæa, repelling him with a great ouerthrow. And whereas the remembrance of this victory was yet fresh in mens minds and memory, hee assaulted the garrison of the citie: For as yet they were not destroyed (in which conflict he forced them to forsake the highest part thereof, which is called holy) and to betake themselves into the lower part: and hauing obtained the temple, he made euery place cleane, and compassed it with a wall, and made new vessels for the seruice of the temple, and planted them therein, because those that had been before time consecrated there, were prophaned. He builded likewise another Altar, and began to renew the accustomed sacrifice, and obserue the rites of religion.

Scarcely was the citie brought to the former estate, but Antiochus died; who left a sonne and heire behind him, who was not onely inheritor of his kingdome, but also of his hatred against the Iewes: who hauing gathered together fiftie thousand footmen, & almost siue thousand horsemen, and fourescore Elephants, entred by the mountaines of Iudæa; and tooke a towne named Bethsara, neere which Iudas met him in a place called Bethzacharie, where the passage was something streight: and before the armies ioyned battell, Eleazar, Iudas brother, seeing one Elephant higher then the rest, bearing a great tower on his backe, and adorned with golden furniture, thinking Antiochus had been there, ranne from his company, and breaking the ranks of the enemies, came vnto the Elephant: but he could not reach him (whom he deemed to be the king) hee was so highly mounted; for which cause wounding the Elephant in the belly, the Elephant fell vpon him, and pressed him to death: which act of his had no other successe but this, that by attempting so great a matter, he gaue a manifest testimonie that hee preferred his renowne, before his life.

Now he that gouerned the Elephant was but a priuate person, and although by hap Antiochus had beene there, Eleazar had atchieued nothing else in this valiant attempt; but yet hee aduentured his life vnder hope to performe some valiant exploit. And this act of his was a preface vnto his brother of the euent of the v whole warre that ensued. For the Iewes fought stoutlie, and a long time: but yet Antiochus armie (being both more in number and more prosperous)

The year of the world, 3802.
before Christ
Nativity, 162.

The high
Priest Onias
fled to Pto-
lomey.
Ant. lib. 12.
cap. 7.

Antiochus al-
tereth the cus-
tomes of the
Iewes.

Bacchides
crueltie to-
wards the
Iewes.
Ant. lib. 1.
cap. 7.8.

Matthias con-
federated with
others, mak-
eth warre a-
gainst Antio-
chus.

Antiochus di-
eth, and lea-
ueth the king-
dome to his son
Antiochus,
who gathereth
a huge power
and invadeth
Iurie.
Ant. lib. 12.
cap. 14. 15.

Eleazar dieth
being slain by
an Elephant.

Eleazar pre-
ferred honour
before life.

obrai-

The yeere of the world, 3802, he fore Christ's Nat. iuitie, 162. Antioch⁹ departing from Ierusalem, leaueh a sufficient garrison there. Ant. lib. 12. cap. 18. Iudas fighteth with Antiochus captains and is slaine.

obtained the victorie; so Iudas therefore after the losse of many of his company, fled vnto the Gophonites, with those of his side who escaped: And *Antiochus* went to Ierusalem, frō whence after some stay he departed for want of necessaries, leauing a sufficient garrison; as for the rest of his armie, he led them for the winter time into Syria. Yet notwithstanding the kings departure *Iudas* rested nor, but encouraged by many of his nation, who daily came vnto him, and gathering also together those who escaped out of the former battell, at a village named *Adasa* hee fought with *Antiochus* captains, whereafter much & many approbations of his valour in assaulting & slaughtering a great number of his enemies, hee himselfe at length was slaine, and within a few daies after, his brother *Iohn* also was betrayed and slaine by their treacheries, who fauoured *Antiochus*.

CHAP. II.

Of the succession of Princes, from Ionathas vntill Aristobulus.

Ant. lib. 13. c. 1. The yeere of the world, 3805, before Christ's birth 159. Ionathas taken by Tryphon's subtilty, is slaine.

After him succeeded his brother *Ionathas*, who carefully studied for the peace and securitie of his people, and fortified himselfe by the friendship of the Romans, and was reconciled to *Antiochus* his sonne; yet did none of all these things profit him, or acquit him from danger. For the tyrant *Tryphon* (who was tutor to *Antiochus*) laying wait for him, and seeking to spoile him of his friends, took *Ionathas* at such time as he came with a small companie to *Antiochus* who was at Ptolemais, and binding him, led an army against Iudæa: from whence being repulld by *Simon*, *Ionathas* brother, and overcome by him, in displeasure and reuenge thereof, he slew *Ionathas*.

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 9. The yeere of the world, 3823, before Christ's birth 141.

But *Simon* valiantly bestirring himselfe in the government & guide of the affaires of the common-wealth, rooke *Zara*, *Ioppe*, and *Iamnia* (which were bordering townes;) and overcoming the garrison at *Accaron*, hee destroyed the citie, & assited *Antiochus* against *Tryphon* who besieged *Dora*, before that expedition which hee made against the Medes. Yet would not the greedie mind of the king be satisfied, notwithstanding that *Simon* had thus faithfully serued and assited him in the death of *Tryphon*; but that within short time after, he sent vnto *Cendebeus* (who was the generall of the army) commanding him to sacke and spoile Iudæa, and to take *Simon*, and make him a slaue. But *Simon* though aged in yeeres, sought both youthfully and valiantly, & sent his sons with the most resolute men he had, before, against *Antiochus*, and himselfe with the residue of his army, assaulted another quarter of their enemies campe; and hauing laid many ambushes euen in the mountains, hee in euery place was victorious: and after this his most famous victorie, he was proclaimed high priest, and deliuered the Iewes from the government of the Macedonians, vnder which they had bin 270 yeeres. Finally, by the treachery of *Ptolemaeus* his son in law, he was murdered at a banquet, who imprisoning his wife & two sons, sent certaine men to kill the third son, whose name was *Iohn*, otherwise called *Hircanus*. But the young man vnderstanding the successe of his fathers voiage, hastned vnto the citie accompanied with a great multitude; for hee greatly hoped that the people would remember his fathers provelse, especially because *Ptolemaeus* iniquitie was hated of all men; *Ptolemaeus* also hastned to enter the citie at another gate: but he was speedily repulld by the people who had already receiued *Hircanus*. For which cause he presently retired himselfe into a Castle named *Dagon*, situate beyond *Iericho*.

The yeere of the world, 3831, before Christ's birth 133. Hircanus obtained the honour of the high priesthood which his father had. Ptolemaeus cruelly against Hircanus mother & brethren.

After that *Hircanus* had obtained the office of the high priest, which was left him by his father, and had offered sacrifices vnto God, he led forth his forces with all speed against *Ptolemaeus*, hoping to help and deliuer his mother and brethren that were detained prisoners with him: and assaulting the Castle, notwithstanding that in all other things he had the better hand, yet was he overcome by iust griefe and compassion. For at such time and so often as *Ptolemaeus* perceived himselfe to be in danger, hee brought *Hircanus* mother and brethren vpon the walles, and beat them where he might behold them in their torments, threatening to cast them down frō the wall except *Hircanus* would presently depart. For which cause *Hircanus* was more moued with compassion & feare, then with anger and wrath. But his mother being no waies dismayed with stripes which she endured, nor with death wherewith she was threatened, lifted vp her hands to her sonne, beseeching him that in regard of her miseries he would not be moued to spare so impious a person, for she esteemed her death threatened by *Ptolemaeus* dearer then immortallitie it selfe; if so be hee might receiue iust punishment for the villany which hee had impiously committed against their house. But when *Iohn* had perceived the resolute mind of his mother, and heard her intreatie, he was moued to assault the Castle, and straight way seeing her beaten and torne, hee related with

The yeere of the world, 3831, before Christ's Nat. iuitie, 133. Ptolemaeus murdereth Hircanus mother and brethren.

The yeere of the world, 3839, before Christ's birth 125. Antiochus vpon the payment of three hundred talents raiseth his siege.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 11. Aristobulus & Antigonus besiege Sebaste.

Sebaste overcome by Aristobulus and Antigonus.

The yeere of the world, 3861, before Christ's birth 103.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 19.

Aristobulus familieth his mother. Aristobulus loued Antigonus very dearly.

A with compassion, and was euen filled with griefe. By which means the siege continued long, and the Iubilee yeere was come, which falleth out euery seauenth yeere: wherein the Iewes ceale from all affaires, as their wont is euery seauenth day. *Ptolemaeus* deliuered from the siege by this accident and occasion, put *Iohns* mother and his brethren to death, and afterwards fled to *Zeno* the tyrant of *Philadelphia*, who was also surnamed *Corylas*.

In the meane while, *Antiochus* being grievously vexed at that which *Simon* had done vnto him, sent his army into Iudæa, and besieged *Hircanus* in Ierusalem, who opening *Dauids* Sepulchre (who had been one of the richest among all the kings of Iudæa) rooke more then three thousand talents of money from thence; and wrought so much with *Antiochus*, that vpon the payment of three hundred talents of money, he made him raise his siege & depart the country. This *Hircanus* was the first of all the Iewes that with his owne goods maintained outlanders and souldiers. But so soone as *Antiochus* had bent his power and forces against the Medes, he took handfast of that opportunitie he had offered him, to reuenge himselfe, & presently assaulted the townes of Syria, assuring himselfe he should find them (as indeed they were) void of souldiers to defend them. VVhereupon hee rooke *Medaba* and *Samea*, with the places thereunto adioyning, *Sichem* and *Garizim*, which bordervpon the Chuthæans, who inhabite the places adioyning to the Temple, that is made after the imitation of that which is at Ierusalem. Moreouer, hee rooke many cities of *Idumæa*, and amongst the rest *Doreon*, and *Marisa*: and comming into *Samaria* (where now *Sebaste* is situate, which was builded by *Herod*) he besieged it on euery side, and left his two sons *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, to continue the siege, who diligently besieged the place. There was such a famine in the citie, that they were constrained to eate vnaccustomed meats. For which cause, they required aide of *Antiochus*, surnamed *Spondius*, who willingly assited the, but he was overcome by *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus*, and was pursued by the afore said brethren vnto *Scythopolis*, whither he the retired himselfe: but they retiring againe vnto *Samaria*, besieged the citie, & at last taking it by force, destroyed the same, & led away the inhabitants captiues. Whilst thus fortune fauoured them more and more, they ceased not to pursue their good successe, but led their army to *Scythopolis*: and taking it, they diuided and spoiled all the country.

CHAP. III.

Of Aristobulus, Antigonus, Iudas Essæus, Alexander, Theodorus, and Demetrius.



His felicitie and good hap of *Iohn* and his sonnes, was accompanied with the enuie of many of his countymen: and this discontent of theirs, was the cause of a mutinie. For diuers of the Iewes rising vp in armes against them, were so much ouer-ruled by their ambitious passion, that they could not containe themselves from the prosecution of an open and bloody warre: wherein notwithstanding they were put to the worst. From that day forward *Iohn* passed the remainder of his life in all felicitie and happinesse; and after hee had gouerned the common-wealth for the space of thirtie three yeeres, hee departed this life, leauing behind him five valiant sons. He was a man truly happy, & so fauoured by Fortune, that he had no occasion to complaine of her niggardie in bountie. Finally, hee alone might iustly boast himselfe of three excellent endowments. First of all, that he was the Prince of his country: secondly, that he was high priest: thirdly, a Prophet, to whom God so spake, that hee was ignorant of no future accidents: he fore-saw & fore-told that his two eldest sonnes should not continue long in the gouernment (whose liues are worth reherfall, although they much declined from their fathers felicitie) for the eldest sonne *Aristobulus*, after his fathers death, translated the principallitie into a kingdome; and was the first that put a crowne on his head; foure hundredth, eightie and one yeeres and three moneths, after the deliuerance of the people from the captiuitie of *Babylon*. As for *Antigonus* (who was his second brother, and whom in appearance he seemed to loue most intirely) he made him partaker of his dignitie, and committed the residue of them to prison. Hee imprisond his mother also, for that shee had contended with him as touching the principallitie, (which *Iohn* had solely committed to her dispose) & was so farre giuen ouer to all kind of cruelty, that he not onely kept her prisoner in bonds, but also put her to death by famine. But the reuenge of this his impietie was this; that hee slaughtered his owne brother *Antigonus* whom hee intirely beloued, and made both a competitor and partner with him in the kingdome. For by reason of those scandalous slanders, which his enuious and malignant courtiers contriued & inuen-

The yeere of the world, 3861, before Christs Nativity, 103.

ted against him, he commanded him to be put to death. Naithelasse, vpon their first information, *Arifobulus* (ouermastered by brotherly affection) gaue them no credit, the rather for that he was certainly assured, that all things for the most part which were objected against him, were rather enforced vpon enuie, then alleaged on good ground.

Antigonus in honour of his brother ascended vp into the temple. *Antigonus* falsely accused to his brother.

Arifobulus commandeth his guard that if *Antigonus* came armed, they should kill him.

The Queene cunning Stratagems against *Antigonus*.

Antigonus suspecteth not his brother.

Judas the prophet foretold *Antigonus* death.

Arifobulus throw the grieft he conceived at his brothers death, saith his wife. *Arifobulus* in the house where *Antigonus* was slaine.

But when as *Antigonus* returned from the warre, attended with many testimonies of his valour and prowesse, vpon that festiuall time, wherein according to the custome of our country, wee celebrate the feast of Tabernacles; it hapned at that very time, that *Arifobulus* fell sick and was diseased. *Antigonus* therefore about the end of those festiuall daies being attended by his armed men, ascended vp into the Temple to offer sacrifice, & the rather resorted he thither in greater pompe and maiestie, because hee intended to honour his brother. Heere vpon, certaine cursed and wicked detractors repaired to the king, buzzing in his eares, that this great guard of soldiers which accompanied *Antigonus*, and that his haughtie resolution and kingly presence, was rather for a soueraigne, then a subiect: inferring hereby, that he entred the citie in this Equipage, with an intent to murder him, not contenting himselfe to haue the onely honour of the kingdom, except hee might reduce the power and possession thereof into his owne hands. *Arifobulus* though vnwillingly, yet at last being wonne to belieue them, desirous (in seeming not to suspect) to shew himselfe prouident, commaunded his guard to hide themselves in a certaine obscure place vnder the ground: as for himselfe, he tooke vp his lodging in a certaine Castle, which in times past was called Bari, and afterwards Antonia: giuing his archers this commission, that if *Antigonus* came vnarmed they should let him passe; if otherwise, that they should kill him. Hee sent certaine messengers also to *Antigonus*, requiring him to repaire vnto him disarmed. But the enuious Queene preuented this good intent of his, by a subtill stratageme complotted and acted by those, that with her conspired against him. For shee perfwaded those that were put in trust to discharge this message, to discouer nothing of that, which the king had commaunded them: but to signifie vnto *Antigonus*, that his brother hauing intelligence, that he had made himselfe many accomplished & compleat armours, with other faire and worthy furniture for the warre in Galilee (which by reason of *Antigonus* sodaine departure fro that place & his owne instant infirmities he might not behold) would count it no little fauour & felicitie to behold and see him in his warlike ornaments. VVhich when *Antigonus* vnderstood (who by reason of his brothers disposition suspected no mischiefe) he armed himselfe, and resorted vnto him, intending to delight and content him with his musters. But no sooner arriued hee in the streight which is called the tower of Straton, but the guard of *Arifobulus* sette vpon him, and slaughtered him, yielding by this meane a demonstration and certaine testimonie, that detraction distracteth & destroyeth all good nature & friendship, and that amongst all our most accounted affections, there is no one so defended and fortified as may abate the edge of enuie.

At this time also who would not wonder at a certaine man called *Judas*? who being by birth an Effician, was blessed with this felicitie in his prophesies, that his predictions were neither touched with mistaking, nor tainted with lying. This man perceiuing how *Antigonus* passed thorow the temple, cried out to his familiars who attended him in no small number (for ordinarily diuers of his disciples did attend vpon him): Ah, how happy were it for mee at this present, if I were dead, such that truth dieth before me; and some one of my predictions are found faultie and deficient: For behold *Antigonus* yet liueth, who should this day haue dwelt with death. The place which was destinated for his departure is the towre of Straton, which is distant from this place some six hundred foulds, and yet notwithstanding there are but foure hours of the day to be past: now therefore is the time wherein my diuination shall be fulfilled. Hauing spoken to this effect, the old man fate him downe being altogether disconsolate and pensieue, vntill such time as within a while after it was told him that *Antigonus* was slaine in a place vnder ground, which was called the tower of Straton, being of the same name with Cæsarea which is situate vpon the sea coast; which was the occasion that *Judas* staggered in his diuination.

The sorow which incontinently seized *Arifobulus*, for committing this hainous murder, augmented and increased his sicknesse in such sort, that his soule was continually troubled with the thought of his sin, & his body thorow extreame heat of passion dried vp; & the grieft that he felt was so vehement, that his entrailles became exulcerate, so that hee voided blood in great abundance. And it so fell out by the diuine prouidence, that one of his seruants, who was deputed to that office, bearing out that blood which came from him, missed his way, & came vnto that place where *Antigonus* had bin slaine, wherein as yet there appeared some signes & staines of the bloodshed of *Antigonus*, on which he powred out the blood of the murderer *Arifobulus*. VVhich when they

The yeere of the world, 3862, before Christs birth 102.

A they perceiued who stood hard at hand, they beganne to cry out with a loud voice, as if the seruane had purposely spilled the blood in that place. *Arifobulus* hearing this cry, demanded the cause thereof, and the more that each man fledde and feared to discouer the same vnto him, the more instantly sought he to vnderstand the truth; so that at length after hee had vsed threats and violence, he was certified by some one of that which had past. Wherevpon his eyes were suddenly filled with teares, so that in vehement agonie of mind, he at last cried out and said: It is impossible, but that the great eye of the diuine Maiestie should see my wicked acts, and the suddaine vengeance of my brothers bloodshed should pursue and ouertake me. How long, O thou impudent body, wilt thou detain a soule already condemned and adiudged to my mother and dead brother? How long shall I thus lingeringly languish in spending a parcell of my blood vnto thee? B let them take it all at once, and let not the diuine vengeance laugh any longer to see the effusion of mine entrailles. This said, he died after he had scarcely reigned one yeere.

His wife after his death deliuered his brother *Alexander* from prison, & annointed him king, who was both the eldest and seemed to be the most staicdest among the rest of his brethren. VVho growing by this meane to be both proud and potent, put one of his brethren to death, for aspyring and hunting after the kingdom: as for the other that remained aliue, in that hee contented himselfe with a priuate and contemplatiue life, he kept him neere about him. Hee made warre also against *Protonius* that was called *Lathyrus*, who had surprised the Citie of Asoth, & put a great number of his enemies to the sword: naithelasse, *Protonius* side obtained the victory, who retyring himselfe into the countrey of Egypt, by reason that his mother *Cleopatra* pursued him with open warre; *Alexander* forcibly entred the Citie of Gadara, and the fort of Amathunt (which was one of the greatest of all those that were round about Iordan) in which place *Theodore*, *Zenos* sonne had hoorded vp his chiefeft & most precious moueables, who suddainly setting vpon him, recovered all that which was his, and furthermore laid handes on the kings carriage: in seizing which, hee slaughtered many Iewes, to the number of tenne thousand. But *Alexander* after hee had recovered this losse, inuaded the frontier townes vpon the sea coast, and wan Raphia, & Gaza, and Anthedon, which afterwards by king *Herod* was called Agrippias. But after he had conquered & overcome these places; the common sort of the Iewes raised a mutinie against him during a certaine solemne and holy feast: for all mutinies and seditions are commonly raised at banquets: and it is thought that he could not haue preuailed against those treacheries, had he not bin D alisted by the Prisdians and Cilicians, whom he hired to helpe him; for the Syrians he refused to hire them, by reason of their naturall hatred they bare against the Iewes. Hauing therefore slaine eight thousand of the rebels, he warred vpon Arabia; and ouercomming the Galaadites, and Moabites (and imposing vpon them a tribute) hee returned to Amathunt: and whereas *Theodorus* was daunted with his prosperous successe, he finding the Castle without any to defend it, raised it vnto the ground. After this, he presently assaulted *Oboda*, king of the Arabians: who hauing laid ambushments in the countrey of Galaad, in a place fit for such a purpose, discomfited him & his whole armie, being driuen thence into a deepe valley, where they were pestered with a multitude of Camels.

But *Alexander* escaped vnto Ierusalem, where the people who had conceived a hatred against him, being encouraged by his great losse and slaughter of men, began againe to rebell: but then also hee ouercame them, and in six yeeres space, at sundry battels hee slew about fiftie thousand Iewes; notwithstanding, hee neuer reioyced in his victorie, because the strength of his countrey was consumed thereby. For which cause giuing ouer his warres, he began to seek the peoples fauour by sweet and mild speeches: but they so much hated his inconstant and variable manners, that when he demanded of them what he might doe to win their fauours, they answered, if hee would die, for that scarcely they would pardon him if so hee were dead, who had committed so many hainous crimes. And therupon the Iewes sent vnto *Demetrius*, surnamed *Acarus* for helpe, who in hope of great rewards came and ioyned his forces with the Iewes about Sichem: where *Alexander* met them both, with a thousand horsemen & sixe thousand footmen, that were E hired (hauing at that timen thousand Iewes his fauourites) and of the contrary part there were three thousand horsemen, and fortie thousand footmen. Before the fight beganne the two kings sent messengers one vnto anothers armie, perswading one anothers men to forsake their colours and capitaines: for *Demetrius* hoped that *Alexanders* hired men would haue forsaken *Alexander* & come vnto him, & *Alexander* hoped that the Iewes that followed *Demetrius* would haue left *Demetrius* and come to him. But when both parties perceiued that the Iewes continued obstinate in their purpose, and the Græeks kept their fidelitie; the two armies encountered; in vvhich

The eye of God discouereth euery sin. *Arifobulus* dieth miserably.

Ant. lib. 13. cap. 9. *Alexander* advanced to the kingdom, vvith much cruelty.

Alexander is ouerthrowne by *Theodore*.

The sedition of the Iewes against *Alexander* vpon a festiuall day.

Alexander assaulteth the castle of Amathunt, and raiseth it.

Demetrius helpe the Iewes. Ant. lib. 13. cap. 20.

The warre betwixt *Demetrius* and *Alexander*, wherein *Demetrius* is conqueror.

The yeere of the world, 3862, before Christs birth 102.
The Jewes revolt from Demetrius.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

Alexanders immoderate wrath, who crucified viij hundred captiues.
Alexander ceaseth from warre.

encounter *Demetrius* had the vpper hand (although *Alexanders* hirelings euidentlie shewed strength and courage.) But the end of this victorie was such as neither partie expected, for they who sent for *Demetrius*, after his victorie did forsake him; and fortune changing her colours, sixe thousand Jewes fledde vnto *Alexander* into the mountaines, whither for safetie hee had betaken himselfe. This recruiting much displeased and discouraged *Demetrius*, for hee now thought that *Alexander* uniting his forces was able to bid him battell, and he feared that all the Jewes would at that present follow *Alexander*: for which cause hee returned home. Yet the rest of the Jewes hauing thus lost the helpe of *Demetrius*, would not for all this desist from their rebellion; nay they so long warred with *Alexander*, till at last (the most of them being slaine) he draue the rest into the citie of Bemeslin, and when he had surprised and sackt the citie, he led them captiues into Ierusalem. But immoderate anger turned his crueltie into impietie, for hauing crucified eight hundred captiues in the midst of the citie, he killed their wiues, and the children he massacred before their mothers faces: and this pittifull spectacle hee beheld with pleasure, drinking and making merry with his concubines. Whereat the people were so terrified, that the night after, eight thousand of the contrary part fled out of the countrey of Iudæa, who staid in banishment during the life of *Alexander*. Thus, after hee had by those actions sought for the tranquillitie of his kingdom, which he obtained not but with long time and great difficultie, hee ceased to make waire against his countrey.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the warre of Alexander with Antiochus, and Arctas, and of Alexander, and Hircanus.

Alexander feareth Antiochus, Demetrius brother.



After this *Antiochus* (who likewise was called *Dionysius* the brother to *Demetrius*, who was the last of all the race of *Seleucus*) raised vp new broiles against *Alexander*, who fearing him because he had prepared warre against the Arabians, drew a deepe trench along that ground which lieth betweene Antipatris, and the Seacoast of Ioppe: and before the trench he builded a very high wall, and raised towers of wood to hinder his enemies passage. But all this could not keepe out *Antiochus*, but that burning the towers, & filling vp the trenches, he entred and passed ouer them with his forces. And not tarrying at that time to reuenge himselfe of him who had thus forbidden him K passage, he presently marched forward against the Arabians. But the king of Arabia retiring himselfe into certaine places of his country which were fittest for defence, & returning suddainlie to battell with his horsemen (who were in number 10000) rushed hastily vpon *Antiochus* souldiers, and found them vnprouided: so that a hot skirmish began betwixt them, in which the souldiers of *Antiochus*, whilst hee liued, shewed themselves valiant (though they were on euery side massacred by the Arabians) but so soone as hee was slaine (who was alwaies ready to assist those that were in danger) all of them fled: and the greatest part of them were slaine in the battell and in flight: as for those that escaped, they fled into the towne of Cana, where they all (except verie few) died for hunger. After this, the people of Damascus being incited by the hatred they bare to *Ptolomey* the son of *Mineus*, sent for *Arctas*, and established him king ouer Coelosyria, who warred against Iudæa, & ouercomming *Alexander* in battell, retired himselfe vpon composition. *Alexander* hauing taken Pella, resorted once more to the towne of Gerasa, in that he was desirous of *Theodorus* riches: & took the place, notwithstanding that it was fortified with 3 wals: & that vpon euery wall there was planted a garrison. He tooke Gaulan & Seleucia, & that towne which is called the valley of Antiochus. Moreover, hauing taken Gamala, which was a most strong castle, and imprisoned the gouernour thereof, who was called *Demetrius*, because he was a wicked person, he returned into Iudæa; after hee had spent three yeeres in warre: where for his prosperous successe he was ioyfully receiued of his nation. But no sooner ceased he from war but he fell sick, and falling into a quartane ague, he thought that hee should drue away his sickness, if hee employed himselfe in some businesse: for which cause being not rid of his discale, he applied himselfe to warre, and labouring about his strength, amidst those tumults yeelded vp the ghost in the seauen and thirtieth yeere of his raigne: leauing the kingdom to *Alexandra* his wife, fully accounting that the Jewes would in all things obey her, because that shee alwaies by misliking and seeking to hinder his crueltie and iniquitie, had won the hearts of the people. Neither was hee deceived; for shee being admired for her pietie amongst them, obtained the principallie: the rather for that she was well acquainted with the customes of her countrey, & euen from her childhood detested

The king of the Arabians inuadeth Antiochus souldiers vnwares.
The king of Arabia putteth Antiochus forces to flight, and killeth a great number of them.
They of Damascus, and Arctas against Alexander.

Alexander sick of a quartane feauer.
Ant lib. 13 cap. 22.
Alexander's wife throweth the opinion of vertue obtaineth the kingdom.

OF THE IEWES. THE I. BOOKE.

The yeere of the world, 3862, before Christs birth 102.
Hircanus first made high priest, and afterwards king.

A detested them, who violated the holy law. She had by *Alexander* two sonnes, the eldest was called *Hircanus*; whom by reason of his yeeres she proclaimed high priest & because of his dull nature shee thought that though he were in princely authoritie, yet he would molest no man: and therefore also made him king. As for the yongest sonne *Aristobulus*, because hee was of a hot spirit, she was willing that he should liue a priuate life.

Now there was a certaine sect among the Jewes which were called Pharisees, who ioyned themselves with the Queene: these people were thought to bee of the godliest sort, and to bee more skilfull then other in interpreting the scriptures: & and for that cause *Alexandra* fauoured them the more, because she was superstitiously giuen to religion. These hauing by little and little insinuated themselves into the fauour of a simple woman, now did domineere at their pleasure, displacing, deposing, imprisoning, and restoring to liberty whom they pleased, for no other purpose, but that they might enioy the profits and commodities of the kingdom; and *Alexandra* bare all charges. This Queene was alwaies desirous of high attempts, & daily studied to encrease her wealth: she leuied two armies, and hired a great many strangers; whereby she did not onely strengthen her owne countrey, but also made her selfe to be feared of other nations. Shee ruled others, but her selfe was ruled by the Pharisees, who at last killed *Diogenes*, who was a gallant man, and highly in fauour with king *Alexander*; affirming that through his counsell the king commanded those eight hundred before mentioned to be crucified: and further, they perswaded the Queene *Alexandra*, that shee should put to death all others, through whose counsell *Alexander* her husband had beene incited against those eight hundred. The Queene being blinded with superstitition, thought it vnlawful to deny any thing which they requested: so that they put to death whom they pleased, till such time as the chiefe of those, who were in this danger, in humble wise came to *Aristobulus*, who perswaded his mother to spare them for their dignitie, and banish others, whom she thought had deserued punishment: who hauing obtained their liberty, dispersed themselves through the whole country. Now *Alexandra* sent an armie to Damascus, and because *Ptolomeus* daily vexed the citie, shee tooke it without doing any thing worthy of memory: shee did sollicite *Tigranes* king of Armenia with gifts and promises (who with an armie had besieged Ptolemais, wherein *Cleopatra* was) but he for feare of troubles in his owne countrey, in that *Lucullus* had entred into Armenia, withdrew himselfe from thence.

In the meane time *Alexandra* being sicke, her yongest sonne *Aristobulus* with his seruants (which were many in number, all trusty, & in the heat of their yong yeeres) got all the castles: & hiring souldiers with the money he found in those castles, he proclaimed himself king. But *Alexandra* (pitying the complaints of *Hircanus*) imprisoned the wife and children of *Aristobulus* in a castle neere vnto the North part of the temple, which in olde time was called Baris (as wee said before) afterwards *Antonius* being Emperour, it was called Antonia, as in like maner *Sebastus* and *Agrippas* other cities, were named of *Augustus* and *Agrippa*. But *Alexandra* died before she could reuenge *Hircanus* of the wrongs which *Aristobulus* had done him. This Queene reigned nine yeeres, and left *Hircanus* in possession of all, whom during her life time she had aduanced to the kingdom. But *Aristobulus* being both stronger in power, and more esteemed in authoritie, encountered with his brother about Iericho, where many of *Hircanus* souldiours forsaking their king fled vnto *Aristobulus*: for which cause, both he and the remnant of those that followed him, were forced to fly into the castle called Antonia, where he found hostages to redeem him. For (as we haue already said) *Aristobulus* wife and children were imprisoned in that place: and least any worse mishap should betide him, he concluded a peace, vpon condition that *Aristobulus* should be king, and that hee as brother to the king, would content himselfe with other dignities. Vpon these conditions they were made friends in the temple, where in the presence of all the people, they in most friendly sort embraced each other: which when they had done, they changed houses and *Aristobulus* went into the kings palace, and *Hircanus* vnto *Aristobulus* his house.

Aristobulus proclaimed himselfe king. *Alexandra* imprisoned *Aristobulus* wife and children.
The yeere of the world, 3873, before Christs Natinitie, 95.
Alexandra dieth, and *Hircanus* succeedeth her in the kingdom.
Ant lib. 14 cap. 1.
The brethren contending for the kingdom are accorded vpon certaine conditions.
Ant lib. 14 cap. 23, 4.

E king fled vnto *Aristobulus*: for which cause, both he and the remnant of those that followed him, were forced to fly into the castle called Antonia, where he found hostages to redeem him. For (as we haue already said) *Aristobulus* wife and children were imprisoned in that place: and least any worse mishap should betide him, he concluded a peace, vpon condition that *Aristobulus* should be king, and that hee as brother to the king, would content himselfe with other dignities. Vpon these conditions they were made friends in the temple, where in the presence of all the people, they in most friendly sort embraced each other: which when they had done, they changed houses and *Aristobulus* went into the kings palace, and *Hircanus* vnto *Aristobulus* his house.

CHAP. V.

Of the warre betweene Hircanus and the Arabians, and of the taking of Ierusalem.



Now a sodaine feare inuadeth all the enemies of *Aristobulus* when the law him (contrary to all expectation) made king; and especially *Antipater* about all others, whom *Aristobulus* a long time had hated. This *Antipater* was an Idumæan borne, and for his nobilitie and riches was the chiefe and best reputed of his nation. This man per-

Antipater perswaded *Hircanus* to fly to *Arctas* king of Arabia, and to craue his assistance to recover his kingdom.

H h h

swaded

The yeare of the world 3872, before Christ's birth 65.
Antipater with Hircanus fled from Ierusalem by night to Aretas king of Arabia. Aretas furnished Hircanus with soldiers, and Scaurus captaine of the Romans.

The yeare of the world 3879, before Christ's birth 65.

Scaurus received 300 talents from Aristobulus & commanded the Arabians & Hircanus to depart out of the country. Antipater and Hircanus seek for Pompey's help. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 6, 7.

Pompey furnished both with the Syrians and Roman army, to fight against Aristobulus. Pompey commanded Aristobulus to descend. Aristobulus resorted to Pompey.

Aristobulus intended to fight with Pompey. Iudea & Iudaea.

swaded *Hircanus* to fly vnto *Aretas* king of Arabia, & craue his helpe to fer him in his kingdome. Furthermore, he perswaded *Aretas* likewise to receiue *Hircanus*, and to helpe him to recouer his kingdome, speaking much against the manners of *Aristobulus*, & praising *Hircanus*: adding that he being king of so famous a nation ought to assit those who were vniuſly oppressed; and that *Hircanus* had manifest iniury offered him, being forced to forsake his kingdome, which by the right of succession was due vnto him. After he had thus made his way, he in the night time took *Hircanus* and fled with him forth of the citie: and making all haste possible, they arrived at a towne called Petra, with safety (which is a towne where the kings of Arabia were accustomed to keepe their court) there he deliuered *Hircanus* into the kings hands, and through many gifts and intreaties obtained the fauour that he might be conducted into his kingdome. And to the effecting of the same, *Aretas* gaue him an army of fifty thousand horse and foote: which power since *Aristobulus* was not able to resist, hee was ouercome vpon the first onſer, and was forced to flee vnto Ierusalem: and he had been surely taken, if *Scaurus* a captaine of the Romans by taking opportunity at those troubles, had not raised the siege. For *Pompey* the Great (who warred against *Tigranes*) sent him out of Armenia into Syria: who coming to Damascus, found it newly taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*, who dismissing them from thence, and finding how matters stood in Iudaea, hastened thither in hope of a bootie. So soon as he entred into the confines of the country both of the brethren sent embassadours vnto him, desiring him to take their parts: but *Aristobulus* having sent him three hundred talents he neglected to doe Iustice; for hauing received that summe, *Scaurus* sent messengers vnto the Arabians and *Hircanus*, threatening the displeasure of the Romans and *Pompey*, except they would presently raise their siege: for which cause *Aretas* being much abashed, returned out of Iudaea vnto Philadelphia, and *Scaurus* repaired vnto Damascus. Yet sufficed it not *Aristobulus*, that he had escaped from being taken, but that gathering all his forces together, he pursued his enemies: and ioyning battell with them about Papyron, he slew six thousand of them, in which number was *Cephalon* *Antipaters* brother. But *Hircanus* and *Antipater* being destitute of the Arabians helpe, were driuen to hope for succour euen at their aduerſaries hand. For which cause, as soone as *Pompey* after hee had entred Syria came to Damascus, they in humble maner came to him, and giuing him many gifts protested vnto him that which before they had done to *Aretas*, earnestly requesting him, that he would consider the violence offered by *Aristobulus*, and restore *Hircanus* to the kingdome: to whom both by yeers and manners it was due.

Meane while *Aristobulus* slept not, but hauing corrupted *Scaurus*, came in as royall pompe as hee could; but not abiding to debate himselfe, and thinking it disparagement in more abieſt manner then beſeemed a king to seeke his owne commoditie, returned from Dioſpolis. Whereat *Pompey* being angrie, at the request of *Hircanus* and his followers, he went against *Aristobulus*, accompanied both with the Roman army and the Syrians, who assisted them. When they had passed Pella and Scythopolis, and came to Corea (where the confines of Iudaea begin) as they passed thorow the midst of the country, they vnderſtood that *Aristobulus* was fled to Alexandrium (which was a Castle richly built and situate vpon a very high hill.) *Pompey* arriuing in that place sent messengers vnto him, commanding him to descend; but hee because hee was called in question about the kingdome, determined rather to hazard himselfe, then obey. But when he saw that the people began to feare; and that his friends willed him to thinke of the power of the Romans, whose strength hee was no waies able to resist; hee allowed their counsaile and came vnto *Pompey*: where hauing alledged many reasons to shew that he had iust title vnto the crowne, he returned againe into the Castle. And afterward being vrged by his brother to come and plead his title, hee came and returned thither againe, without any contradiction from *Pompey*. Thus wandred he betwixt hope and feare, and doubting how the matter would go with him, he came to *Pompey* as it were to entreat him to pardon all, and returned againe vnto the mountaine, least hee should seeme to derogate any thing from the maiesty of a king; yet because *Pompey* willed him to depart from his Castles and to warne his gouernours therof to do the like (whom he had commanded to disobey, except they received letters written by his owne hand) in this hee fulfilled *Pompey*'s minde: yet being angrie and discontented, he departed into Ierusalem, and now fully determined to fight with *Pompey*. But *Pompey* not thinking it best to let him haue time to prepare himselfe, followed him with all speed, and so much the willinger, because that nere vnto Iericho he had news of *Mithridates* his death, euen in the fruitfullſt place of Iudaea, where there are great store of palmes and balme: This balme is a shrub whose stem being cut with sharpe stones droppeth balme out of the wounds thereof, which men gather as it droppeth from the wounds

A wounds therof. After he had rested there that night, hee in the morning hastened to Ierusalem: At whose sodaine arriuall *Aristobulus* being daunted, in humble maner came vnto him; and promising him money, and to yeld himselfe and the Citie into his hands, he by this meanes appealed *Pompey*'s anger. But hee performed no part of his promise; for *Aristobulus* his associates would not suffer *Gabinus* (who was sent for the mony) to enter into the citie: For which cause *Pompey* being moued to displeasure, put *Aristobulus* in hold, and committing nere the citie, hee tooke a view at what place it might be easiest entred, for he did not lightly perceiue how he might batter the walls, they were so strong. Moreover, there was a huge ditch before the wall, and hard by he beheld the Temple so strengthened, that although the Citie were taken; yet it might be a second refuge for the enemy. Whilest thus he long deliberated what to doe, there arose a sedition within the citie, wherein *Aristobulus* confederates thought it meet to fight, and deliuer the king out of prison: but those that fauoured *Hircanus* would that the gates should be opened to *Pompey*. At last *Aristobulus* friends hauing the worst, fled into the temple, and to the end that they might fight it out to the last, they cut downe the bridge, by which men goe out of the citie, into the temple. When the rest had receiued the Romans into the citie, and deliuered vnto them the kings palace, *Pompey* sent a captaine called *Piso* with souldiers to seize the same; who leauing a garrison in the towne (seeing he could perwade none of them that were in the temple to peace) prepared all places about it to batter it. All which time *Hircanus* and his friends shewed themselves ready to helpe them with counsell, and to doe whatloeuer they were commanded. *Pompey* at the north side filled the ditch and valley with all kinde of matter: which his souldiers carried, although that by reason of the huge depth, and for that the Iewes made resistance, it was a thing hard to be done: and it had beene left vndone, had not *Pompey* (obſeruing the seventh day, wherein the Iewes religion forced them to abstaine from all labour) caused it to be filled vpon those daies; forbidding the souldiers to fight at that time, to the intent hee might fill the ditch more conveniently (for it is lawfull for the Iewes onely to fight for their bodies vpon the Sabbath.) At last when the ditch was filled, and the towers were built vpon the rampire, he beat the walls with those engines which hee brought from Tyre; but they were beaten backe by those who resisted from the top of the walls, who darted diuers stones at them. Against the violent power wherof, the towers that were builded in that quarter, being of a great & goodly building, resisted as valiantly and as long as they possibly could. But the Romans found but hard measure in this place, and *Pompey* admired the constancie of the Iewes; who being amongst the thickest of their enemies darts, yet omitted not any ceremonie: but (as though they had firme peace) they euerie day obserued their ceremonies, offered sacrifices and offerings, and most diligently obserued all honour and diuine seruice: yea in the very taking of the place, although euerie day they were killed at the altar, yet did they not cease for the lawfull rites of their religion. At last in the third moneth of the siege, whereas scarcely one tower was beaten downe, they brake into the temple, and the first that attempted to climbe ouer the wall was *Faustus Cornelius Syllus* sonne, and after him two Centurions *Eurius* and *Fabius* with their regiments; who compalsing the temple about (while some sought to hide themselves, and other some resisted) they slew them all. There were many priests also among the rest; who, although they saw the enemies with naked swords rushing vpon them, yet being nothing at all dismayed thereat, continued still their sacrifices; and were slaine euen whilest they offered & incensed in the temple: preferring the duty they ought to religion euen before their owne safetie. Many also were slaine by their owne countrimen that fauoured the aduerſe part: and many cast themselves downe headlong vpon the rockes; otherwise in their furie hauing desperately fired all things vpon the walls, burned themselves for company. So that there twelue thousand Iewes were slaine, but very few Romans: yet many were hurt, and amongst all that massacre there was nothing to lamentable, as that the holy sanctuarie (which neuer any man saw before that time) was revealed to strangers. Finally, *Pompey* accompanied with his followers, came into the temple; where it was lawfull for none but the high priest to come, and saw the candlestickes, lampes, table, censers, and all the golden vessels, and whatloeuer was within the temple. Moreover, hee beheld the great quantitie of odoriferous drugges which were kept in store in that place, and two thousand talents of holy money: yet did he not take away these things, nor any thing else belonging to the temple. But the day after it was taken, he commanded the Sacrificians to purge and make cleane the temple, and to offer solemne sacrifice. He likewise proclaimed *Hircanus* high priest (who had in all things shewed himselfe very forward, and especially at the time of the siege;) as also for that hee hindered a multitude of swaines (who addressed for warre) from ioyning themselves with *Aristobulus*; and there-

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The yeare of the world 3903, before Christ's birth 61.
Pompey besiegeth Ierusalem. Aristobulus humble presenteth himselfe to Pompey. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 7, 8.
Pompey vieweth the citie which way it might most easilie be battered. Sedition within the citie betwixt Hircanus and Aristobulus friends. Pompey & his enter the citie and search the kings house. Aristobulus with his friends flee to the temple. Pompey filleth vp the trench, and obserueth the ieuenth day. Pompey buildeth towers vpon his platformes. The Iewes intermit not sacrifice in the midst & heate of the siege.

Twelue thousand Iewes slaine in the temple. Pompey and his followers enter the sanctuary.

Pompey's continencie.

Hircanus made his Priest.

The year of the world, 3903, before Christs birth 61.
Pompey causeth the chiefest conspirators to be beheaded.
Pompey deliuereth many goodly cities from the subiection of the Iewes.

Aristobulus & his family carried to Rome.

fore like a good capitaine got hee the good will of the people more by loue, then by feare. Amongst others that were captiues there was *Aristobulus* father in lawe, who was also his vncle: as for those that had been the chiefe cause of these wars; *Pompey* caused them to be beheaded. He rewarded *Fausus* likewise, and those who fought valiantly with him, with very rich gifts, & imposed a tribute vpon Ierusalem, & rooke from that nation the Cities which they had gotten in Coelosyria: & appointed them to be gouerned by him who then was president for the Romans; making them keepe within the bounds of their owne country. And in fauour of *Demetrius* of Gadara (a libertine of his) he reedified Gadara, which the Iewes had destroyed: he deliuered the Mediterranean Cities from their gouernment (for they had not as yet destroyed them, because they were sodainly preuented) namely, Hippon, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Samaria, and Marisa, and Azorum, and Iamnia, and Aréthusa. The townes also vpon the sea coasts, Gaza, and Ioppe, and Dora, which before was called Stratons tower, and afterward by *Herod* was altered, who builded most sumptuous buildings in that place, and called it Cæsarea: All these Cities hee restored vnto the inhabitants and made them vnder the rule of Syria. And of this place and Iudæa, and of all places from the borders of Egypt vnto Euphrates, he made *Scaurus* gouernour, leauing him two legions of souldiers. Which done, hee rooke his journey to Rome by Cilicia, leading *Aristobulus* and his family captiues, who had two daughters and two sonnes, the elder whereof called *Alexander* escaped in the way; as for the younger whole name was *Antigonus*, he with his sisters was carried to Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Of the warre of Alexander with Hircanus, and Aristobulus.

Ant.lib. 14. cap. 9.
The Arabian is reconciled to Scaurus.
Ant.lib. 14. cap. 10.



At that time *Scaurus* tooke his journey into Arabia: but by the difficultie of the place he was so hindred, that hee could not come to Petra, yet wasted hee all the country adioining to Pella; although whilest hee staid to doe this, hee endured much euill: For there arose a great famine in his army, notwithstanding that *Hircanus* by *Antipaters* meanes sent them victuals. *Scaurus* also sent the same *Hircanus* as his familiar friend vnto *Aretas*, to perswade him that by disbursing some money, he should worke his peace. Vpon whose motion *Aretas* condescended and gaue him three hundred talents, and so *Scaurus* with his army departed out of Arabia.

Alexander Aristobulus son gathered a great power against Hircanus.
The year of the world 3904, before Christs birth 60.
Alexander gathereth 10000. footmen & 1500. horsemen.
Antipater with his forces goeth out to meet Alexander.

In the meane time *Alexander* the sonne of *Aristobulus* (who in the way to Rome escaped from *Pompey*) gathered together a great army, and desperately set vpon *Hircanus*, waisting all Iudæa, which hee hoped quickly to winne; yea the wall which was destroyed by *Pompey* at Ierusalem had been builded vp againe as he hoped, had not *Gabinus* (who was sent into Syria to succeed *Scaurus*) who had oftentimes before shewed his valour, at that time also with an army come against *Alexander*. Who fearing the worst, assembled all the forces that hee could to make resistance, so that hee had ten thousand footmen, and a thousand and five hundred horsemen: hee fortified also the commodious places of the country, to wit Alexandrium, Hircanium, and Macherunt, which were neere vnto the mountaines of Arabia. *Gabinus* sent *Marcus Antonius* before him with part of the army, and followed after with the rest; and certaine chofen men out of *Antipaters* company, and other companies of the Iewes, whereof *Malichus* and *Pytholaus* were made chiefe, joyned themselves with *Marcus Antonius*; and presently after them followed *Gabinus*, with all his company, who all went to meet *Alexander*.

Alexander fighteth with his enemies, and killeth five thousand men.
Marcus Antonius a captain.

But *Alexander* perceiving himselfe vnable to encounter with all their vnitd forces, fled: but drawing neere vnto Ierusalem, he was constrained to hazard the fight; where losing to the number of six thousand (whereof some three thousand were taken aliue, and other three thousand slaine) he escaped with the rest. But *Gabinus* as soon as he came to the castle called Alexandrium, vnderstanding that many had forsaken their places, he by promising the pardon sought to vnitte them vnto him before the warre began: but when he perceived that they hammered on no absolute resolution, he slew the most of them; as for the rest he shut them vp in the Castle. In this battel capitaine *Marcus Antonius* did many things worthy of renowne, & although hee had alwaies and at all times shewed himselfe valiant, yet there especially his valour appeared. *Gabinus* leauing some to winne the Castle went vnto the Cities, and strengthened those that were not yet assaulted, and reedified those that were destroyed, and by his commaundement Scythopolis and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Iamnia, and Raphia, and Marisa, and Dora, and Gadara,

What cities the Iewes received to inhabite.

The year of the world, 3804, before Christs Nativity, 60.
Ant. 14. c. 11.
Alexander's mother striueth to pacifie *Gabinus* with rewards.
The change of the gouernment of the Iewes.
Ant. lib. 14. cap. 12.
Aristobulus escaping from Rome raiseth new troubles.

A Gadara, and Azorus, and many more began to bee inhabited; so that their inhabitants ioyfully peopled and dwelt therein. Which when he had done he returned to Alexandrium, and began a more vrgent siege: whereat *Alexander* being terrified and made desperate, he sent Embassadors to him, beseeching him to pardon his offences, promising to render vnto him the castles of Macherunt and Hircanium, which were in his power, and besides them Alexandrium: All which *Gabinus* by counsell of *Alexanders* mother destroyed, least they might be occasion of new wars. This woman accosted and flattered *Gabinus*, for that she feared least her husband and the rest of the captiues at Rome should be any waies indemnified. After this *Gabinus* carried *Hircanus* to Ierusalem: and committing the temple vnto his charge, he made others of the nobility rulers of the commonwealth, and diuided the whole nation of the Iewes into five parts & gouernments, the whereof one was established at Ierusalem, another at Doris, the third at Amathunt, the fourth at Iericho, the fifth at Sephoris a citie of Galilee: & the Iewes being deliuered from the gouernment of one man onely, willingly suffered themselves to be ruled by the nobility. But shortly after, *Aristobulus* escaping frō Rome raised new troubles: who gathering a great army partly of those that desired a change, partly of them that loued him before, took Alexandrium, & began to compass it again with a wal: but hearing that *Gabinus* had sent *Sisenna*, *Antonius*, & *Serulius* against him with an army, he went to Macherunt; and forsaking those that were not fit for war, he tooke with him almost 8000. armed men, amongst whom was *Pytholaus* gouernor of them that were reuolted, who with 1000. men fled out of Ierusalem. But the Romans followed & pursued them: & ioining battell with them, *Aristobulus* with his men fought valiantly, til being by force overcome, the Romans slue five thousand of them, and almost two thousand fled into a mountaine; & the other thousand breaking the ranks of the Romans with *Aristobulus*, were forced to Macherunt; where the king hiding himselfe the first night amongst the ruines, hoped that hauing respite hee might gather another army, & fortifie the castle: but hauing for two daies sustained the forces of the Romans although vnable to doe it; at last he was taken, & with his son *Antigonus*, who had bin imprisoned with him at Rome, he was carried to *Gabinus*, and from thence to Rome, & the Senat put him in prison: but his sons they sent into Iudæa, because *Gabinus* writ that hee had ioyned *Aristobulus* his wife vpon condition the castles might be yielded. Now *Gabinus* being prepared to war against the Parthians *Ptolomeus* hindred him, who returning from Euphrates went into Egypt, leauing *Antipater* & *Hircanus* his friends to dispose of all things belonging to the war: for *Antipater* helped him with money, weapons, corne, and men, and he perswaded the Iewes who kept the waies that lead vnto Pelusium, to suffer *Gabinus* to passe. Now in the other part of Syria, at the departure of *Gabinus* there began a commotion, and *Alexander Aristobulus* sonne once more incited the Iewes to rebellion; & hauing gathered a mighty power purposed to destroy all the Romans that were in that country: which *Gabinus* fearing (who was returned out of Egypt at the beginning of these tumults) he sent *Antipater* before, who perswaded some of the rebels to be quiet, yet 30000. remained with *Alexander*. For which cause he was very forward to fight, and went out to battell; the Iewes came against him, and neere vnto Itabyrium they fought, where 10000. were slaine, and the rest were put to flight: and *Gabinus* returned to Ierusalem through the counsell of *Antipater*: who hauing established that estate, went frō thence and overcame the Nabathæans in battell: he likewise permitted *Mithridates* and *Orsanes* priuilege to depart, who were fled from the Parthians, saying that they had escaped from the souldiers. In the meane time *Craffus* who was appointed to be his successor, had Syria deliuered him, who toward the maintenance of the Parthian wars tooke all the golde that was in the temple of Ierusalem, and 2000. talents which *Pompeius* had forborne to doe: who passing ouer Euphrates was both himselfe and his whole army vterly ouerthrowne: of which thing it behooueth vs not to speake in this place. After the death of *Craffus*, the Parthians endeaoured themselves to enter Syria; but *Cassius* who succeeded him in the gouernment, repulled them: and hauing gotten the vpper hand he speedily resorted into Iudæa, and taking Tarichea, he caried away about 3000. men captiues; & put *Pytholaus* to death, for gathering a company of seditious people vnto *Aristobulus* his part. He that caused and counsailed his death was *Antipater*, who was married vnto a noble woman of Arabia called *Cypris*, by whom he had foure sons, *Phaëlas* and king *Herode*, *Ioseph*, and *Pheroras*, and one daughter called *Salome*; who sought the friendship of al potentates round about him by courtlesie and hospitality, and especially hee got the good will of the king of Arabia by affinitie, vnto whose fidelitie he committed his sonnes, because he had vnderaken the wars against *Aristobulus*. But *Cassius* made a truce with *Alexander*, & in the meane time went to Euphrates to hinder the passage of the Parthians, of which we will speake hereafter.

Aristobulus fighteth with the Romans.

The Romans obtaine the victory, and carry away Aristobulus and his sonne to Rome.

Alexander Aristobulus sonne once more prouoketh the Iewes to rebellion.

The Iewes overcome by the Romans.
Gabinus ouercometh the Nabathæans in battell.
Ant. lib. 14. cap. 13.
Marcus Craffus taketh away the rest of the gold of the temple.

Antipaters wife a noble woman of Arabia.

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CHAP.

The year of the world, 3903, before Christs birth 61. Pompey causeth the chiefest conspirators to be beheaded. Pompey deliuereth many goodly cities from the subiection of the Iewes.

Aristobulus & his family carried to Rome.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

fore like a good captaine got hee the good will of the people more by loue, then by feare.

Amongst others that were captiues there was *Aristobulus* father in lawe, who was also his vn- cle: as for those that had been the chiefe cause of these wars; *Pompey* caused them to be beheaded. He rewarded *Fausus* likewise, and those who fought valiantly with him, with very rich gifts, & imposed a tribute vpon Ierusalem, & tooke from that nation the Cities which they had gotten in Coelosyria: & appointed them to be gouerned by him who then was president for the Romans; making them keepe within the bounds of their owne country. And in fauour of *Demetrius* of Gadara (a libertine of his) he reedified Gadara, which the Iewes had destroyed: he deliuered the Mediterranean Cities from their gouernment (for they had not as yet destroyed them, because they were sodainly preuented) namely, Hippon, and Scythopolis, and Pella, and Samaria, and Marisa, and Azotum, and Iamnia, and Arethusa. The townes also vpon the sea coasts, Gaza, and Ioppe, and Dora, which before was called Stratons tower, and afterward by *Herod* was altered, who builded most sumptuous buildings in that place, and called it Cæsarea: All these Cities hee restored vnto the inhabitants and made them vnder the rule of Syria. And of this place and Iudæa, and of all places from the borders of Egypt vnto Euphrates, he made *Scaurus* gouernour, leauing him two legions of souldiers. Which done, hee tooke his journey to Rome by Cilicia, leading *Aristobulus* and his family captiues, who had two daughters and two sonnes, the elder wherof called *Alexander* escaped in the way; as for the younger whole name was *Antigonus*, he with his sisters was carried to Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Of the warre of Alexander with Hircanus, and Aristobulus.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 9. The Arabian is reconciled to Scaurus. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 10.



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Alexander Aristobulus son gathered a great power against Hircanus.

The year of the world 3904, before Christs birth 60.

Alexander gathereth 10000. footmen & 1500. horsemen. Antipater with his forces goeth out to meet Alexander.

Alexander fighteth with his enemies, and loseth sixe thousand me. Marcus Antonius a captaine.

What cities the Iewes received to inhabit.

In the meane time *Alexander* the sonne of *Aristobulus* (who in the way to Rome escaped from *Pompey*) gathered together a great army, and desperately set vpon *Hircanus*, waisting all Iudæa, which hee hoped quickly to winne; yea the wall which was destroyed by *Pompey* at Ierusalem had been builded vp againe as he hoped, had not *Gabinus* (who was sent into Syria to succceed *Scaurus*) who had oftentimes before shewed his valour, at that time also with an army come against *Alexander*. Who fearing the worst, assembled all the forces that hee could to make resistance, so that hee had ten thousand footmen, and a thousand and siue hundredth horsemen: hee fortified also the commodious places of the country, to wit Alexandrium, Hircanium, and Macherant, which were neere vnto the mountaines of Arabia. *Gabinus* sent *Marcus Antonius* before him with part of the army, and followed after with the rest; and certaine chosen men out of *Antipaters* company, and other companies of the Iewes, wherof *Malichus* and *Pytholaus* were made chiefe, ioyned themselves with *Marcus Antonius*; and presently after them followed *Gabinus*, with all his company, who all went to meet *Alexander*.

But *Alexander* perceiuing himselfe vnable to encounter with all their vnited forces, fled: but drawing neere vnto Ierusalem, he was constrained to hazard the fight; where losing to the number of six thousand (wherof some three thousand were taken aliue, and other three thousand slaine) he escaped with the rest. But *Gabinus* as soon as he came to the castle called Alexandrium, vnderstanding that many had forsaken their places, he by promising the pardon sought to vnite them vnto him before the warre began: but when he perceived that they hammered on no abiect resolution, he slew the most of them; as for the rest he shut them vp in the Castle. In this battel captaine *Marcus Antonius* did many things worthy of renowne, & although hee had alwaies and at all times shewed himselfe valiant, yet there especially his valour appeared. *Gabinus* leauing some to winne the Castle went vnto the Cities, and strengthened those that were not yet assaulted, and reedified those that were destroyed, and by his commaundement Scythopolis and Samaria, and Anthedon, and Apollonia, and Iamnia, and Raphia, and Marisa, and Dora, and Gadara,

OF THE IEWES. THE I. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 3804, before Christs birth, 60. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 11.

Alexanders mother striueth to pacifie *Gabinus* with rewards.

The change of the gouernment of the Iewes.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 12.

Aristobulus escaping from Rome alleth new troubles.

Aristobulus fighteth with the Romans.

The Romans obtaine the victory, and carry away *Aristobulus* and his sonne to Rome.

Alexander Aristobulus sonne once more prouoketh the Iewes to rebellion.

The Iewes ouercome by the Romans. *Gabinus* ouercometh the Nabathæans in battell. Ant. lib. 14. cap. 13. *Marcus Crassus* taketh away the rest of the gold of the temple.

Antipaters wife a noble woman of Arabia.

A Gadara, and Azotus, and many more began to bee inhabited; so that their inhabitants ioyfully peopled and dwelt therein. Which when he had done he returned to Alexandrium, and began a more vrgent siege: wherat *Alexander* being terrified and made desperate, he sent Embassadors to him, beseeching him to pardon his offences, promising to render vnto him the castles of Macherunt and Hircanium, which were in his power, and besides them Alexandrium: All which *Gabinus* by counsell of *Alexanders* mother destroyed, least they might be occasion of new wars. This woman accosted and flattered *Gabinus*, for that she feared least her husband and the rest of the captiues at Rome should be any waies indemnified. After this *Gabinus* carried *Hircanus* to Ierusalem: and committing the temple vnto his charge, he made others of the nobility rulers of the commonwealth, and diuided the whole nation of the Iewes into siue parts & gouernments, B wherof one was established at Ierusalem, another at Doris, the third at Amathunt, the fourth at Iericho, the fifth at Sephoris a citie of Galilee: & the Iewes being deliuered from the gouernment of one man onely, willingly suffered themselves to be ruled by the nobility. But shortly after, *Aristobulus* escaping from Rome raised new troubles: who gathering a great army partly of those that desired a change, partly of them that loued him before, took Alexandrium, & began to compass it again with a wall: but hearing that *Gabinus* had sent *Sisenna*, *Antonius*, & *Serulius* against him with an army, he went to Macherunt; and forsaking those that were not fit for war, he tooke with him almost 8000. armed men, amongst whom was *Pytholaus* gouernor of them that were reuolted, who with 1000. men fled out of Ierusalem. But the Romans folowed & pursued them: & ioyning battell with them, *Aristobulus* with his men fought valiantly, til being by force ouercome, C the Romans slue siue thousand of them, and almost two thousand fled into a mountaine; & the other thousand breaking the ranks of the Romans with *Aristobulus*, were forced to Macherunt; where the king hiding himselfe the first night amongst the ruines, hoped that hauing respite hee might gather another army, & fortifie the castle: but hauing for two daies sustained the forces of the Romans although vnable to doe it; at last he was taken, & with his son *Antigonus*, who had bin imprisoned with him at Rome, he was carried to *Gabinus*, and from thence to Rome, & the Senat put him in prison: but his sons they sent into Iudæa, because *Gabinus* writ that hee had so promised *Aristobulus* his wife vpon condition the castles might be yielded. Now *Gabinus* being prepared to war against the Parthians *Prothomus* hindered him, who returning from Euphrates went into Egypt, leauing *Antipater* & *Hircanus* his friends to dispose of all things belonging to the war: for *Antipater* helped him with money, weapons, corne, and men, and he perswaded D the Iews who kept the waies that lead vnto Pelusium, to suffer *Gabinus* to passe. Now in the other part of Syria, at the departure of *Gabinus* there began a commotion, and *Alexander Aristobulus* sonne once more incited the Iewes to rebellion, & hauing gathered a mighty power purposed to destroy all the Romans that were in that country: which *Gabinus* fearing (who was returned out of Egypt at the beginning of these tumults) he sent *Antipater* before, who perswaded some of the rebels to be quiet, yet 30000. remained with *Alexander*. For which cause he was very forward to fight, and went out to battell; the Iewes came against him, and neere vnto Itabyrium they fought, where 10000. were slaine, and the rest were put to flight: and *Gabinus* returned to Ierusalem through the counsell of *Antipater*: who hauing established that estate, went from thence E and ouercame the Nabathæans in battell: he likewise permitted *Mithridates* and *Orsanus* priuilege to depart, who were fled from the Parthians, saying that they had escaped from the souldiers. In the meane time *Crassus* who was appointed to be his successor, had Syria deliuered him, who toward the maintenance of the Parthian wars tooke all the golde that was in the temple of Ierusalem, and 2000. talents which *Pompeius* had forborne to doe: who pausing ouer Euphrates was both himselfe and his whole army vtterly overthrowne: of which thing it behooueth vs not to speake in this place. After the death of *Crassus*, the Parthians endeauoured themselves to enter Syria; but *Cassius* who succeeded him in the gouernment, repulsed them: and hauing gotten the vpper hand he speedily resorted into Iudæa, and taking Tarichea, he carried away about 3000. men captiues; & put *Pytholaus* to death, for gathering a company of seditious people vnto *Aristobulus* his part. He that caused and counsailed his death was *Antipater*, who was married vnto a noble woman of Arabia called *Cypris*, by whom he had foure sons, *Phaëlus* and king *Herode*, *Ioseph*, and *Pheroras*, and one daughter called *Salome*; who fought the friendship of al potentates round about him by courties and hospitality; and especially hee got the good will of the king of Arabia by affinity, vnto whose fidelitie he committed his sonnes, because he had vnderaken the wars against *Aristobulus*. But *Cassius* made a truce with *Alexander*, & in the meane time went to Euphrates to hinder the passage of the Parthians; of which we will speake hereafter.

Hhh 3

CHAP.

Of the death of Aristobulus, and the warre betwene Antipater and Mithridates.

Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 14.
Cæsar deliue-
reth Aristobu-
lus from his
bonds.
Aristobulus
& his son slain
by Pompeis
friends.Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 15.
Ptolomæus
son marrieth
Antigonous
yonger daugh-
ter, & for that
cause is slaine
by his father.
Ant. lib. 14. c. 16.Mithridates
goeth to
Pelusium, and
thereby obtai-
neth Antigo-
nus helpe.Mithridates
victory against
the Egyptians.Antipater
performeth
many noble
exploits and
exposeth
himselfe to all
danger for
Cæsar's sake.
Cæsar maketh
Antipater a
free citizen
of Rome.

After that Cæsar had forced the Senate & Pompey to fly beyond the Ionian sea, and by that meanes made himselfe sole master of al at Rome, he let *Aristobulus* at liberty; & with two legions of men sent him in haste into Syria, hoping through his meanes speedily to win both it & also all places adjoining to Iudæa: but both the hope of Cæsar and the forwardnes of *Aristobulus* was ouerthrowne through enuy: for he was poisoned by Pompeis fauorites, & euen in his own country his body lay vnburied; which notwithstanding was preferred from putrefaction with hony, till such time as *Antoni* sent it vnto the Iewes, commanding them to bury it in the kings sepulcher. His son *Alexander* also was beheaded at Antiochia by *Scipio*, being first according to the tenour of Pompeis letters accused before the tribunall seat, of such things as he had committed against the Romans. *Ptolomæus* the son of *Minaus*, who ruled Chalcis which was vnder Libanus, hauing taken his brechren sent his son *Philippio* with them to Alcalon; & he violently taking away *Antigon* & his sisters fro the wife of *Aristobulus* brought them to his father, and falling in loue with the yongest, tooke her to his wife: for which cause hee was afterward put to death by his father. For *Ptolomæus* hauing slaine his sonne, married *Alexandra*; & for that affinitie sake, was more careful for her brechren. After the death of Pompey, *Antipater* sought all meanes to get Cæsars fauour: & when *Mithridates* of Pergamenus was hindred by the garriſon at Pelusium to passe any further, with an army into Egypt, & was by that meanes staied at Alcalon, he perswaded the Arabians to asist him the rather, because hee was but a stranger, and he himselfe also seconded him with almost three thousand armed Iewes.

Moreover he incited the potentate of Syria, & *Ptolomæus* who inhabited Libanus, & *Jamblicus* and another *Ptolomæus* to asist him; for whose sakes the cities of that country did willingly vndertake the wars. And now *Mithridates* strengthened by *Antipaters* meanes came to Pelusium, & because they would not suffer him to passe, he besieged the city; in which siege *Antipater* shewed his valour: for making a breach on that side of the wall, where his quarter was, he first of all with his company brake into the citie, and so Pelusium was taken. But the inhabitants of *Onias* country who were Egyptians & Iewes, suffered him not to passe any further: yet did *Antipater* handle the matter so discreetly with them, that they did not onely suffer him to passe, but also provided victuals for his army. Vherupon the citizens of Memphis would not fight, but yeelded of their own accord vnto *Mithridates*: so that passing through Delta, he fought with the other Egyptians in a place called the tents of the Iewes; & being with al his company in danger, he was rescued by *Antipater*, who marching along the riuer side, set vpon & discomfited the left wing of the enemies batel, & rushing vpon them that pressed vpon *Mithridates*, he slew many, & pursued the rest that fled til he got their tents, & all with the losse of fourescore men. But *Mithridates* flying lost eight hundred men, & being against all hope preferred out of those wars, was without all enuy a true witnes before Cæsar of al that which *Antipater* had both done & deserued. Vherupon Cæsar redoubled his courage with praise & promises vnto him, & made him forward to hazard himselfe for him. In a word, he proued & shew'd himselfe a stout warrior, & hauing many wounds in euery part of his body he bare a badge & testimony of his valour & vertue. Afterward when the state of Egypt was quiet he returned into Syria, where he made him a citizen of Rome, and granted him the immunities therof: & did so honour him in other things & vie him so friendly, that he made him a patterne for all to imitate: and for his sake he confirmed *Hircanus* in the high Priesthood.

CHAP. VIII.

How Antipater was accused before Cæsar: of the Priesthood of Hircanus: and how Herode made warre.

Antigonous
Aristobulus
son commeth
to Cæsar to ac-
cuse Pompeis
friends for his
fathers death.

AT the same time *Antigon* the sonne of *Aristobulus* repairing to Cæsar, against his will was a cause of *Antipaters* greater felicity: for comming to complain of his fathers death, (who was as it was thought through Pompeis enuy poisoned) and to accuse *Scipio* of cruelty which was vsed against his brother; whereas hee should haue abandoned all passion which moued him to miſgale hatred with his miseries, contrariwise he accused *Hircanus* and *Antipater*

as

As though they had vniustly driuen him and his brechren out of their native soile, and grieuouſly iniured the people, to obaine their intent; alleading that they had sent aide into Egypt to Cæsars forces, not for good will, but for feare of auncient enmitie, and that hereby they might acquire themselves of the good will they bare to Pompey. At these wordes *Antipater* (casting away his vesture) shewed the number of his wounds, saying, it was not needfull to vie words to proue what affection he had borne to Cæsar, for his very body would shew it, although hee himselfe hold his peace: adding, that hee admired the impudent boldnesse of *Antigon*, who becing sonne to an enemy of the Romanes, and a fugitiue from the Romanes, and still continued his fathers purpose of noueltie and sedition, should dare to accuse others before the Romane Emperour; demanding of him how hee durst hope to obtaine any good thing, who ought to be contented with his life onely: alleading, that hee craued not maintenance for that hee wanted, but that he might raise a rebellion amongst the Iewes, and against them who should bestow any thing vpon him.

Which when Cæsar heard, he said that *Hircanus* was most worthy to be high priest, and bade *Antipater* with what dignitie he would haue: who leauing that to the pleasure of the giuer, he was made Gouvernour of all Iudæa. And moreover, he obtained to recedifie the rased wals of his country, and Cæsar commanded that those honours should be engrauen in the Capitoll, that it might be a token in time to come of *Antipaters* iustice and vertue. *Antipater* hauing attended Cæsar out of Syria, first of all repaired the ruined walles of his country which Pompey had rased: and going thorowout all the countrey, he threatened the obstinate, & perswaded the seditious to obedience, admonishing them, that if they obeyed *Hircanus*, they might liue in wealth and peace, and enjoy happinesse & an vniuersall felicitie: but if they suffered themselves to be led with the vaine hopes of those, who for their priuate comodities, sought for alteration, that then they should find him in steed of a Procurator, the Lord of all, and *Hircanus* in steed of a king, a tyrant, and the Romanes and Cæsar, in steed of friends, deadly enemies: for that they would not suffer his power to be ouerthrowne, whom they themselves had established for king. But notwithstanding he spake these words, yet (because he saw *Hircanus* more dull, and not of so fervent a spirit as the care of a kingdom required) he himselfe settled the estate of the countrey, and made *Phasaclius* his eldest sonne governour of the army, & the Lord of Ierusalem and of his owne liuing, & sent *Herod* his yongest sonne to gouerne Galilee (although hee was very young): who becing by nature of a valiant courage, found out a present occasion to shew his braue mind: for he tooke *Ezechias* which was captaine of thieves, who as hee vnderstood was wont to prey vpon the confines of Syria with a great multitude, and put him to death with many other thieves: which thing was so gratefull vnto the Syrians, that in all townes and villages they made songs of *Herod*, as though hee had restored them to peace, and to their possessions.

At length, the glory of this fact came to the eares of *Sextus Cæsar*, who was Cæsar the Emperours kinsman, who then ruled Syria. *Phasaclius* also did strue to ouercome the towardnesse and good reputation of his brother, by daily increasing and winning to himselfe the good wils of the inhabitants of Ierusalem: so that during the time he gouerned the Citie, he did nothing insolently through might or power: for which cause the people honoured *Antipater* as their king, & reuerenced him as Lord of all, yet was his fidelitie and good will neuer the lesse towards *Hircanus*. But it is impossible that any man that liueth in prosperitie, should not be enuied. For *Hircanus*, although before time hee were moued something at the glory of these young men, and especially with the prosperous successe of *Herod*, becing often annoied with frequent messehgers, who spreadde his praise for euery thing he did: yet in particular he was stirred vp by many enuious persons, who are wont to haunt the courts of Princes, who were grieved that *Antipater* and his sonnes ruled without offence. These men told *Hircanus* that hee onely enjoyed the bare name of a king, and that *Antipater* and his sonnes ruled all, and that hee so long would permit & wink at them, till that at last they would make themselves kings; for they now did no more so much as pretend themselves to bee Procurators. But leauing that title, they tooke vpon them the dignities of Lords and maisters, without any regard or reuerence towards him: for *Herod* had put to death a great multitude of Iewes against the law, whereas neither by word of mouth, nor by writing, the king had giuen him any such authoritie: and that *Herod* if hee were not a king, but a priuate person, was to be brought into iudgement, there to answer the matter and shew the king a reason, & satisfie the lawes of his country; which permitted no man to be put to death before by law he was conuicted. By these perswasions *Hircanus* grew angry: so that not concealing his wrath, he caused *Herod* to be sent for to answer the matter: who both for that his father aduerted

led

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Hircanus abolished Herod

Hircanus once more incited by the wicked.

Herod gathered a great army, cometh to Jerusalem to depose Hircanus. Herod dissuaded by Antipater from attempting against Hircanus.

Bassus murdered Caesar by treason. Marcus, Sextus successor.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 3. Julius Caesar slain by Brutus & Cassius. Cassius leueth money in the cities.

Herod, Cassius friend. Cassius seuer in his exacti-one.

led him thereto: and because he trusted to the equitie of his cause, first leauing a garrison in Galilee, he repaired vnto the king; and came accompanied with a strong guard, least either he should seeme to derogate from *Hircanus* dignitie, if he should lead forth many; or that for want of defence he should expose himselfe to the enuie of his aduersaries. *Sextus Caesar* also fearing the young man least any euill should befall him amongst his enemies, sent vnto *Hircanus* manifestly warning him to free *Herod* from the crime of murder. For which cause *Hircanus* who loued *Herod*, and was willing so to do of his own accord, did acquite him. Whereupon, he supposing that he had escaped against the kings will, went to Damalcus vnto *Sextus*, purposing not to obey, if hereafter he were sent for. Naithelasse, *Hircanus* was once againe incited by bad people against *Herod*, who certified him that he was gone away in a rage, and that he would enterprife something against him: which *Hircanus* believing, knew not what to doe; seeing his enimie more potent then himselfe.

Shortly after, *Sextus Caesar* proclaimed him Generall of the army, both in Syria and Samaria: so that now he was greatly to be feared, not onely for that he was highly in fauour with the commonaltie, but also for the forces which he commanded. So that hereupon *Hircanus* fell into an extreme feare, verily perswading himselfe that *Herod* with his whole army would presently come against him. Neither was his suspition in vaine: for *Herod* angry at the pretended crime wherof he was accused, came with a great army to Ierusalem, intending to depose *Hircanus*; which he had effected, had not his father and his brother gone forth to meet him, and pacified him, intreating that he would account that terror (wherin he had put his enemies) and his owne indignation for a sufficient reuenge, and that he should spare the king, by whose fauour hee came to be so potent: I adding moreouer, that he should not thinke it a disdaine that he was called to answere his accusations; but seeing that he was acquitted of them, he should shew himselfe grateful to the king. Neither ought he so to reuenge the discontent he had taken, that he should shew himselfe vnthankful to him who had saued his life. Moreouer, he was to consider the fortune of warres, together with the cause thereof, and thinke that the warres hee now pretended, were very vniust; bidding him not to be too confident of the victorie, being to fight against his own king, who had alwaies bin gracious vnto him, and neuer cruell; onely beeing as it were vrged therunto by some of his counsell, who beeing meerly enuious, rather to satisfie their owne dislikes, then in regard of his disgraces, framed a shadow of an accusation. *Herod* pacified heerewith, supposed it to be sufficient for him to obtaine the thing he hoped for, to haue shewed his forces vnto his nation.

At this time began ciuill war among the Romans neere vnto Apamia: for *Cacilius Bassus*, for the loue hee bare to *Sextus Pompey*, (sue *Sextus Caesar* at vnwares, and made himselfe gouernour of his army: and other captaines of *Cæsars* to reuenge his death, made after *Bassus* with all their forces; vnto whom *Antipater* by his two sonnes sent aide both for *Cæsars* sake that was slaine, as for *Cæsars* sake that was yet aliue: for he was an entire friend and welwiller vnto them both, and these warres continuing long, *Marcus* came out of Italy to succed *Sextus*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the dissension amongst the Romans after Cæsars death, and of the treacherie of Malichus.

At this time arose great and bloody ciuill warres amongst the Romanes, at such time as *Caesar* was traiterously slaine by the treason of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, after hee had ruled the Empire three yeeres & seauen moneths. By reason of which murder their troubles daily increased, & the nobility being at variance amongst themselves, euery one followed that course, that they thought most expedient for themselves. Whereupon *Cassius* presently marched into Syria, to take possession of the gouernment of the army which was about Apamia, where hee made *Marcus* and the legions that were at variance, and *Bassus* friends: and raising the siege from Apamia, and leading the army in his owne person, he forced euery citie to be tributarie: so that he grew to exact without measure. Whereas therefore he commanded the Iewes to contribute seauen hundred talents; *Antipater*, who feared his displeasure, appointed his sons, and other of his friends presently to gather the money; & especially among the rest he gaue this charge to one *Malichus* a friend of his, beeing by necessity inforced therunto. But *Herod* first of all got *Cassius* his fauour, who brought a hundred talents which he had collected out of Galilee, which was his part or prouince: for this cause *Cassius* accounted him as a deere friend. As for the rest, hee accused

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christ's Nat- uirtie. 42. Malichus forgetfull of Antipaters kinnesse.

Antipater gathereth an armie against Malichus.

Octavius Augustus succedeth after Cæsar. Cassius promised Herod after the war to make him king of Iudæa. Antipater poisoned by Malichus.

Herod intendeth to reuenge his fathers death.

Malichus ioy- neth with Hircanus.

Cassius charged Herod by letters to reuenge his fathers death.

The decree of fate laugheth at humane hope. Herods tribunes murder Malichus.

Accused them of negligence, and was angry at the other Cities: So that for that cause hee destroyed Gophna and Ammautes, and other two of the basest cities, marching onward as if hee intended to kill *Malichus*, for that he had bin so carelesse and negligent in gathering the tribute money. But *Antipater* presently (disbursing vnto *Cassius* a hundred talents) saued both him and all the rest of the Cities. Yet *Malichus* after *Cassius* was departed, did no more remember how beneficiall *Antipater* had been vnto him, but oftentimes did treacherously lie in wait for to murder *Antipater*, who hindered and withstood his villanous pretence; notwithstanding that himselfe had often confessed that *Antipater* had saued his life. *Antipater*, fearing both his power and subtiltie, passed ouer the riuer Iordan to gather an army that hee might reuenge those treacheries. But *Malichus* being discovered, by his impudencie outcrimed *Antipaters* sonnes: for through manie oaths and excuses, he won *Phasaelus* chiefe of the garrison in Ierusalem, and *Herod* also who was master of the armorie, that they should be a meanes to reconcile him to *Antipater*. Whereupon, *Antipater* intreating *Marcus* (who was Generall of the army in Syria, and had determined to kill him) he was saued. The reason that *Marcus* would haue put him to death, was because *Malichus* sought to make an alteration.

Now *Caesar* being young, and *Antonius* warring against *Cassius* & *Brutus*; *Marcus* and *Cassius* hauing gathered an army in Syria, in consideration that *Herod* had stood them in steed where need required, they made him Procurator of all Syria; giuing him a band of horsemen add footmen. Moreouer, *Cassius* promised him that if the warres had a happy end, hee would make him king of Iudæa. But it came to passe, that the power and expectation which all men had of *Herod*, was the cause of *Antipater* his fathers death. For *Malichus* being hereby put in feare, hired one of the kings officers for a certaine summe of money to poison *Antipater*, by which meanes he died, being thus vniustly rewarded for his good will toward wretched *Malichus*. He was a worthy man and fit to gouerne, who had recovered the kingdome being lost, for *Hircanus*. *Malichus* (who perceived that the people was incited against him, because they suspected that he had poisoned *Antipater*) pacified and moderated their displeasure by denying the fact; yet to the intent he might be stronger, he gathered about him a guard of armed men: for hee thought that *Herod* would not let the matter slip so, but that he would presently come with an army to reuenge his fathers death. But by the counsell of his brother *Phasaelus* (who sent him word that he should not openly be reuenged vpon *Malichus*, least a sedicion might arise among the people) hee patientlie permitted it to be, and suffered *Malichus* to purge himselfe, and permitted him to be freed from suspition, and celebrated a most solemne funeral for his father: which done, hee went vnto Samaria, and appeased the sedicion, wherewithall the Citie was disquieted. After this, he returned to Ierusalem, intending in that place to celebrate the festiuitie, sending certaine of his armed men before him, and appointing the rest to accompanie him. But *Malichus* who feared this approach of his, had solicited *Hircanus* to giue order that no strangers should intermingle themselves among the people who were at that time purified.

But *Herod*, contemning both him that commanded, and his commission, entred the citie by night: whereupon *Malichus* once more came vnto him, and wept for *Antipater*. *Herod*, although he could very hardly bridle his displeasure, yet dissembled he the same: and sent letters vnto *Cassius*, wherein he complained of his fathers death: the memorie of whose hate being refreshed by this offence, he writ againe vnto *Herod*, willing him to reuenge his fathers death: which that hee might the better effect, hee secretly commaunded the captaines of his regiment that they should asist *Herod*. Now for that after the surprisall of Laodicea, all the best of the citie came to *Herod*, bringing gifts and crownes, he appointed this for a fit time of his intended reuenge. Now *Malichus* suspecting that *Herod* would worke reuenge at Tyre, purposed secretly to get away his son, who was there a pledge; and hee himselfe purposed to flie into Iudæa: But despaire of his owne safetie vrged him to greater matters; for hee hoped to incite the Iewes to take armes against the Romanes, for that *Cassius* was now busie in the warres against *Antonius*: so that he thought he might easily depose *Hircanus*, and so make himselfe king. But he was preuented by the destinies: for *Herod* suspecting his purpose, inuited him and *Hircanus* to supper: at which time hee made a shew as though he had sent one of his seruants to cause a banquet to be prepared, but indeede hee sent him to the captaines to foretell them that they might lie in wait for *Malichus*: who remembering what charge *Cassius* gaue them, came forth of the Citie vnto the shore next adioyning vnto the towne, all armed with swords; where compassing *Malichus* round about, they killed him with many wounds. *Hircanus* hereat astonished, fell in a swoone, and beeing scarcely come to himselfe, he demanded who killed *Malichus*? One of the captaines answered; that *Cassius* gaue that

The yeare of the world, 3922. before Christ's birth 24.

Hircanus abolished Herod

Hircanus once more incited by the wicked.

Herod gathering a great army, cometh to Ierusalem to depose Hircanus. Herod dissuaded by Antipater from attempting against Hircanus.

Bassus murdered Sextus Caesar by treason. Marcus, Sextus successor.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 2. Julius Caesar slain by Brutus & Cassius. Cassius leuieth money in the cities.

Herod, Cassius friend. Cassius severe in his exactions.

led him thereto: and because he trusted to the equitie of his cause, first leauing a garrison in Galilee, he repaired vnto the king; and came accompanied with a strong guard, least either he should seeme to derogate from *Hircanus* dignitie, if he should lead forth many; or that for want of defence he should expose himselfe to the enuie of his aduersaries. *Sextus Caesar* also fearing the young man least any euill should betide him amongst his enemies, sent vnto *Hircanus* manifestly warning him to free *Herod* from the crime of murder. For which cause *Hircanus* who loued *Herod*, and was willing so to do of his own accord, did acquite him. Whereupon, he supposing that hee had escaped against the kings will, went to Damalcus vnto *Sextus*, purposing not to obey, if hereafter he were sent for. Naitheliefe, *Hircanus* was once againe incited by bad people against *Herod*, who certified him that he was gone away in a rage, and that he would enterprise something against him: which *Hircanus* belieuing, knew not what to doe; seeing his enemy more potent then himselfe.

Shortly after, *Sextus Caesar* proclaimed him Generall of the army, both in Syria and Samaria: so that now he was greatly to be feared, not onely for that he was highly in fauour with the commonaltie, but also for the forces which he commanded. So that hereupon *Hircanus* fell into an extreme feare, verily perswading himselfe that *Herod* with his whole army would presently come against him. Neither was his suspition in vaine: for *Herod* angry at the pretended crime wherof he was accused, came with a great army to Ierusalem, intending to depose *Hircanus*; which he had effected, had not his father and his brother gone forth to meet him, and pacified him, inuincing that he would account that terror (wherin he had put his enemies) and his owne indignation for a sufficient reuenge, and that he should spare the king, by whose fauour hee came to be so potent: I adding moreover, that he should not thinke it a dildaine that he was called to answer his accusations; but seeing that he was acquitted of them, he should shew himselfe grateful to the king. Neither ought he so to reuenge the discontent he had taken, that he should shew himselfe vnthankful to him who had saved his life. Moreover, he was to consider the fortune of warres, together with the cause thereof, and thinke that the warres hee now pretended, were very vniust; bidding him not to be too confident of the victorie, being to fight against his own king, who had alwaies bin gracious vnto him, and neuer cruell; onely beeing as it were vrged therunto by some of his counsell, who beeing meely enuious, rather to satisfie their owne mislikes, then in regard of his disgraces, framed a shadow of an accusation. *Herod* pacified heerewith, supposed it to be sufficient for him to obtaine the thing he hoped for, to haue shewed his forces vnto his nation.

At this time began ciuill war among the Romans neere vnto Apamia: for *Cacilius Bassus*, for the loue hee bare to *Sextus Pompey*, slue *Sextus Caesar* at vnawares, and made himselfe gouernour of his army: and other captaines of *Caesars* to reuenge his death, made after *Bassus* with all their forces; vnto whom *Antipater* by his two sonnes sent aide both for *Caesars* sake that was slaine, as for *Caesars* sake that was yet aliue: for he was an entire friend and welwiller vnto them both, and these warres continuing long, *Marcus* came out of Italy to succeed *Sextus*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the diffension amongst the Romans after *Cæsars* death, and of the treacherie of *Malichus*.

At this time arose great and bloody ciuill warres amongst the Romanes, at such time as *Caesar* was traiterously slaine by the treason of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, after hee had ruled the Empire three yeeres & seauen moneths. By reason of which murder their troubles daily increased, & the nobility being at variance amongst themselves, euery one followed that course, that they thought most expedient for themselves. Whereupon *Cassius* presently marched into Syria, to take possession of the government of the army which was about Apamia, where hee made *Marcus* and the legions that were at variance, and *Bassus* friends: and raising the siege from Apamia, and leading the army in his owne person, he forced euery citie to be tributarie: so that he grew to exact without measure. Whereas therefore he commanded the Iewes to contribute seauen hundred talents; *Antipater*, who feared his displeasure, appointed his sons, and other of his friends presently to gather the money; & especially among the rest he gaue this charge to one *Malichus* a friend of his, beeing by necessitie enforced thereunto. But *Herod* first of all got *Cassius* his fauour, who brought a hundred talents which he had collected out of Galilee, which was his part or prouince: for this cause *Cassius* accounted him as a deere friend. As for the rest, hee ac-

The yeere of the world, 3922. before Christ's Nat. 42. Malichus forgetfull of Antipaters kindness.

Antipater gathereth an armie against Malichus.

Octavius Augustus succeedeth after *Cæsar*. *Cassius* promiseth *Herod* after the war to make him king of Iudæa. Antipater poisoned by *Malichus*.

Herod intendeth to reuenge his fathers death.

Malichus ioy-neth with *Hircanus*. *Cassius* chargeth *Herod* by letters to reuenge his fathers death.

The decree of fate laugheth at humane hope. *Herods* tribunes murder Malichus.

A cused them of negligence, and was angry at the other Cities: So that for that cause hee destroyed Gophna and Ammautes, and other two of the basest cities, marching onward as if hee intended to kill *Malichus*, for that he had bin so carelesse and negligent in gathering the tribute money. But *Antipater* presently (disbursing vnto *Cassius* a hundred talents) saved both him and all the rest of the Cities. Yet *Malichus* after *Cassius* was departed, did no more remember how beneficiall *Antipater* had been vnto him, but oftentimes did treacherously lie in wait for to murder *Antipater*, who hindered and withstood his villanous pretence; notwithstanding that himselfe had often confessed that *Antipater* had saved his life. *Antipater*, fearing both his power and subtiltie, passed ouer the riuer Iordan to gather an army that hee might reuenge those treacheries. But *Malichus* being discovered, by his impudencie outcrimed *Antipaters* sonnes: for through manie oaths and excuses, he won *Phasaelus* chiefe of the garrison in Ierusalem, and *Herod* also who was master of the armorie, that they should be a meanes to reconcile him to *Antipater*. Whereupon, *Antipater* intreating *Marcus* (who was Generall of the army in Syria, and had determined to kill him) he was saved. The reason that *Marcus* would haue put him to death, was because *Malichus* sought to make an alteration.

Now *Caesar* being young, and *Antonius* warring against *Cassius* & *Brutus*; *Marcus* and *Cassius* hauing gathered an army in Syria, in consideration that *Herod* had stood them in speed where need required, they made him Procurator of all Syria, giuing him a band of horsemen and footmen. Moreover, *Cassius* promised him that if the warres had a happy end, hee would make him king of Iudæa. But it came to passe, that the power and expectation which all men had of *Herod*, was the cause of *Antipater* his fathers death. For *Malichus* being hereby put in feare, hired one of the kings officers for a certaine summe of money to poison *Antipater*, by which meanes he died, being thus vniustly rewarded for his good will toward wretched *Malichus*. He was a worthy man and fit to gouerne, who had recovered the kingdome being lost, for *Hircanus*. *Malichus* (who perceived that the people was incited against him, because they suspected that he had poisoned *Antipater*) pacified and moderated their displeasure by denying the fact; yet to the intent he might be stronger, he gathered about him a guard of armed men: for hee thought that *Herod* would not let the matter slip so, but that he would presently come with an army to reuenge his fathers death. But by the counsell of his brother *Phasaelus* (who sent him word that he should not openly be reuenged vpon *Malichus*, lest a sedicion might arise among the people) hee patientlie permitted it so to be, and suffered *Malichus* to purge himselfe, and permitted him to be freed from suspition, and celebrated a most ioleme funeral for his father: which done, hee went vnto Samaria, and appeased the sedicion, wherewithall the Citie was disquieted. After this, he returned to Ierusalem, intending in that place to celebrate the festiuitie, sending certaine of his armed men before him, and appointing the rest to accompanie him. But *Malichus* who feared this approach of his, had solicited *Hircanus* to giue order that no strangers should intermingle themselves among the people who were at that time purified.

But *Herod*, condemning both him that commanded, and his commission, entred the citie by night: whereupon *Malichus* once more came vnto him, and wept for *Antipater*. *Herod*, although he could very hardly bridle his displeasure, yet dissembled he the same: and sent letters vnto *Cassius*, wherein he complained of his fathers death: the memorie of whose hate being refreshed by this offence, he writ againe vnto *Herod*, willing him to reuenge his fathers death: which that hee might the better effect, hee secretly commaunded the captaines of his regiment that they should assist *Herod*. Now for that after the surprisall of Laodicea, all the best of the citie came to *Herod*, bringing gifts and crownes, he appointed this for a fit time of his intended reuenge. Now *Malichus* suspecting that *Herod* would worke reuenge at Tyre, purposed secretly to get away his son, who was there a pledge; and hee himselfe purposed to flie into Iudæa: But despairing of his owne safetie vrged him to greater matters; for hee hoped to incite the Iewes to take armes against the Romanes, for that *Cassius* was now busie in the warres against *Antonius*: so that he thought he might easily depose *Hircanus*, and so make himselfe king. But he was preuented by the destinies: for *Herod* suspecting his purpose, inuited him and *Hircanus* to supper: at which time hee made a shew as though he had sent one of his seruants to cause a banquet to be prepared, but in deede hee sent him to the captaines to foretell them that they might lie in wait for *Malichus*: who remembering what charge *Cassius* gaue them, came forth of the Citie vnto the shore next adioyning vnto the towne, all armed with swords; where compassing *Malichus* round about, they killed him with many wounds. *Hircanus* hereat astonished, fell in a swoone; and beeing scarcely come to himselfe, he demanded who killed *Malichus*? One of the captaines answered; that *Cassius* gaue that

that commaundement: wherupon he answered, Truly *Cassius* hath preserved me and my coun-
trei, in killing him who was a traitor to vs both: but whether heerein hee spake as he thought, or
that for feare he approved the fact, it is vncertaine. And thus was *Herod* reuenged vpon *Malichus*.

CHAP. X.

How Herod was accused and reuenged.

Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 20.

Felix com-
meth with an
army against
Phasaelus.
Phasaelus o-
uercommeth
Felix & tou-
cheth Hircan-
us with in-
gratitude.

After *Cassius* was departed from Syria, there arose another sedition amongst them in
Ierusalem: for *Felix* came with an armie against *Phasaelus*, thinking so to be reu-
enged vpon *Herod* for killing *Malichus*. It chanced that *Herod* at that time was at Da-
mascus with *Fabius* a Romane capitaine, who coming to assest *Phasaelus*, by the way
fell sicke; so that he could not succour him: but it so fell out that *Phasaelus* without any help, did
of himselfe overcome *Felix*, and therewithall reprobued *Hircanus* as vngratefull, who had both fa-
uoured *Felix*, and suffered *Malichus* his brother to take and keepe his castles (for already had hee
seized many of them, and especially one of greatest strength called *Massada*) yet all thesedid not
protect him from the violence of *Herod*, who was no looner recovered of his sickness, but pre-
sently he tooke all the rest, & *Massada*: and at *Hircanus* humble sute, permitted him to depart fro
thence. He also chased *Marion* the tyrant of the Tyrians out of Galilee, who occupied 3 castles in
that country: as for all the Tyrians that he tooke, he spared their liues, and sent some away with
rewards; wherby he got the good wil of the citie, and the hatred of the Tyrant. This *Marion* was
made Tyrant of Tyria by *Cassius*, who through the meanes of such like instruments had gotten
into his hand all Syria: & *Marion* for the hatred he bare to *Herod*, tooke with him *Antigonus*, *Ar-
istobulus* his son, & by *Fabius* his means, whom *Antigonus* had gained vnto himselfe for money, he
also got *Ptolemæus* to assest him in this expedition. Now *Ptolemæus* who was father in law to *Ant-
igonus*, furnished him with all necessaries: *Herod* likewise preparing himselfe against them, gaue
them battell in the entrance into Iudæa, and got the victory: & hauing put *Antigonus* to flight, he
returned into Ierusalem, where he was honored by all men for his desert in that victory, so that e-
uen they that before despised him, by reason of his affinity newly contracted with *Hircanus*, sought
his friendship & familiarity. This *Herod* long before this time had a wife which was a noble wo-
man of that country, named *Doris*, & had by her a son named *Antipater*: but he then married *Ma-
riamme*, *Alexanders* daughter, who was *Aristobulus* his son, & *Hircanus* his neece, by reason wher-
of he came to be familiar with the king. But when *Cassius* was slaine neer vnto Philippi, *Cæsar* de-
parted into Italy, & *Antonius* into Asia: at which time the chiefe of the Iewes came and accused *X
Phasaelus* and *Herod*, alledging that they by force got vnto themselues the rule & disposition of
the country, & left *Hircanus* only the bare name of a king. But *Herod* being then present, so wen
& wrought himselfe into *Antonius* fauor by a great sum of money, that hee permitted no chieftie
to speak one word more; who therupon returned home. Afterward a hundredth men of the
most honorable amongst the Iewes, repaid to Daphne neer Antiochia vnto *Antonius* (now do-
ting on the loue of *Cleopatra*) who being chosen first amongst the rest, because of their eloquence
& nobility of birth, propounded an accusation against the two brethren. *Messala* presented him-
selfe to return them an answer, being assisted by *Hircanus* by reason of the affinity that was between
him & *Herod*. *Antonius* hauing heard both parties, demanded of *Hircanus* whom hee thought to
be the fittest to gouern their common-wealth? who answered *Herod* & his brethren. Whereat *Ant-
onius* was exceeding glad (for he had bin their fathers guest, and was most courteously entertain-
ed by *Antipater*, when he came with *Gabinus* into Iudæa) and thereupon he made them both
Tetrarchs, leauing vnto them the rule of all Iudæa: which when the Iewes Embassadors mislik-
ed, he took 15 of them & put them in prison, where he almost killed them, & reiected & derided
the rest: wherupon there arose greater tumults amongst them in Ierusalem. At last the Iewes sent
another embassage of a thousand men vnto Tyre, where *Antonius* sojourned with an intent to
come to Ierusalem with violence. *Antonius* hearing their exclames, sent out the Magistrates of
Tyre against them, commanding them to kill all they could catch of the Iewes, charging them al-
so to confirme their authority, whom he himselfe had constituted Tetrarchs. But *Herod* & *Hircan-
us* went before them toward the sea shore, admonishing the earnestly to be contented, least they
by this their indiscreet proceedings should become not only the cause of their own deaths, but al-
so of war against their country: but for that they would not be reclaimed by these admonitions
Antonius sent out certaine armed men, who killed many of them, & wounded the rest. *Hircanus*
after this disaster both caused the dead to be buried, and the wounded to be cured: notwithstanding
all this, they that escaped would not containe themselues in peace, but they so troubled the
citie, that *Antonius* in his displeasure slue those that he had in hold.

Antigonus A-
ristobulus son
put to flight
by *Herod*.

Doris, *Herods*
first wife of
good birth, by
whom he had
Antipater.

The chieftie
Iewes repaid
to *Cæsar*, to
accuse *Phasaelus*
& *Herod*.
Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 21.

The Iewes
once more
comaine
against the
two brethren.
Antonius mak-
eth the two
brethren Tet-
rarchs.
Antonius com-
maundeth in
Tyre
Sedition in
Ierusalem a-
gainst the bre-
thren.
Antonius slue
the captiues.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

*Of the warre of the Parthians against the Iewes: of the flight of Herod and
his fortune.*



Wo yeeres after this, *Barzapharnes* gouernour of the Parthians, accompanied with
Pacorus the kings sonne, leized vpon Syria; & *Lyfianias* who succeeded his father *Pro-
lomaus*, son of *Minaus*, promising a thousand talents and five hundredth women; per-
swaded him to put *Antigonus* in possession of the kingdom of Iudæa, and depose *Hir-
canus*. *Pacorus* induced by these promises, went himselfe along the sea coast, giuing commaunde-
ment to *Barzapharnes* to passe through the midst of the country; but amongst the rest of the pla-
ces bordering on the sea, the Tyrians would not receiue *Pacorus* (notwithstanding that the ci-
tizens of *Prolemais* and *Sidon* had giuen him entertainment) wherfore he gaue part of his hor-
men vnto one who was the kings butler, called *Pacorus*, as himselfe was; commanding him to
passe into Iudæa, and learne what their enemies meant to do, & to help *Antigonus* where need re-
quired. Who as they wasted the country about Carmelus, many Iewes came of their owne ac-
cord and ioyned with *Antigonus*, shewing themselues very prompt to fight; for which cause he
sent them before to take a place called *Drymos*, where hauing fought with his enemies and put
them to flight, he pursued them with all speed as far as Ierusalem: & his number being augmen-
ted, he came vnto the kings house. But *Hircanus* and *Phasaelus* met them with a strong company,
and fought with them in the market-place: where the enemies were forced to flie, & part of them
were by *Herod* shut vp in the temple; and he appointed sixtie men to keep them, which he placed
in the houles next adioyning: but the people bearing a grudge to the two brethren, burnt them
with fire: wherat *Herod* being angry (for that his men were consumed with fire) sette vpon the
people, and killed a great many of them, and euery houre one laid wait for another; so that euery
day some was murdered. Now the feast of Pentecost drawing nigh, all places about the temple,
and all the whole citie was filled with people of the country, whereof the most part was armed, &
Phasaelus kept the walles, and *Herod* with a small company kept the kings palace, who assaulting
their enemies vpon a suddaine as they were in the suburbs, killed a great many of them, and put
all the rest to flight: part of them he couped vp in the citie, others he shut in the temple, & the rest
between the vttermost Rampire. Whereupon *Antigonus* requested that *Pacorus* might come &
conclude a peace betwixt them. *Phasaelus* moued by these his praies receiued the Parthian into
the citie, & entertained him into his house, accompanied with five hundredth horsemen, who came
vnder a pretence to make peace; but in effect he resorted thither to help *Antigonus*: he craftilie
conspiring against *Phasaelus*, perswaded him to repaire vnto *Barzapharnes* as an Embassador to
treat a peace; notwithstanding that *Herod* altogether dissuaded him, willing him to kill the
traitor, and not to trust his subtiltie: adding that the Parthians were naturally vnfaithfull.

Pacorus departing out of the citie, tooke *Hircanus* with him that he might be the lesse suspec-
ted, & leauing some horsemen with *Herod* named *Elutheri*, he followed *Phasaelus* with the rest.

When they came neer vnto Galilee, they found the inhabitants at variance and vp in armes, and
met with *Barzapharnes* (who craftily with pretence of courtelie and friendship hid his treache-
rie) who after hee had bestowed gifts vpon them, and that they were retired, laid an ambush for
them: wherof they had intelligence at such time as they came vnto a place of the sea coast named
Ecdippion. For in this place they understood of the thousand talents that were promised, & how
that *Antigonus* had giuen the Parthians more then five hundredth women of those that were a-
mongst them, and that oftentimes they had been laid wait for, and that they had bene lately ta-
ken, but that delay was made till such time as *Herod* was surprised in Ierusalem, for feare least
he hearing what was become of them, might provide for himselfe. Now they might perceiue that
these were not only words: for they might behold their keepers not far off, yet would not *Phasaelus*
for sake *Hircanus*, notwithstanding that *Offilius* often exhorted him to flie (vnto whom *Sara-
malla* the richest amongst the Syrians had declared all the platform of their treason:) but he chose
rather to go vnto *Barzapharnes*, & to vpbraide him to his face that hee had treacherously laid wait
for him: but especially for that in regard of money he had suffered himselfe to be corrupted, wher-
as he himselfe would haue giuen more for his life & liberty, then *Antigonus* had done for the king-
dom. At these words the Parthian with oaths & protestations craftily freed himselfe fro suspition,
& no sooner repaired he to *Pacorus* but presently the Parthians, who staid behind, & had charge
so to

Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 21.

Lyfianias per-
suadeth *Bar-
zapharnes* to
depose *Hir-
canus* and en-
state *Antigon*.

A sore fight in
the market
place, betwixt
Antigonus &
Hircanus.
Daily slaugh-
ters in Ieru-
salem.

Phasaelus en-
tertained the
Parthians, and
with him five
hundredth
horse.

Pacorus trea-
son and subtil-
tie.
The year of the
world, 3924, be-
fore Christs birth
42.
* Or free.

Herod in Ieru-
salem, and
Phasaelus in
the campe are
in danger of
their liues.

The yeare of the world, 3924. before Christs birth

40. Herod is laid to be betrayed.

Herod in the night time fled into Idumæa.

Herod more holily pursued by the Jewes then the Parthians. Herods victory. Herodium.

Massada.

Petra a citie of Arabia. The yeare of the world, 3925. before Christs birth 39.

Antigonus biteth off Hircanus eares.

Phasaelus words before he died. The Parthians establish Antigonus king.

to doe, laid hands on *Phasaelus* and *Hircanus*, who openly exclaimed against their falsehood and G perjurie.

In the meane time a butler was sent out for that purpose, who sought to surpris *Herod*, and by some stratageme to rouse him out of the Citie, who wrought by all the meanes hee could, according as he was instructed. But *Herod* who was alwaies wont to mistrust the perfidious practices of barbarous nations, being certaine that those letters which discovered the treasons, were fallen into the enemies hands, would not goe forth; though *Pacorus* pretended a iust cause, inciting him to ride out and meet them that brought the letters: wherein was contained neither the taking of *Phasaelus*, nor the treasons, but onely what *Phasaelus* had done. But long before this, *Herod* by others vnderstood, that his brother *Phasaelus* was taken, and *Mariamme* a very wife woman *Hircanus* daughter, with many intreaties perswaded *Herod* not to goe forth: but that hee should beware how he trusted himselfe to the mercy of that barbarous people, who did now as it were openly assault him. Whilst *Pacorus* was consulting with his accomplices how hee might priuile effect his treasons (seeing it was not possible openly to circumuent a man of so great wisdom) *Herod* in the night time whilst his enemies neither knew nor suspected his intent, took his neereft kinsfolke and fled into Idumæa: which beeing once known, the Parthians followed him. For which cause, he made his mother, his brethren, and the young maiden despoised, and her mother and youngest brother to keep on their iourney, and hee with his seruants warily assaulted the Parthians; and hauing in euery assault killed a great number of them, hee hasted towards the Castle of Massada, and in his retreat sustained more harme by the Jewes, then by the Parthians: who as they had been alwaies troublesome, so now some threescore furlongs from the towne, set vpon him; where *Herod* obtaining the victorie, killed a great many of them, and in remembrance of that valiant act, hee builded vpon that place a most rich palace for the king and erected there a most strong tower, which by his owne name he called Herodium. And when he fled many ioyned with him: but when hee came to Thersa, a towne of Idumæa, his brother *Ioseph* met him, and perswaded him to lessen the number of his followers: for Massada would not receiue such a multitude (for the number of the multitude was about nine thousand:) for which cause *Herod* according to his counsell dismissed those that were vnfit for his turne, and sent them into Idumæa, giuing them necessaries for their iourney. As for those that were chosen men and fit for his purpose, he retained them with him, and so was he receiued into the Castle: where leauing eight hundred souldiers to defend the women, and prouision sufficient for those that were within, he himselfe went vnto Petra, a citie of Arabia.

Now the Parthians at Ierusalem beganne to sack the houses of them that were fled, & the kings palace; they onely abstained from *Hircanus* mony, which did amount to more then three hundred talents: as for other mens goods, they found not so much as they expected; for *Herod* long before that time suspecting the infidelitie of the Parthians, had caried all his riches and iewels into Idumæa; & euery one of his followers did the like. When the Parthians had taken the spoile, they were so impious that they left no place of the whole countrey free frō their tyrannous war. They destroyed the citie of Masada also, and bound *Phasaelus* and *Hircanus*, and deliuered them to *Antigonus* to be scourged, who presently with his teeth bit off *Hircanus* eares, to the end that if by some alteration he chanced hereafter to get loose, he might be no more high priest: for none might offer sacrifice that wanted any member of his body. But *Phasaelus* his fortitude preuented the crueltie of *Antigonus*, who hauing neither weapon nor his handes at libertie, beat out his owne braines against a stone and died, demonstrating himselfe by that act, to be the true brother of *Herod*, and that *Hircanus* had degenerated: hee died manfully by a worthy death, and answerable to so famous a life. Yet some reported that hee recovered after that hurt, and that *Antigonus* sent a Chirurgion vnder pretence to cure the wound, who filled the same with venomous medicines, and so killed him. Well, be it as it was, it was in him a gallant resolution.

It is reported likewise, that vnderstanding before his death by the meanes of a certaine woman that *Herode* was escaped, he spake these words: Now I shall die with a courage, who leaue behind me one that will take vengeance of my enemies, and so he died. Although the Parthians had not yet receiued the women (which was the chiefest thing they looked for) yet leauing them, M they established *Antigonus* in Ierusalem, and led *Hircanus* prisoner into Parthia. But *Herod* with all speede hasted into Arabia, as if his brother had bene yet aliue, to the intent hee might borrow money of the king of Arabia, vvhewith onely hee hoped that the crueltie of those barbarous Parthians might be mitigated towards *Phasaelus*; for his opinion was that although the Arabians had now forgotten his fathers friendship and were hard harted, yet at least he would lend him

The yeare of the world, 3925. before Christs birth 39.

A him money seeing it was to redeeme his brother, whose sonne he meant to leaue in pawne for it. For *Herod* tooke with him a sonne of his brothers into Arabia that was seuen yeeres old, & purposed to haue giuen three hundred talents for his ransom, and had made the Tyrians intercessors for him to the Parthians: but fortune preuented his endeouours, so that his loue and care for his brother preuailed nothing. He found also that the Arabians had now cast away the league of amity: for *Salathus* their king sent to him as he was yet in the way, charging him with all speede to depart out of his dominions, framing an excuse that the Parthians had sent Embassadors vnto him, to request him to driue him out of his countrey; but indeed the cause was, that he would not repay that which *Antipater* had deserued, nor recompence his sonnes now comfortles, for those good turnes that he had receiued at their fathers hands: and those who counsellled him to this, were such as offered to forswear those summes, which *Antipater* had put the in trust with, who were the chiefest men about him. For which cause, *Herod* perceiving the Arabians to be his foes, for that which hee thought would haue procured him friendship, answered the messenger according as grieffe moued him, and tooke his iourney towards Egypt: and the first night hee lodged in a countrey temple; to the intent that those of his company that were behinde him might ouertake him. The next day comming to Rhinocolura, his brothers death was told him; where after he had there mourned his fill, he went forward.

Antipaters to impudence. Herode perceiue the Arabians to be his enemies.

Now the king of Arabia (though too late) repented himselfe of that which hee had done to *Herod*, and sent speedy messengers after him, to will him to returne, repenting himselfe that hee had so iniuriously entreated him. When *Herod* was come to Pelusium, the watchmen of the city would not permit him to passe: for which cause he himselfe in person went to the gouernors, who reuerencing the fame & dignity of the man, conducted him to Alexandria; whither he no sooner reioiced, but *Cleopatra* receiued him very honorably, intending to make him the generall of her army which she was preparing at that present. But he neither regarding the offers and request of the Queene, nor yet discouraged by the hard winter season, nor the dangers of the seas, tooke his iourney towards Rome; and being in great danger of shipwracke neere vnto Pamphilia, both he & the rest of the passengers were enforced to cast away the most part of their loading: with much adoe he arriued safe at Rhodes, which had been fore molested by *Cassius* warres; there was he entertained by certaine of his friends, *Protolaus* and *Saphinius*: & although his money grew scant, yet there he builded a great galley with three rankes of oares, and in it (being accompanied with

Herod in great dangers repaireth to Rome.

D his friends) he sailed to Brundisium, and from thence went presently to Rome. Where first of all (in regard of familiaritie betweene his father and him) hee went to *Antonius*, declaring vnto him both his own calamity, and the miserable desolation of the whole countrey; and how leauing his dearest friends besieged a Castle, himselfe in humble manner through the stormie winter seas was come vnto him, humbly crauing succour at his hands. Whereupon *Antonius* compassionating his calamitie and remembering his familiaritie with *Antipater*, and contemplating the vertue of *Herod* who stood before him, determined vpon the present to make him king of the Iews; whom hefore he himselfe had made Tetrarch: for he loued not *Herod* so well, but he hated *Antigonus* as much: for he held him both for a seditious person, and for an enemy to the Romans. Now to the accomplishing of this, he found *Cesar* farre more ready then himselfe, who called to minde the seruice that *Antipater* did in Egypt vnder his father, and his entertainment and friendship in all things: and beside all these, he was wrought and wooen by *Herods* courage and valour. For which cause, hee procured the Senate to be assembled; at which time *Messala* and after him *Aratinus* in the presence of *Herod* recounted his fathers deserts & fidelitie towards the Romans, declaring *Antigonus* to be an enemy, not only because that not long before he had revolted, but for that now lastly in despite of the Romans he had by the assistance of the Parthians vsurped the kingdome. Vpon which considerations the Senate being moued, and *Antonius* affirming it to be expedient for the Roman warres, that *Herod* should be created king, the whole Senat concended: and after the Senate was dismissed, *Antonius* and *Cesar* went forth with *Herod* between them, and the Consuls went before accompanied with other Magistrates to offer sacrifice, and

Herod repairing to Rome, hath conference with Antonius.

Ant. lib. 14. cap. 17. Herod findeth both Cesar and Antonius fauourable vnto him.

Herode praised before the Senate. Herode made king by the Romans Senate.

F to register the decree of the Senate in the Capitoll. And *Antonius* feasted *Herod* the first day of his raigne.

Of Herods warre after he returned from Rome to recover Ierusalem; and against the Iewes.

Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 23.
Antigonus
getteth Mas-
fada.



The wars be-
tween Antigo-
nus soldiers &
Ioseph Herods
brother.

Ventidius the
Roman gener-
all taketh
money from
Antigonus.

Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 24.
Herod against
Antigonus.

Herode inten-
deth that after
he hath taken
Masfada and
Ioppe to be-
siege Ierusalem.

Herod begin-
neth Ierusalem
with a siege, &
proclaimeth
the cause of
his comming.

Siloes subtilty
being cor-
rupted by the
Iewes.

Herode gathe-
rith great
force of pro-
uision.

T this time *Antigonus* besieged those that were left in the Castle of *Masfada*, who had great store of victuals and wanted nothing but water. For which cause *Iosephus* Herods brother purposed to flie vnto the Arabians with two hundred of his dearest friends, for that he had intelligence that *Malchus* repented him that he had given *Herod* no better entertainment. Yea he had forsaken the Castle, had not great store of raine fallen that very night, wherein he intended to fly for the wells and cisternes being now filled with water, there was no cause to fly: so that voluntarily issuing out of the Castle, he assaulted *Antigonus* souldiers, and killed very many of them; sometime in open war, and sometime by policy: yet fought they not alwaies with fortunate success; but returned sometimes with losse. In the meane time *Ventidius* (who was General of that Roman army which was sent to expulse the Parthians out of Syria) after hee had repulsed them reformed into Iudæa, vnder pretence to succour *Ioseph* and the rest that were besieged, but in effect to get *Antigonus* money. When as therefore he drew neere vnto Ierusalem and had receiued the money he looked for, he departed with the greatest part of his army, leaving *Silo* behind him with a few to colour his pretence: and *Antigonus* hoping for a second supply from the Parthians, feed *Silo* nor to molest him for the present, seeing hee was in great possibilitie. By this time *Herod* hauing failed from Italy to Ptolemais, and gathered a great army of strangers & his owne countermen together, came into Galilee against *Antigonus*, being assisted with the forces of *Ventidius* & *Silo*, whom *Delius* who was sent from *Antonius*, perswaded to establish *Herod* in his kingdome. But *Ventidius* was busie in appeasing the broiles that the Parthians had made in the cities; & *Silo* was corrupted by *Antigonus*: yet did not *Herod* want aide, for euery day the further he marched into the country, the more his army encreased, for al Galilee (a very few excepted) yielded vnto him. Whereupon he purposed first of all to goe to *Masfada*, to deliuer his friends that were there besieged, but *Ioppe* hindred his purpose; which for that it was an enemy towne, he thought it best to take it before he went further, least that whilest he was going to Ierusalem, his enemies should haue a place behinde him to fly vnto. Now *Silo* ioined armies with *Herod*, reioicing that he had found occasion to resist, because he was persecuted by the Iewes; whom *Herod* with a loose wing of his army and a small company of men, terrified, and presently put to flight, and saved *Silo* also who had much adoe to make resistance against them. This done and *Ioppe* taken, hee halted to *Masfada*, and the people of the country (some of them for his fathers sake, other some for his owne, and many for both) ioyned themselves vnto him: many also came vnto him for hope, because he was now king, so that now he had a very puissant army: but *Antigonus* hindred his iourney, by planting certaine ambushes in places conuenient where *Herod* was to passe, and yet for al this he little harmed him.

Herod hauing easily taken *Masfada*, and rescued his friends from thence, hee went to Ierusalem; where both *Siloes* souldiers, and many of the Citie came and followed him, being now terrified with the greatnes of his forces: there pitching their tents at the west side of the towne, they that guarded that part assaulted them with darts and arrowes; and others issuing by troupes forth of the Citie, assaulted the forefront of the army. Whereupon *Herod* caused one to goe about the wals of the Citie, and to proclaime how that he was come for the good of the whole Citie, and that he would not take reuenge of any, though hee were his open enemy; and that he would pardon euery man that had been most seditious. But whē *Antigonus* his followers with lowd exclamations hindred the criers voices from being heard, least any man should alter his minde: *Herod* presently commanded his men to beat the enemies off of the wall, who with their arrowes speedily forced all that were in the towers to fly. At this time *Silo* was detected to haue been hired with money: for he solicited many souldiers to crie out, that they wanted all things; and to aske money and victuals, and to craue to be dismissed and sent into some place of opportunity, there to abide during the winter, nay hee himselfe sought to be gone. But *Herode* went vnto the captaines that serued vnder *Silo*, and called many of the souldiers together, requeesting them not to forsake him at that exigent, whom *Cesar*, *Antonius*, and the whole Senate as they knew had sent thither, promising them that within one day he would relieue all their necessities. When he had thus entreated them, himselfe went about the fields, and brought them

to

A so much prouision that he cut off all *Siloes* excuses: and forecasting least hereafter there should be any want, hee sent letters to Samaria (for that citie about this time had rendered it selfe vnto him) willing them to bring victuals, and wine and oyle, and cattell vnto Iericho. *Antigonus* hearing this, presently sent certaine of his men to lie in ambush in the fields, & sodainly to let vpon those that came for prouision, and kil them, & so hinder them from carrying any victuals to the campe: who obeying his commandement, went with a great number of souldiers to Iericho, and placed themselves vpon the mountaines, with an intent to espy if any body carried prouision to the armie. In the meane time *Herod* rested not; for taking with him ten companies (five of the Romans, and five of the Iewes, amongst whom were mixed three hundred that were hired, and besides them a few horsemen) he came to Iericho, where he found the citie without inhabitants, & five hundred with their wives and families had placed themselves vpon the tops of the mountaines; whom when he had surprized, he permitted them to depart. But the Romans brake into the citie, and sacked it, where they found the houses stored with all manner of riches: and the King leaving a garrison at Iericho, returned. He sent likewise the Roman souldiours to the cities which were on his side, to wit, Idumæa, Galilee, and Samaria, that they might abide there till winter was past. *Antigonus* also through *Silo* his meanes (whom he by money had made his friend) obtained that a part of his army might (during the winter time) abide at Lydda, for *Antonius* sake: and the Romans being now discharged from the warres, abounded in all things.

All this time *Herod* was not idle, for accompanied with two thousand foemen and five hundred horse, he went about Idumæa, & sent also his brother *Ioseph*, least by *Antigonus* his meanes the people should rebell. And he himselfe hauing carried his mother and the rest of his kindred, whom hee tooke from *Masfada*, into Samaria; and hauing placed them where no danger might betide them; himselfe went into Galilee, to subdue that part of the country, which as yet was not in his hands, and to expell from thence the garrisons left by *Antigonus*. And when hee was come to Sephoris, notwithstanding it shew mightily, he easily took it; for the garrison before he assaulted it fled; and finding there great store of prouision, he refreshed his souldiers, which now with winter weather were fore tired, and then sent them against the thecues, that lay lurking in denes and caues; who making often incursions vpon the countrey, molested the inhabitants no lesse then if they had beene an armie of enemies. And sending before three companies of footmen, and one troope of horsemen, into a village called Arbela, himselfe forth daies after came thither with the whole armie. For all this the thecues feared him not, but arming themselves, came to meete him, trusting to their experience in warlike affaires, and their owne desperate courage: and ioining battell, the right wing of their battell put the left wing of *Herods* to flight: but hee with his right wing presently succoured them, and recalled his men that fled; & rushing violently vpon his enemies, hee a little asswaged the forces of the enemy, till at last the forefront of their battell, not able to stand any longer, fled. *Herod* pursued them euen vnto Iordan, and killed many of them; those that escaped fled ouer the riuer; and thus hee freed Galilee from that feare, saue that yet he had left some lurking in the caues, and therefore hee was constrained there to make a longer abode. Wherefore first of all he gaue the souldiers the fruit of their labours, and distributed to euery one of them an hundred and fiftie drachmes of silver, and vnto the captaines more, and so sent them where they should passe the winter. Also hee writ vnto his youngest brother *Pheroras* to provide necessaries for them in the market; and to build a wall about the castle of Alexandria: which he performed.

In the meane while *Antonius* passed the time about Athens, and *Ventidius* sent for *Silo* and *Herod* to asist him in the warre against the Parthians, charging them, that before their comming they should settle the estate of the Iews. Now *Herod* gladly & willingly sent *Silo* vnto *Ventidius*: and in the meane time hee with his army went against the thecues in the caues. These caues were in verie steepe mountaines, so that there was no way to come vnto them, save onely by crooked and very narrow passages; and these mountaines were all rocks of stone cleine throughout, hanging ouer the valleyes; so that the king a great while was doubtfull what to doe, seeing the place was so difficult to come to. At last, *Herod* deuised a way scarcely heard of before; for he put the valiantest of all his men into coffers, and so let them downe into the edge of the caues, & they killed the thecues and their families, and cast fire at them that resisted. And *Herod* seeking to saue some of them, caused a crier to bid them come vnto him: but there was not one that willingly came vnto him, and those that were forced chose rather to die, then to be his captiues. So that an old man hauing seuen sonnes and a wife, who all requested that they might go forth to the king, and saue their liues, killed them all after this manner: Himselfe stood before the doore of the caue,

III 2

and

and bade them come forth one by one, & alwaies as one of them came forth he killed him. And *Herod* being in a place where he might behold this spectacle, being moued with compassion stretched forth his hand & requested him to spare his children: but he being nothing moued to compassion by *Herods* words, vpbraided *Herods* base mind: and hauing butchered his sonnes, he also killed his wife, and casting the dead bodies downe into the vallies, finally he cast himselfe likewise downe headlong.

Ptolomey cap-
taine of He-
rods souldiers
slaine.Macharas
iniquitie.The yeare of the
world, 3927.
before Christs
Natiuitie, 37.Antonius
admireth
Herods valor.

Herod hauing thus taken the caues, and slaine those that were in them, leauing a part of his army, so much as he thought might suffice to repress any that should attempt any rebellion, and making *Ptolomeus* chiefe ouer that part; returned into Samaria, carying with him three thousand footmen, and six hundred horsemen against *Antigonus*. After whose departure those that were accustomed to trouble Galilee, and molest it, hauing now (as they thought) opportunity, assailed *Ptolomeus* at vnwares and killed him: and wasted the country, retiring themselves into marshy grounds & secret places. Which when *Herod* vnderstood, he presently came to succour the country, and killed the most part of the enemies; and hauing taken all the castles by force, he exacted a hundred talents for recompence of that reuolt to bee paid by the cities. Now the Parthians being put to flight, and *Pacorus* slaine, *Ventidius* being willed thereto by letters from *Antonius*, sent vnto *Herod* a thousand horsemen, & two legions of footmen to assist him against *Antigonus*. Now *Antigonus* writ letters to the generall of the foresaid company named *Machara*, desiring him to helpe him; and complaining that *Herod* iniured him, promised him a summe of money. but he thinking it not best to forsake him that he was sent to succour, especially seeing that *Herod* would giue more, would not be suborned by him: yet counterfeiting himselfe to be *Antigonus* his friend, meaning vnder that pretence to creepe into the knowledge of his secrets, which not regarding *Herods* counsel, he went to discouer, notwithstanding that *Herod* dissuaded him from it: But *Antigonus* perceiuing his intent, shut him out of the city, & like an enemy draue him away from the walles, till such time as *Machara* was ashamed of that he had done; and so returned to Amathunt vnto *Herode*. And being in a rage that things fell out against his expectation, he killed all the Iewes he found, not respecting whether they fauoured *Herod* or *Antigonus*. *Herod* hereat was moued, and thought to be reuenged vpon *Machara* as vpon an enemy; yet he bridled himselfe and hastened to *Antonius* to let him vnderstand *Macharas* cruelty. *Machara* remembering how hee had offended; followed the king, and with many entreaties besought him to be friends, and obtained it. Yet *Herod* kept on his journey to *Antonius*, and hearing that hee was now with a great army besieging Samosata (which was a very strong citie neere vnto Euphrates) hee made the more haste; thinking it now a fit time to shew his vertue, and that hereby he might win *Antonius* fauour the more. So soon as he came to *Antonius* he ended the siege, killing a great number of enemies, and had for his labour a great part of the spoile: and *Antonius* though before that hee admired his vertue; yet then was his opinion increased, so that he had a greater hope of his honour and attaining to the kingdome. So *Antiochus* was constrained to render the Citie.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the death of Ioseph: how Herode besieged Ierusalem; and how Antigonus was slaine.

Ant. lib. 14.
cap. 25.

IN the meane season *Herods* affaires in Iudæa went backward: for he left his brother *Ioseph* gouernour of all, commanding him to doe nothing against *Antigonus* till his returne. For he little trusted to *Macharas* helpe, because of the parts hee had plaied before. But *Ioseph* vnderstanding his brother to bee farre off, not regarding what charge was left him, went to Iericho accompanied with five companies which *Machara* sent with him, thinking now in harvest time to haue taken away their corne: but being assaulted by the enemy vpon the mountaines and in difficult places, himselfe was there slaine, shewing himselfe in that fight a worthy and valiant man: and there was not one left alieue of all the Roman souldiers; for they were all newly gathered out of Syria, and they had no olde souldiers amongst them to assist them who were ignorant in warfare. *Antigonus* not contented with the victorie became such a tyrant, that hee caused the dead corps of *Ioseph* to bee scourged: and hauing the dead bodies in his power, hee cut off *Iosephs* head, although *Pheroras* his brother offered fiftie talents to redeme the same.

After *Antigonus* had obtained this victorie, there was such a change in Galilee, that those who

A who fauoured him, tooke the chiefeest of *Herods* fauourites, and drowned them in a ponde. Also there arose a great change in Iudæa; where *Machara* repaired the wails of a certaine Castle called Githa. All this while *Herode* heard nothing of the newes; for after *Samosata* was taken, *Antonius* made *Sesius* gouernour of Syria, leauing order with him, that hee should helpe *Herode* against *Antigonus*, and so hee departed into Egypt. *Sesius* sent two companies of souldiers with *Herod* into Iudæa to helpe him, and he himselfe with the rest of the army followed. When *Herod* was at Antiochia neere Daphne, his brothers death was manifested vnto him in a dreame: And whilst hee was troubled thus, so that hee leapt out of his bed, even at the same instant the messengers who brought tidings of his death, entred into the house: and weeping a little for griefe, as it were deferring his sorrow till another time, he went towards his enemies; so that hee hastened about his strength. When he came vnto Libanus, hee tooke eight hundred inhabitants of that mountaine to helpe him, and ioyned vnto them one of the Romane legions; and not expecting the day time, with them he entred into Galilee, and meeting with his enemies, he forced them to fly vnto the place from whence they came; and every day he assaulted their Castle: But before he could take it, being wearied with cruell winter, hee was constrained to leade his armie into the next village. Within a few daies his number being increased by one other legion which *Antonius* sent, he put his enemies in such a feare, that they in the night time fled and forsooke the Castle. And now hee hastened to Iericho to be reuenged vpon those that killed his brother: where there befell him a most strange accident, from the which being against all hope deliuered he perswaded himselfe that God bare a speciall loue vnto him. For when many nobles that night had supped with him, supper being ended, and euerie one being gone forth, incontinently the house wherein he slept fell downe: *Herod* tooke this as a Prælagium both of the dangers & prosperous successe he was to haue in his warres. And the next morning early he remoued from thence, and about sixe thousand of the enemies descending from the mountaines assaulted the vauntguard, but they durst not ioine battell with the Romanes, but molested them standing as farre off with stones and darts, and they wounded many: so that also *Herod* himselfe passing along, was wounded in the side with a dart. *Antigonus* desirous to shew himselfe most potent, as well in multitude of men, as also in courage, sent *Pappus* a friend of his with an army into Samaria, who there got the victorie of *Machara*. *Herod* went about the enemies country & tooke there five townes, and destroyed two thousand of the inhabitants, and firing the houses, hee returned to his armie neere vnto a village called Cana.

Every day there came flocking vnto him a very great number of Iewes, both from Iericho and from other parts of the country, some of them hating *Antigonus*, other some louing *Herod* for his valiant deeds: for many without any reason desired an alteration. Whilst thus hee hastened to fight, *Pappus* with his men neither fearing the multitude nor strength of their enemies, came fiercely vpon them, and offered battell. The battell beeing begun, the others a while abstained, only *Herod* remembering his brothers death ventured more then the rest to the end to be reuenged vpon them that were the authors thereof: and so he easily ouercame the enemies army; and still assaulting the fresh men, hee put them all to flight. There was a mighty slaughter: for many being forced to flie into the village from whence they came, he pursued them and slew an infinite number. Lastly, rushing amongst the enemies that fled, he brake into the village, where all the houses were full of armed men, and euerie house toppe full of men to defend it; and because he easily ouercame those that were abroad, hee ouerthrew the houses, and so forced them that were within to come forth. Others hee killed in companies with the ruines of the houses wherein they were; and if any one chanced to escape, the souldiers without that were ready armed, with swords killed them: so that there were such heaps of dead bodies, that they who had the victorie could not passe thorow the streets for them. The enemies were so discouraged with this ouerthrow, that the whole multitude of them (seeing those that were slaine in the village) fled away: and *Herod* by the benefit of his good fortune had euen then come to Ierusalem, had not winter stormes hindered him, which was the onely cause that hee at that time got not a full conquest; and that *Antigonus* was not utterly ouerthrowne, who thorow feare and desperation was purposed to leaue the Citie. But *Herod* towards night hauing giuen his friends leaue to depart to rest their weary bodies, being himselfe heated with his armour, after the manner of souldiers went to wash himselfe, accompanied onely with one Page. And before hee came to the bathe, one of his enemies met him hauing a sword drawne in his hand; and then another; and afterwards a third; and after them more: and these escaped out of the bathe, and came to the bath to hide themselves; and seeing the king there, they were sore affraid, and sought to hide themselves,

The year of the world, 3928, before Christs birth 36.
Herode beheaded Pappus Antigonus captain.

Antilib. 14. cap. 12.
Ierusalem besieged.

The year of the world, 3929, before Christs Nativitie, 35.

The Iewes valiantly defend themselves.

Herods soldiers after five moneths siege enter the city. Slaughter in Ierusalem.

Sofius taketh Antigonus.

and so passed by him being astonished and amazed, although the King at that time was naked G and weaponless: & in so much as none were present there to surprisethem, they escaped; and Herode was very well contented that hee had no harme by them. The next day after, he beheaded Pappus who was the Generall of *Antigonus* his army, and sent his head to his brother *Pharoras*, who was ruler of his army, in reuenge of his brother that was slaine: for *Pappus* was he that slew *Ioseph*.

The winter beeing past, hee with his army came to Ierusalem, and besieged it, pitching his tents before the temple, where it was easiest to take the Citie, and where before time *Pompey* had entred it (which was about the third yeere after *Herod* was made king in Rome.) Now when hee had quartered his army as he thought best for his purpose, and cut off the suburbs, he caused three rampiers to be raised, & towers to be builded vpon them: & leauing there his trusty friends H that would not slacke their businesse, hee went into Samaria to visit his betrothed which was the daughter of *Alexander*, who was sonne to *Aristobulus*, who (as wee before made mention) was despoised vnto him: and he wedded her euen in the time of the siege, as who should say, now he contemned his enemies: after his marriage rites were performed, he returned to Ierusalem with a farre greater army: *Sofius* also seconded him with a great army of footmen & horsemen, whom he sent before him through the midst of the countrey; and he himselfe came after by Phoenicia. Now when all his whole army was assembled together, to the number of about some 11. legions of footmen, and six thousand horsemen, beside the Syrians that came to helpe him, which were no small number, he laid his assault and batterie to the northermost wall, and the rather because he thought himselfe warranted by the decree of the Senate, whereby he was declared to be king. I

Sofius also was warranted by *Antonies* letters, whereby he commanded him to help *Herod* with all the armie that was vnder his government. Meane while those Iewes that were within the citie were diuerfly troubled: for a multitude of the weaker sort, gathering themselves together about the Temple, grew to this resolution; that whosoever should fortune to die in this attempt should bee most happy and beloued of God. But those who were hardiest amongst them, ioyning themselves together, robbed and tooke away from the rest what they could, but in especial they tooke victuals from that part that was next the citie: so that they neither left meat for horses nor men, and the valiantest of them all being set to defend the wals against those that besieged them, hindred the aduersarie from erecting their rampiers; so that they still found some new deuice to hinder the force of their engines; neither did they any waies preuaile so much as by their mines which they made. As for the theeues, the king sought to repress their incursions by placing an ambush of men to intercept them; by which meanes hee relieued the want and scarcitie of victuals, by fetching prouision from places farre distant: But notwithstanding they in their fight failed in no sort to expresse their incredible valour; yet did that militarie experience which the Romans had, ouer-master them by ods. Naithelasse, notwithstanding the imminent danger wherein they were plunged, they fought with them in open field: but where it chanced that the Romans by digging two seuerall mines, brake all at once into the midst of them; yet suddenly repaired they the breach that was made in the wall, and fortified the other part thereof. In a word, they neither spared hands, nor engines, but were all of them determined to fight it out euen vnto the last cast: & although they were besieged with so huge an army, yet they defended the town L from them five moneths, till such time as certaine of *Herodes* chosen men valiantly scaling and clearing the wals, brake into the Citie, and after them *Sofius* his Centurions. Those places that neere adioyned the temple were the first of all that they intercepted; and the whole armie entering the citie, it was lamentable to see how in euery corner the people were massacred: for the Romans being displeased that the siege continued so long time, became more cruell, and *Herods* army endeouored to let no one of the aduersie part escape. By which meanes many were slaine, both in the narrowest places of the streets, as also in their owne houses: yea euen then also when they fled into the temple, without respect of age or womanhood. For although the king intreated the souldiers to spare the people: yet for all that, they neuer restrained their cruell hands, but like madmen they raged against all; men, women, and children. At that time also *Antigonus* neither respecting his former condition, nor his present estate, came and prostrated himself at *Sofius* M his feet, beseeching him to be mercifull vnto him; but *Sofius* nothing compassionating his calamitie, cruellly derided him, and called him *Antigona*: yet did he not permit him to depart free as a woman, but put him in prison.

Now when *Herod* had conquered his enemies, hee endeouored to the vttermost to appease the furie of the souldiers; for all the whole multitude were desirous to see the temple, and the holy

A holy vessels therein: but he resisted them, appealing some by threatnings, reclaiming others by force, and the rest by intreaties, supposing that it had been better for himselfe to haue bene conquered, then by obtaining the victorie, to minister a meanes whereby those things should be dis- covered which were not lawfull to be reuealed. Hee therefore presently repressed the souldiers from sacking the citie, inueying much against *Sofius*, and obiecing against him, that the Romans would desolate the citie both of men and money, and leaue him king of a place without subiects: adding further, that he esteemed not the Empire of the whole world to be a recompence for such a massacre of his Citizens. Hereunto *Sofius* replied, that in equitie the souldiers were to haue the sacking of the towne, in recompence of that labour they had spent in the siege. But *Herode* gaue him this answere, that he had rather recompence euery man out of his own treasure; and by this B meanes hee redeemed as it were the reliques of his desolate countrey: and in the end performed that which he had promised. For he bountifullly rewarded euery souldier and captain, according to his merit, and gaue *Sofius* a kingly reward: so that no man went away without money. This done, *Sofius* dedicated a golden crowne vnto God, and so departed, leading *Antigonus* captiue with him, to the intent to present him vnto *Antonius*. This man desirous to continue his life, and entertaining himselfe with this cold hope euen vntill the last, receiued in the end that reward which his faint hart desired, and was beheaded.

Herode beeing now king, made a distinction between the Citizens; and those who had fauoured him, hee vsed very honourably, and put those to death, who had followed *Antigonus*: and when money failed, hee distributed all his kingly ornaments, and sent them to *Antonius* and his C company. Yet did not he quite redeeme himselfe from all annoiances: for *Antonius* being now captiue through *Cleopatra* her loue, in all things yeelded vnto her desire: and *Cleopatra* hauing raged so against her owne kindred, that shee had not left one of them alieue, now turned her furie vpon strangers; and accusing the nobilitie of Syria vnto *Antonius*, shee perswaded him to put them to death, that shee might thereby the easier obtaine their possessions. Afterward, her courteous mind sought to effect the like against the Arabians, and the Iewes also: in so much that shee secretly went about to cause the kings of those places, *Malichus* and *Herod* to be put to death. *Antonius* made a shew as though he would haue granted her request; yet he thought it great impie- tie to kill good men and so great kings: yet notwithstanding, hee no more accounted them his friends, but tooke a great quantitie of ground from the limits of both their countries, & a vine- D yard in Iericho, where Balme grew, and gaue her all the Cities on this side the riuer Eleutherus (Tyre and Sidon onely excepted.) Now when she had obtained the dominion of these Cities, she followed *Antonius* vnto Euphrates, who set forward to make war against the Parthians, & afterward by Apamia and Damascus shee came into Iudæa: where *Herod* hauing something pacified her angry mind with great gifts) obtained to pay her yearly two hundred talents for that part of his countrey, which *Antonius* had giuen her; and seeking by all meanes possible to get himselfe an interest in her fauour, he conducted her vnto Pelusium: and not long after, *Antonius* returned out of Parthia, and brought *Artabazes* the sonne of *Tigranes* captiue, & gaue him vnto *Cleopatra*: for all the money and riches which he had got, and the captiues likewise, were bestowed on her.

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CHAP. XIII.

Of the treacherous practice of *Cleopatra* against *Herod*: of *Herods* warre against the Arabians, and of a very great earthquake.

A Bout such time as the Asiaticum warre was on foote, *Herod* prepared himselfe to attend *Antonius*; for that for the time present all troubles were pacified in Iudæa: and hee had already gotten the castle of Hircanion, which *Antigonus* sister had in her possession. But *Cleopatra* craftily preuented him in this his iourney; so that he could not goe with *Antonius*: for she desiring the ruines of both the kings (as was before mentioned) perswaded *Antonius* that hee should cause *Herod* to make war against the Arabians: whom if he ouercame, then shee should be Queen of Arabia; & if so be he himselfe were ouercom, then shee should be queen of Iudæa: intending hereby that one of these potentates should ruinate the other. But this practice of hers was greatly to *Herods* gaine: For first of all making head against those of Syria that were his enemies, with all the power of horsemen he could make; which was very many, and meeting them at Diofolis he ouercame them, although they valiantly resisted: who hauing the ouerthrow, stirred

The year of the world, 3929, before Christs Nativitie, 35.

Herod liberally bestowed money vpon the souldiers. *Antigonus* beheaded. Antilib. 14. cap. 12.

*Cleopatra*s cruelty against her kindred.

*Cleopatra*s couetousnes.

The year of the world, 3934, before Christs birth 30.
Ant. lib. 15.
cap. 5.

*Cleopatra*s subtil treason against *Herod*.

The yeare of the world, 3934. before Christs birth 30. Ant. lib. 15. cap. 6.

The Arabians defeat Herods armie. The Arabian warre between Antonius and Augustus.

Another calamitie of Herods.

Herods oration to his diminished souldiers.

Fear giueth confidence.

red vp a mightie armie of the Arabians to helpe them, so that an infinite company was gathered together about Coelosyria, expecting the Iewes nere vnto a citie called Canatha. Where king *Herod* meeting them, purposed not to fight vnadvisedly, but to compasse his owne armie round about with a wall: but his armie remembering their former victorie, would not be counselled, but violently assaulted the Arabians, and at the first onely put them to flight. *Herod* pursuing his enemy was greatly endangered by the treason of the inhabitants of Canatha (who were sette on by *Athenio*, that was one of *Cleopatras* captaines, who had alwaies borne him ill wyl) for the Arabians encouraged by their help, returned againe to battell; and they two ioyned their forces together, & set vpon *Herod* in stonie and difficult places, and put his armie to flight, and killed many of them: & those that escaped fled vnto a little village hard-by, called *Ormiza*; where the Arabians compassing the about, took both the men & their tents with all their furniture. Not long after this overthrow of *Herods* souldiers, he came & brought help, but too late, & to little purpose: but the cause hereof was, for that the captaines of his armie would not obey his commaundement: for if they had been obedient, *Athenio* had not had opportunitie to worke him thar iniurie; yet was he reuenged vpon the Arabians, and daily made incursions vpon their borders, & ceased not to invade and spoile them, vntill by many, hee had cried quittance with them for their one victorie.

While thus hee pursued his enemies, a great calamitie befell him in the seauenth yeere of his raigne, and in the midt of the Aetian warre: for about the beginning of the spring time, there chanced a great earthquake, which slew an infinite multitude of beasts, and thirtie thousand people: yet the army had no harme, for it lay in an open place. With the report hereof the Arabians were highly encouraged (for such as report an euill occurrent, doe alwaies redouble the miserie thereof in relating it) for which cause, the Arabians making account that all Iudaea was overthrowne, and that there was no man left alieue to resist them, entred into Iudaea, assuring themselves to conquer the country: and before their coming, they slew the Embassadors of the Iewes that were sent vnto them. *Herod* perceiuing his countymen terrified by the suddaine approach of their enemies, and not onely broken, but wearied with the greatnes & continuance of their calamities, rowled vp their drouping spirits that were tired with suspight, & encouraged them after this manner. I see no reason of your present feare, neither doe I admire, that you were terrified with the punishment of Gods indignation: but it is a cowardly mind to bee daunted by the comming of your enemies, who are but men, and whose violence, if your selues please, yee may repress. For mine owne part, I am so farre from being discouraged by the approach of my enemies, that I rather thinke that God hath of his prouidence sent this earthquake as a bait to allure and incite the Arabians to invade vs, to the end that through our meanes hee may punish them: for the cause that moueth them to assault vs, is not the trust they repose in their owne valour and great armie, but it is our misery that inuiceth them. Yet who knoweth not that the hope is frustrated, that is founded not vpon a mans priuate vertue, but vpon another mans misfortune? There is nothing assured in humane affaires, in respect either of prosperous successe, or aduerse fortune, which a man may perceiue to alter vpon all occurrents: as wee our selues may witnes by our owne experience. For in the first conflict you ouercame; in the second ye were ouercome; & now the third time (for ought I can coniecture) they thinking themselves sure of the victorie, shall by vs be ouercome: for they who misdoubt nothing, are rash in their proceedings, whereas they that are fearefull and timorous, prouidently seeke to prevent their dangers: so that I am encouraged to hope for victorie euen by your feare.

For when as you were too confident, and against my will and direction rushed in vpon your enemies, *Athenio* found opportunitie to hurt vs: but now sith I perceiue in your minds a certain remission, and a forecast, it is an euident token vnto mee of assured victory. It behooueth you therefore not onely before the conflict to continue your accustomed minds, but also in the conflict, to shew that yee are men, armed both with harts and hardines; to the end that our impious enemies may well see, that neither anie humane calamitie, nor diuine punishment can daunt the courage of the Iewes, whilst the breath is in their bodies: and that neuer a one of you all will suffer the Arabians to domineere ouer your goods and possessions, whom many times you haue almost made your slaues. Be not therefore terrified with this motion of a bodie that hath no soule: neither yet perswade your selues, that the earthquake portendeth anie massacre; for euen the elements themselves by their owne nature are subiect to such defects, and portend no other mishappe, but that which they bring with them. Perhaps the plague and famine, and earthquake haue some tokens demonstrating them before they come: but when they are once come, they signifie nothing else, but at last end, and cease of themselves. But say wee should be

The yeere of the world, 3934. before Christs birth 30.

Herods peroration.

Herod sacrificeth to God before the battell. Herod assaileth the enemies.

The Arabians thorow extreame thirst are enforced to yeld to the Iewes.

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 7.

Herods oration to Augustus Caesar.

Herod freebeth freely before Caesar.

A be ouercome, can warre enforce more harme against vs, then the earthquake hath done? Truly it is an euident token of our enemies ruine, and that by their owne cause, who most cruelly contrary to the law of all nations, butchered our Embassadors, offering to God such sacrifice for the good successe of their warres. They cannot hide themselves from the sight of God, and from his mighty power, but presently they shall see punishment for their offence, if filled with the courageous spirit of our nation, we be stirred vp to reuenge that impious violating the law of all nations, and so euery one march on to fight, not for his wife and children, or countrey; but to reuenge the murder of our Embassadors: who will lead our armie, and know better then we that are alieue to direct the same. For mine owne part (if you will be ruled by me) I will be the first that will lead you, and will hazard my selfe for you: for you know full well, that if your valour be not eclipsed by some headlong rashnes, there is nothing that may make head against you.

After he had by these or such like perswasions sounded his souldiers, and found them in some sort encouraged thereby, he offered sacrifice to God. And presently after with all his army he passed ouer Iordan: and pitching his tents at Philadelphia, not far from his enemy, he made a shew to assault a Castle that was between them and him, and so skirmished with them as farre off, desirous to draw them to the battell: for the enemies had sent to intercept the castle, but *Herods* forces gaue them the repulse, and in despite of them kept the hill. Thus euery day made hee an offer to fight, brauing the Arabians: & seeing that they would not come to the shock (for they were in a great feare, and *Athenio* their generall for very feare was ready to giue vp the ghost) hee assaulted them in their trenches, and cast downe their rampier, so as they were constrained to come forth to battell, without any order; and their horsemen and footmen were confusedly mixt together. And although the Iewes in number were inferior vnto them, yet they were inferior vnto the Iewes in courage; yet they became now more hardie, because they despaired of the victorie: and so long as they stood to it, they had no great losse: but when they turned their backs, the many were slaine by the Iewes, and many perished being troden on by their fellows. Those that escaped, were forced to retire themselves into their trenches, where *Herod* besieged them: and although they were all ready to be put to the sword, yet was there such penury of water, that for drinke they were all like to perish. For which cause they sent Embassadors vnto the king, offering him fiftie talents to let them goe: but he contemned them, and so much more earnest was he, by reason that their want of water was so great, that comming out by flocks of their owne accord they offered themselves to the Iewes: so that in this sort there came forth foure thousand in thre daies, and the sixth day the whole multitude (despairing of their liues) came out to fight, with whom *Herod* conflicting, slew about seauen thousand. Having in this sort weakened the Arabians, that he had now extinguished all their strong men, the countymen admired him, and were so much daunted at his puissance, that they wished him for their Ruler.

CHAP. XV.

How Herod was exalted vnto the kingdome.

Notcontinent after this his prosperous successe, there did betide vnto him a sea of cares and griefes, in respect of the loue which he bare vnto *Antonius*, whom *Caesar* had now lately ouerthrowne at the battell which was fought at Actium: yet was he more afraid then hurt by this suspicion: for *Caesar* accounted not *Antonius* fully conquered, so long as *Herod* and hee kept together. For which cause the king timely foreseeing those dangers that might ensue, went to Rhodes, where at that time *Caesar* abode: in which place, in the habite of a priuate man, and without a crowne, but with a kingly courage, he presented himselfe before him, and with vniuersall constancie spake vnto him in such manner as followeth. I was (*O Caesar*) made king of Iudaea by *Antonius* his meanes, and I must confesse that I haue bene a king, who what in mee lay haue serued his turne, and sought his profit: yea I must not deny but that (had not the Arabians hindred me) I had with all the power I could haue made, seconded and assisted *Antonie* against thee: yea although personally I could not goe, yet did I what I could to helpe him, and sent him many thousand measures of corne. Nay, though hee had the ouerthrow at Actium, yet did not I forsake him, who had deserued wel at my hands: & although I was not able to asist him with force of armes, yet I confirmed him by my counsell the best I could, inculcating oftentimes vnto him, that there was one onely way to redresse his aduersitie, to wit, by the death of *Cleopatra*; whom if he killed, I promised him to asist him with money, strong holds, and an army; yea and with

mine

The yeere of the
world, 3934. be-
fore Christ. Na-
tivity, 30.
Cæsars aun-
twer to Herod.

mine owne person against thee: but the loue of *Cleopatra*, & God who had already designed the victory vnto thee, stopped his eares. For which cause, *O Cæsar*, I am conquered with *Antonius*, and haue forsaken my crowne and dignitie with his fortunes: & am come vnto thee, hoping that at thy hands I may obtaine pardon. To this *Cæsar* answered: Liue in safety, and raigne now with greater securitie then before; for thou deseruest to rule others, who with such constancie didst defend and maintaine thy friendship. At this time endeouour thy selfe to continue faithful toward them that are more fortunate then *Antonius* was: for, for my part I haue conceiued a great hope and expectation of thy valour and prowesse; yet did *Antonius* well, in that he rather obeyed *Cleopatra* then thee: for by his follies, haue we now purchased thy friendship. That thou hast begun to do well, it hereby appeareth, because *Ventidius* hath signified vnto me, that thou hast sent him succours against his enemies. For which cause, by this my present decree, be thou established in thy kingdome, and I will shortly let thee know that I will be beneficiall vnto thee: so as thou shalt haue no cause to bewaile the losse of *Antonius*. By this speech hee exhorted the king not to misdoubt of his friendship, and withall put a crowne vpon his head, and made a decree, and sealed it, testifying how he had remitted all things done by *Herod*, and confirmed him in his kingdome, & rehearsed many things therein, greatly tending to *Herods* praise. *Herod* (hauing first pacified *Cæsar* with many gifts) requested him to pardon *Alexander*, one of *Antonius* his friends, who earnestly and in humble manner desired the same: but *Cæsar* being very angry, answered, that he for whom hee entreated, had greatly and many times offended, and so repeld *Herod* with this answer.

Herods gratulation to-
ward Cæsar.

Cæsar increaseth Herods
Dominion.

Herod made
gouernour of
Syria.

Afterward, *Cæsar* traouailing into Egypt through Syria, was entertained by *Herod* with all royall pomp possible: and that was the first time that he shewed himselfe to take part with *Cæsar*, when neere vnto Ptolemais he tooke a view of the souldiers with *Cæsar*, and made a banquet for him and all his friends, and feasted the whole armie likewise. And in as much as hee traouiled to Pelusium through dry grounds, when they returned againe, he prouided water for them, & furnished the armie with all necessaries: so that both *Cæsar* and the souldiers, thought the kingdome a small recompence for his deserts. For which cause after he came into Egypt, and that *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* were now dead, he did not onely increase his honour, but also restored vnto him that portion of his country which was taken away, and given to *Cleopatra*: and besides that, *Gadara*, and *Hippion*, and *Samaria*, and other cities, about the sea-coast; to wit, *Gaza*, & *Anthedon*, and *Ioppe*, and *Stratons tower*: and moreouer gaue him foure hundredth Galathians, which before were *Cleopatra* her guard: and there was nothing that so much moued *Cæsars* liberalitie, as the courageous mind of him vnto whom he was so liberall. After the first Aetian solemnitie, hee added vnto *Herods* dominion *Trachon*, and *Batanæa*, and *Auranitis* bordering vpon it. For this cause *Zenodorus* (who for money hired *Lyfanius* his house) continually sent theues out of *Trachon* to robbe the people of *Damascus*: who in humble manner went to *Varus* (who was at that time gouernour of Syria) entreating him to informe *Cæsar* of their calamitie. *Cæsar* vnderstanding thereof, writ back againe, commaunding him to extinguish all the theiues: wherupon *Varus* with an armie went to those places which were most suspected, and ridde the country of the theiues, and tooke the territorie from *Zenodorus*: and *Cæsar* (least it should againe be a refuge for theues to spoile *Damascus*) gaue it to *Herod*, and made him ruler ouer all Syria. And tenne yeeres after, returning to his owne countrey, hee commaunded the gouernours to doe nothing without *Herods* counsell. But that which *Herod* esteemed aboue all the rest, was that *Cæsar* loued him best of all next vnto *Agrippa*: & *Agrippa* loued him most of all men next vnto *Cæsar*. Thus now he touched the very top of felicitie: and so increasing in high mind, he employed himselfe chiefly to pietie.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Cities and buildings reedified and built by Herod, and of his liberalitie to-
wards strangers, and of his felicitie.

The yeere of the
world, 3937. be-
fore Christ birth
17.
Ant. lib. 15.
cap. 10. 12.
13. 14.
Herods build-
ings.

IN the fifteenth yeere of his raigne hee repaired the temple, and enclosed twise so much ground as was before about the temple with a strong wall, whercon hee bestowed great costs and charges to beautifie it: as the great porches will testifie, which hee built about the temple, and a Castle on the north part thereunto adioyning, which hee builded euen from the foundation. The Castle was so rich and sumptuous, that it was equall vnto the kings palace, and

The yeere of the
world, 3937. be-
fore Christ birth
17.

In the honour of *Antonius*, he named it *Antonia*. Hee builded himselfe a palace also in the vpper part of the Citie, and in it two houses, huge, and richly adorned: so that the Temple was not to be compared vnto them. And calling them by his friends names, hee reamed one of them *Cæsarcia*, and another *Agrippa*; whose names and memories hee did not onely solemnize, and write in his priuate houses, but also throughout all the whole country, and in euery part of the citie. For in the countrey of *Samaria* he compassed a rowne with a wall, which was about twenty foulds, and called it *Sebaste*; & he sent thither sixe thousand inhabitants, giuing them a most fertile soile and demesnes. There also amongst other buildings, hee erected a very huge temple, and dedicated it to *Cæsar*, and gaue the inhabitants of that place especiall priuiledges. About the temple was there a peece of ground containing three foulds and a halfe. For this monuments sake, *Cæsar* added vnto his dominion another countrey; for which cause hee erected another temple vnto him neere vnto the head of *Iordan*, of white marble, in a place called *Panium*, where there is a mountaine rising an infinite height into the ayre, at the side whereof there is an obicure valley, where there are high rocks, that (by drops of water falling on them) are made hollow: so that the water standing in their concavities till they run ouer, falleth downe with a streame of such a length as is admirable. At the foote of this valley on the out side, there spring certaine fountaines, and many thinke this to be the head of the riuer *Iordan*; which whether it be true or no, wee wil declare hereafter.

The fountain
head of Ior-
dan.

At *Iericho* also (between the castle of *Cyprus*, and the other auncient kings houses) he erected other buildings, fairer and more commodious for them that came thither, calling them after the names of his friends. Finally, there was no conuenient place in the whole kingdome, wherein he erected not some thing in the honour of *Cæsar*: and hauing in euery place of his own kingdome, deuiled and dedicated temples vnto him, he in Syria also where he ruled did the like, founding in very many cities, temples, which he called by the name of *Cæsar*. And perceiuing that amongst the cities of the sea coast, there was one called *Stratons tower*, the which being very old, was ruined; and for the situation thereof, deserved reparation and cost; hee repaired it all with vvhite stone, and built a very roiall palace therein, wherein chiefly he shewed a mightie mind. For this citie standing in the midst betweene *Dora* and *Ioppe*, there was no port or haven in that coast: so that whosoever sailed from *Phoenicia* into Egypt, were in great danger, by reason of the violent winds that blew from *Africa*, which blowing but a very easie gale, enforce the water with such a violence against the rocks on the shore, that the waues rebounding back againe a good way within the sea, make the whole sea tempestuous. But the king with his liberalitie and cost ouercoming nature, builded a port or haven in that place, far bigger then that of *Piræum*, and within it made most safe stations for ships. And although the nature of that place was altogether contrarie to his intent, yet he so ouercame that difficultie, that the sea could do that building no harme; and it was so gallant and beautifull to behold, as though there had been no let any way to hinder the adorning thereof. For hauing measured out such a place (as we haue spoken of) for the port, he layd a foundation in the bottome twentie elles deepe of stone, wherof most of them were fiftie foote long, nine foote thicke, and tenne foote broad, and some bigger; and all the bottom of the haven where the water came, was laid with these stones. Which done, he raised a wall of two hundredth foote; wherof a hundredth foote was builded to breake the violence of the waues, and had a name according to the vse it serued for. The other hundredth foote serued for a foundation of the wall whereof the haven was compassed, which was replenished with many goodly rowers; the greatest and fairest wherof, he named *Drusus*, after the name of *Cæsars* kinsman. There were very many vautes also to conduct such things into the towne as were brought into the haven, and about them a paved place for them to walke in, that came out of the ships: The entrance thereunto was on the north side; for by reason of the situation of the place, the north-wind there is the calmest.

Herod maketh
a greater port
then that of
Piræum.

An apt de-
scription of a
haven.

Before the entrance, were 3 great colossus held vp on euery side with pillars: they which are on the left hand, are propt vp by a tower which is a solid rock of stone. But at the entrænce on the right hand, were two huge stones ioined together, which make a greater tower then the other. There is also a house adioyning vnto the haven builded of white stone: The streets of the cities coming to that place, are of one bigness & proportion. Vpon a hill opposit to the mouth of the haven, was there builded a temple very beautiful & exceeding great, which he dedicated vnto *Cæsar*, wherein was placed *Cæsars* colossus, fully as great as *Iupiters* at *Olympus*: for it was made after that example, equal to that at *Rome*, & that of *Iuno* at *Argos*. The citie he builded for the inhabitants of that prouince, and the port or haven for seafaring men. The honour and credit he attributed to

Cæsar,

The years of the world, 3947. before Christs birth 17.
Cæsarea in time past called the tower of Straton.
Ant. lib. 15. cap. 10. 12. & lib. 17. cap. 5.
Agrippium. Antipatris. Cyprus. Phalaclus tower.

Cæsar, and by his name called it *Cæsarea*. He also made other buildings, as the Market, the Theater, and the Amphitheater, which are worth the memorie. And he every fift yeere ordained certaine sports, and called them after the name of *Cæsar*. And himselfe first proposed verie ample rewards in the 192 Olympiade; insomuch that he not onely gaue roiall gifts to the victors, but also to the second and third after them. He repaired Anthedon also, which was destroyed by the wars, and called it *Agrippium*: and louing *Agrippa* very dearly, hee caused her name to be engrauen ouer the portall that he builded in the temple. Neither was he vnmindfull of his parents; for in the richest soile of the whole kingdome, he built a citie for a monument of his father: & by his name called it *Antipatris*, being a very rich soile, both for trees and riuers. At Iericho also he built a verie gorgeous and strong castle, and called it *Cyprus*, in honour of his mother. Hee likewise builded a tower in memorie of his brother *Phasaelus*, at Ierusalem, and called it *Phasaelus* his tower (of the compasse and beautie of this tower we will speake hereafter.) He also called another citie *Phasaelus*, which is situate in a valley beyond Iericho, toward the north.

Having thus eternized the memorie of his friends and kinsfolke, hee did not forget to doe the like to himselfe: for he built a castle on a mountaine neer Arabia, hauing on one side a strong place of defence, and this castle hee called *Herodium* after his owne name. By the same name also hee called a tombe, which he builded sixtie founts from Ierusalem, artificially made in manner of a womans dug, which he richly adorned: for within compasse of the toppe of it, hee caused round turrets to be placed: & round about it he builded princely houses, gallantly adorned both within and without. He also brought water from a great way off, with great cost and charges, & made a paire of staires of pure white mable, to go vp, which had two hundred steps. For the whole hill was made by arte, and it was made of an exceeding height: at the foote thereof, likewise hee builded another palace, and houses to receiue his friends, and their cariages: so that this castle for the abundance of all necessarie places, seemed a citie; and yet was it all the kings palace. Having erected thus many buildings, he shewed his braue mind in strange cities likewise; for at Tripolis, and Damascus, and Ptolemais hee builded publique bathes, which are called exercises. Hee builded the wall of Biblus; and faires, porches, temples, and markets at Berytus and Tyre: at Sidon & Damascus hee builded a Theater, and a water conduit at Laodicea a sea towne. At Ascalon hee builded fountaines or lakes very sumptuous, and bathes with pillars, that for greatnesse and gallant worke were miraculous. To other places he gaue woods and ports: and vnto many cities headed fildes, as though they had been fellow cities of his kingdome. Also toward the maintenance of the bathes, hee gaue a yeerely annuitie for euer: as namely to those at Cous, to the intent hee might be an eternall benefactor. Moreover, he gaue all poore people corne; and he often and in sundry places gaue the Rhodians money to build a naue of ships. At his owne proper cost he repaired Pythium, which was burnt with fire. What should I say of his liberalitie, which hee extended vnto them of Lycia & Samia? or the magnificent gifts which hee vsed toward all the people of Ionia; yea all things which their hearts could desire: whereby hee relieued all their necessities? Nay, both the Athenians, and Lacedemonians, and Nicopolites, and the citizens of Pergamus in Mysia, receiued very many benefites at his hands. He paved also a large street in Antiochia of Syria, which was in length twentie founts, and that with faire marble. This street before that time was so full of dirt, that no man could goe thorow it; and all along it, hee builded galleries, that people might goe drie thorow it in rainy weather.

Some one may say, that these benefites that he thus bestowed, were done for the proper vse of those people, on whom he bestowed them: but no man can deny, but that which hee did for the citizens of Elis, was not onely common to those of Achaia, but vnto all the world, where the games called *Olympica Certamina*, were solemnized. For *Herod* seeing the decay onely for want of maintenance, and that this was the onely remainder of all the ancient monuments of Greece, hee not onely in his person at that time became one of the proposers of rewards in that Olympiade which hee assisted when hee went to Rome; but also gaue a yeerely stipend to maintaine the same, least for want it should be left off. It is not to be told what debts and tributes he remitted; for hee deliuered the Phasaelites and Balaneotes, and other rownes of Cilicia, from the payment of a yeerly tribute: yet was hee not so liberall vnto them as he would haue been, fearing lest the enuy of some might accuse him of some further meaning, if hee should bee more bountifull vnto the cities then those that were the owners thereof. He exercised his body likewise in exercises fit for so valiant a mind: for he was a very skilful hunter, wherein hee had alwaies his purpose, by reason of his skill in riding; so that in one day he killed forty wilde beasts. That country hath many Bores, but it hath more store of Harts and wild Asses. He was such a warriour as no man was able to counter

Herodium.

Herodium a castle resembling a citie.

Herods bountie to all men.

Herod famous thorow the world.

The years of the world, 3954. before Christs birth 10.

Herod a great hunter.

A counter withall; so that many were astonished to see him exercise himselfe, who admired him for casting a dart, and shooting an arrow. Beside the vertue both of his minde and body he had also good fortune; for very seldome the euent of warre was otherwise then he expected: which if it sometime chanced, it was not through his fault, but through the rashnes of his souldiers, or else through treason.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the disagreement betweene Herode and his sonnes Alexander and Aristobulus.

BUT his priuate and domestical sorrows seemed to enuy him his publike felicitie, & most

Baduerse fortune befell him through the meanes of a woman, whom hee loued as himselfe. For being now made king, he put away his wife, which he first married (which was a Lady borne in Ierusalem, whole name was *Doris*) and married *Mariamme* the daughter of *Alexander*, who was *Aristobulus* sonne, which caused troubles in his house, both before, but especiall after he returned from Rome. For hee banished his eldest son *Antipater*, whom hee had by *Doris*, out of the citie, onely for his childrens sake that hee had by *Mariamme*; licensing him only at festiual times to come vnto the citie in regard of some suspicion of treason intended against him. And afterward he slew *Hircanus* his wifes vnkle (notwithstanding, that he returned out of Parthia vnwilling to him) because after he suspected that he intended some treason against him; whom *Barzapharnes*, after hee had taken all Syria, tooke away prisoner with him. But his owne countrimen that dwelt beyond Euphrates, in consideration redeemed him from thraldome; & had he been counfelled by them & not come vnto *Herod*, hee had not been killed: but the marriage of his neece caused his death: for, for that cause, & especially for the loue of his native soyle, hee came thither. That which moued *Herod* to kill him was, not for that hee sought the kingdome, but because hee had right vnto the kingdome. *Herode* had fise children by *Mariamme*, two daughters, & three sonnes. The yongest was sent to Rome to study, where hee died. The other two he brought vp like Princes, both for their mothers nobility sake, and for that they were borne after he was king. But that which aboue all other was most forcible, was the loue hee bare to *Mariamme*, which from day to day tormented him more violently, in such sort, that he felt not any part of those griefes which this his best beloved enforced against him. For *Mariamme* hated him as much as hee loued her: and hauing a iust cause and colour of discontent, and moreover being emboldned by the loue which hee bare her, shee every day vpbraided him with that which hee had done vnto *Hircanus* her vnkle, & vnto her brother *Aristobulus*. For *Herod* spared him not, although he was a child; but after hee had made him high Priest in the seuenteenth yeere of his age, hee presently put him to death, after hee had so honoured him: who when he came to the altar clothed in sacred attire vpon a festiual day, all the people wept: and the same night was he sent to Iericho, and drowned in a lake by the Galatheans, who had receiued commision to performe the murder. These things did *Mariamme* daily cast in *Herodes* teeth, and vpbraided both his mother and sister, with very sharpe & reproachfull words: yet hee so loued her, that notwithstanding all this hee held his peace. But the women were set on fire: and that they might the rather moue *Herod* against her, they accused her of adultery, & of many other things which bare a shew of truth: obiecing against her that shee had sent her portraiture into Egypt vnto *Antonius*; & that through immoderate lust, shee did what shee could to make her selfe knowne vnto him, who doted vpon womens loue, and was of sufficient power to doe what wrong hee pleased.

EHEREAT *Herod* was sore moued, especially for that he was iealous of her whom hee loued, be- thinking himselfe vpon the cruelty of *Cleopatra*, for whose sake king *Lysanias* and *Malichus* king of Arabia were put to death; and now hee measured not the danger by the losse of his wife, but by his owne death which he feared: For which cause being drawn by his affaires into the country, he gaue secret commandement vnto *Ioseph* his sister *Salomes* husband (whom hee knew to be trustie, and one who for affinitie was his well-willer) to kill his wife *Mariamme*, if so be *Antonius* should haue killed him. But *Ioseph* not maliciously, but simply to shew her how greatly the king loued her, disclosed that secret vnto her: and shee when *Herode* was returned, and amongst other talke with many oaths sware that he neuer loued woman but her; indeed (quoth she) it may well be known how greatly you loue me by the commandement you gaue to *Ioseph*, who you charged to kill mee. *Herode* hearing this which he thought to be secret, was like a mad man, and presently

The years of the world, 3954. before Christs birth 8.
Herod besides the vertue of mind & body had the blessings of fortune.

Ant. lib. 15. cap. 3. 8. & lib. 16. cap. 13.

Herod expelled Antipater out of the city and killed Hircanus his wifes grand-mother.

Herodes children by Mariamme.

Mariamme hatefully vpbraided Herod with Hircanus death.

Herodes mother and sister do tallie accuse Mariamme to him.

Herod secretly charged Ioseph to kill his wife.

Herodes suspicion betwix Ioseph and his wife.

KKK presently

The yeere of the
world, 3954, be-
fore Christs birth
10.
Herod com-
mandeth both
Ioseph and
Mariamme to
be slaine.
Mariammes
sons inheri-
tors of her
displeasure.

The yeere of the
world, 3956, be-
fore Christs birth
8.

Herods debate
with those
sons he had by
Mariamme.
Ant. lib. 16.
cap. 4.

Antipater by
disgracing his
brothers, his
declared his
fathers heyre.

Herode accu-
seth Alexan-
der before
Cesar.

A reconcilia-
tion betweene
Herode and
his sonnes.

Archelaus
kindly enter-
taineth Herod
and his sonnes

Herods wor-
thy oration to
the people,
wherein he
distributeth
honours to
his three sons.

presently perswaded himselfe that *Ioseph* would neuer haue disclosed that commaundement of G his, except hee had abused her; so that hereupon hee became furious, and leaping out of his bed, he walked vp and downe the palace: whereupon his sister *Salome* hauing sio opportunity, confirmed his suspition of *Ioseph*. For which cause, *Herod* growing now raging mad with iealousie, commanded both of them to be killed. Which done, his wrath was seconded by repentance, and after his anger ceased, the affection of loue was presently renewed: yea so great was the power of his affection, that hee would not beleue she was dead, but spake vnto her as though she were aliue, vntill in proceesse of time being ascertained of her funerall, he equalled the affection he bare her during her life, by the vehemencie of his passion for her death. *Mariammes* sonnes succeeded their mother in her wrath, and recogitating what an impious act it was, they accounted their father as a mortall enemy, both before and after they went to studie at Rome, and especially after they came againe into Iudæa. For as they encreased in yeeres, so did the violence of their minde increale. And they beeing now marriageable, one of them married the daughter of their aunt *Salome*, who accused their mother; the other married the daughter of *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia. And now to their hatred was there ioined a liberty to speake more freely against them, and by this occasion of their boldnes many were animated to caluminate them: so that some did openly tell the king that both his sonnes sought to worke treason against him, and that the one of them prepared an armie to help the other to reuenge the death of their mother; & that the other (to wit he that was sonne in law to *Archelaus*) purposed to flie, and accuse *Herod* before *Cesar*. *Herod* giuing eare vnto those calumniationes, sent for *Antipater* whom hee had by *Doris*, to the end he might defend him against his two sonnes, & sought to aduance him about them. But they thought this alteration intolerable; seeing one, whose mother was but a priuate woman, so preferred: & they moued with their owne noblenes of birth could not containe their indignation, but vpon euery occasion shewed themselues offended; yet were they euerie day lesse accounted of. As for *Antipater*, he wrought himselfe into fauour: for he knew how to flatter his father, and raised many slanders vpon his two brethren, partly inuented by himself, partly diuulgated by some of his fauourites, whom he set a worke about the matter, till that at last he put his brethren out of all hope of hauing the kingdome. For he was now by the kings Will and Testament declared king, so that hee was sent as a king vnto *Cesar* in a kingly habit and pompe, onely he wore no Crowne: and in time he so preuailed, that he wrought his mother into *Mariammes* steed; and with flatteries and calumination so moued the king, that hee began to delibe- rate about the putting to death of his sonnes. For which cause, he conducted his sonne *Alexander* with him to Rome, and accused him before *Cesar*, that he had giuen him poison. But hee with much adoe hauing obtained libertie to pleade his own cause, and that before an vnskillfull Iudge, yet more wise then *Herod* or *Antipater*, hee modestly held his peace in all things that his father had offended in: and first of all he purged his brother from danger of that crime, and taking the whole matter vpon himselfe, he in very good sort acquitted himselfe thereof. And afterwards he inueighed against *Antipaters* subtiltie, and complained of those iniuries, which had been offered him, hauing besides the equitie of his cause, sufficient eloquence to acquit himselfe: for hee was a vehement orator; and knew well how to perswade. Last of all, hee obiected that his father hauing a desire to put both him and his brother to death, had laid an accusation vpon him: wherat the whole audience wept, and *Cesar* was so moued, that not regarding the accusations that were laid vnto them, he presently made *Herod* and them friends, vpon these conditions, that they in all things should be obedient vnto their father; and that their father should leaue the kingdome to whom he pleased.

Hereupon *Herod* returned from Rome, and though hee seemed to haue forgiven his sonnes; yet laid he not his iealousie and suspition aside. For *Antipater* still vrged his argument to make *Herod* hate his other two sons, though for feare of him that reconciled them, he durst not openly shew himselfe an enemy vnto them. Afterward *Herod* sailed by Cilicia, and arriued at Elæusa, where *Archelaus* receiued him very courteously, thanking him for the safetie of his sonne in law, and very ioyfull for that they were made friends: for he wrote vnto his friends at Rome with all speed possible, that they should be fauourable vnto *Alexander*, when he came to plead his cause. And after this entertainment, he conducted *Herod* vnto *Zephyrius*, giuing him gifts to the value of thirtie talents, and so tooke his leaue of him. *Herod* so soone as hee came to Ierusalem assembled the people together. & being assisted by his three sons, he shewed vnto them the cause of his going to Rome, and blessed God, and thanked *Cesar*, who had appeased the discord of his house, and that had made his sons friends; which he esteemed more then his kingdome: & I (quoth he) will

The yeere of the
world, 3956, be-
fore Christs birth
8.

Herod giueth
not the king-
dome to his
sons, but the
honour of the
kingdome.

Herode con-
uerteth his
speech to his
sonnes.

Herod by his
words did not
viterly extin-
guish the ha-
tred betweene
his sonnes.

Antipaters
treason against
his brother
Alexander.

By what
meanes Anti-
pater corrup-
ted his bro-
ther Alexan-
ders friends.
Antipater
whetteth He-
rode and his
courtiers
against Alex-
ander.

A will make their friendship firme. For *Cesar* appointed me king, & gaue me leaue to chuse whom I pleased for my successeur, for the which I giue him hartly thanks. And now I here constitute all three of my sons kings: which purpose of mine first I beleech Almighty God, and secondly you to fauour: for the one of them for his yeeres, the other for their nobilitie of birth, haue right to the crowne and kingdome: which is so large, that it may suffice many; so that you for your parts reuerence them whom *Cesar* conioyned, and I their father ordained, giuing them not vnite, nor vnlike honours, but such as they haue deserued. For a man cannot do a greater pleasure vnto him whom he honoureth about his yeeres, then he shall giue discontent vnto him whom hee dishonoureth. For which cause, I will constitute to euery one of them such friends and wellwillers, as with whom they be most conuerfant, and of them I will require pledges of a concord and vnite amongst them. For I know that discords and contentions arise by malice of those who are conuerfant with Princes, and that if they be wel disposed, they will increale friendship. And I request not onely these, but also all such as beare rule in my army, that they hope in me onely for the present: for I giue not my sonnes the kingdome, but the honour and dignitie thereof; and they shall haue pleasure as though they were kings themselues, yet I my selfe will beare sway, although I am vnwilling to do it. Let euery one of you consider my age, my course of life, and pietie: for I am not so olde that any one may quickly despaire of me, nor I haue not accustomed my selfe to such kind of pleasure, as is wont to thorten yong mens daies; and we haue been so religious that we are in great hope of long life. But if any one despise me, and secke to please my sonnes, such a one will I punish. I doe not forbid them to be honoured, whom my selfe haue begotten, for that I enuie them: but because I know well that such applauses nourish pride and arrogancie in the fierce minds of yong men. VV herefore if all they that apply themselues in their seruice, consider that I will be ready to reward the good; and that those who are seditious, shall finde their malice to haue an vnprofitable euent at their hands, whome they so flatter: I easily perswade my selfe that all men will be of my minde, that are of my sonnes minde. For it is good for them that I raigne, and that I am friends with my sons. And you O my good sonnes, retaine in your minds that sacred nature, which maketh the very brute beast to entertaine naturall affection: then reuerence *Cesar* who reconciled vs: & last of all obey me who request, and entreat that at your hands, which I might command, namely that you remaine brethren. And I will now giue you both kingly attire and honour, and I pray God that if you will continue and remaine friends, I may continue in this minde.

After he had thus spoken, he saluted them very louingly and dismissed the people, some praying that it might bee as hee had said: others (who desired alteration) made as though they had heard nothing. Yet for all this, the dissension amongst the brethren was not appeased, but each of them mistrusting worser euent, departed from one another. For *Alexander* and *Aristobolus* stomached the matter, that *Antipater* had his desert confirmed, and *Antipater* was grieved that his brethren should haue the second place after him; yet he could craftily to carry himselfe, that no man could perceiue his hatred towards them. And they deriued of a noble race spake all they thought, and many endeouored to let them on, and others as friends insinuated themselves into their company, to leane what newes: so that *Alexander* could not speake a word, but presently it was carried to *Antipater*, and from him to *Herode* with an addition; so that when *Alexander* spake any thing simply, meaning no harme, it was presently interpreted in the worst sense possible: and if hee chanced at any time to speake freely of any matter, presently it was made a great thing. *Antipater* suborned men to set him on, that so his lies might bee shadowed with a colour of truth; and that if hee could prooue any one thing true, all lies and tales else diuulgated might thereby be iustified to be true. Now all *Antipaters* familiars were either naturally secret, or else hee stopped their mouths with bribes, least they should disclose his intents: so that one might iustly haue tearmed his life a secrecy of malice. All *Alexanders* friends were either corrupted by money, or flattering speeches, wherewith *Antipater* overcame all, & made them theepes and proditors of such things as were either done or spoken against him: and himselfe doing all things, he dealt so warily, that at last those calumniationes came vnto *Herodes* eare: and hee counterfained his brothers person, and suborned other tale-carriers, telling what they could against *Alexander*; and pretending good will towards his brother, at first faintly reproued them, and afterward seriously allaged their sayings as accusations: so that hereby *Herod* was very wroth, but turned all as though *Alexander* went about treason, and sought to kill his father: and nothing made so much credit be giuen to these calumniationes, as that *Antipater* colourably excused his brother. *Herod* incensed hertat, euery day withdrew his affection more and more from the two brethren,

brethren, and daily encreased his loue towards *Antipater*. The nobilitie also were inclined after the same manner: partly of their owne accord, and partly for that they were so commanded: so did *Protonotarius* the chiefe of all the nobilitie, and the kings brethren, and all his kinred; for all mens expectation was vpon *Antipater*. And that which grieved *Alexander* the more, was, that all these mischiefes, wrought to his ouerthrow, were done by the counsell of *Antipaters* mother; for shee being a stepmother, was cruell, and hated them being borne of a Queene, farre more then a stepmother doth her sonnes in lawe. And although all men followed *Antipater* for the hope which they had of him, yet were they also compelled thereunto by the kings command, who gaue an especiall charge to their dearest friends, that none should follow *Alexander* or his brother: so that he did not onely terrifie those of his owne kingdome, but also those of other forraigne nations. For *Cesar* had giuen him such authoritie: for he gaue him licence to take any one that was a fugitiue from him, out of any Citie, although it were not vnder his dominions. And the young men were ignorant of the offences laide vnto their charge, and so were more easily entrapped being vna-ware of them: for their father did not openly tell them of any matter, but they euerie day perceiued their fathers good will towards them to decay, which so much the more encreased their griefe. In like manner *Antipater* by little and litle moued *Pheroras* their vncle and *Salome* their aunt against them, daily consulting with his wife, whom hee should incite against them.

Glaphyra *Alexanders* wife increased his conceiued suspicion by her words.

Now *Glaphyra Alexanders* wife encreased their malice euerie day, recounting her own nobility, and bearing her selfe aboue all that were in the whole kingdome: for she deriued her pedigree by the fathers side, from *Timenus*; by the mothers side, from *Hyslaspis* his sonne called *Darius*: in-ueying verie much against the baseness of *Herode* wiues, and his sister, who were chosen for their beautie, and not for their nobility of birth. For *Herod* (as wee haue said) had many wiues, both for that it was lawfull by the custome of their country, & because *Herod* delighted in many; and all of them hated *Alexander*, for *Glaphyras* pride and contumelious speeches. And *Aristobulus* made *Salome* his enemy, although shee was his wiues mother: for shee was before moued by *Glaphyras* speeches, and hee often vpbraided his wife with her base birth, still telling her that hee had married a priuate woman, and his brother *Alexander* a Queene. And his wife often with weeping teares told this to her mother: adding moreouer, that *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* threatened, that if they got the kingdome, they would make their other brethrens mothers weaue with their maids; and that they would make them notaries of villages, deriding that they

Aristobulus obiection to his wife her base birth. Ant. lib. 16. cap. 7.

applied themselves to learning. *Salome* moued hereat, could not containe her selfe, but told all to *Herod*, who easily beleued her, because she spake against her sonne in law. Moreouer, another accusation was laide to their charge, whereat the king was greatly moued: for he was informed that *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* did often bewaile their mother, and lament her hard happe with sighes, and cursed him: and that often when he bestowed some of *Mariamms* clothes vpon his latter wiues, they threatened that in short time in steed of princely attire, they should wear a black habite. Whereupon *Herod*, though hee feared the constant mindes of the young men, yet because hee would not take away all hope of amendment, he called them vnto him (for he was to siile to Rome) and as a king threatened them in few words, and like a father gaue them many admonitions, and requested them to loue their brethren, promising them forgiveness of their former offences, so that hereafter they amended all: But they beseeching him not to beleue accusations forged against them vpon malice, and answering that the effect of matters would easily acquite them, requested him not so easilie to beleue tales, but refuse to giue malignant people opportunity & recourse vnto him: for that there would alwaies be some that would maliciously inuent tales to tell, whilst there was any one that would giue them the hearing and beleueing thereof. For they knew that *Salome* was their enemy, and *Pheroras* their vncle, and both of them bare cruell minds, and were hard hearted; & especially *Pheroras*, who was fellow with his brother of all, sining onely the crowne, and had his owne reuenues amounting to a hundred talents a yeere, and receiued all fruits of the whole countrey beyond Iordane, which was giuen him by his brother. *Herode* also had obtained of *Cesar* to make him Tetrarch, and bestowed vpon him a princeesse for his wife, despoising vnto him his wiues sister, after whose decease he de-

The two brothers excuse themselves before their father Herod.

sposed vnto him his eldest daughter, & gaue him three hundred talents with her for a dowrie. But *Pheroras* fell in loue with his maid, and forsooke a princeesse: whereat *Herod* being angry married his daughter vnto his brothers sonne, who was afterward slain by the Parthians; but *Herod* presently pardoned *Pheroras* offence. Diuers before this time were of opinion that in the life time of the Queene, he would haue poisoned *Herode*; and *Herode* although he loued his brother

very

A very well; yet because many who had access vnto him told him so, he began to misdoubt: and so examining many that were suspected, lastly he came to *Pheroras* friends, & none of them confessed it: yet they confessed that he was determined to fly vnto the Parthians with her whom he was so in loue withall, and that *Costabarus Salomes* husband was priuite thereunto, vnto whome the king married her, after her first husband for suspicion of adultery was put to death. *Salome* her selfe also was not free from accusation: for *Pheroras* accused her that she had contracted matrimony with *Sylleus*, who was procurator to *Obada* king of Arabia, who was a great enemy of the kings: and she being conuicted both of this and all things else, whereof her brother *Pheroras* accused her, yet obtained pardon as likewise *Pheroras* did: so that the whole tempest of all their family was turned against *Alexander*, and light vpon his head.

B The king had three Eunuches whom he loued dearly, and euerie one knowne by their offices: for one of them was his butler; the other was his cooke; and the third got him to bed, and lay with him: these three *Alexander* with great gifts overcame. Which the king vnderstanding, by Alexander's torments forced them to confesse it, & declared with what promises they were thereto by *Alexander* induced: and how he had deceiued them: affirming that there was no trusting to *Herode* who was a shamelesse old man; and that he died his haire, to make himselfe seeme young: & that he in despite of him would be his successor, and then hee would bee reuenged vpon his enemies, and make his friends happie, and especially them: and that the whole nobilitie did secretly obey him, and the captaines of the armie and gouernours did priuily come vnto him. Hereat *Herod* was so terrified, that he durst not presently diuulgate their confessions, but night and day hee sent

Alexander corrupteth his fathers Eunuches, and telleth them he is to succede in the kingdome.

Herod feareth his sonne Alexander.

C spies to learne what was said or done, and whom hee suspected, then hee presently killed: so that his whole kingdome was full of iniquity. For euerie one as his malice moued him fained calumniation, and many desirous of bloodshed abused the Kings wrath as they pleased against their enemies, and credit was giuen to euerie lie, and no man was so soone accused, but presently he was punished; & he who presently before accused others, was now accused himselfe, and carried to be punished with him whom he accused. For the kings perils shortned the time of triall for their liues, and he became so tyrannous, that he afforded not a good looke vnto them that were not accused, and shewed himselfe most fierce and violent euen to his deereft friends: so that hee banished many out of his kingdome, and railed against such as he had no power ouer. *Antipater* increased this mischief more & more, and gathering together a great company of his friends, hee

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 8. *Herods* cruelty.

D omitted no kinde of calumniation. The king likewise was terrified by the rumours and tales of pickthankes, that he thought alwaies that hee saw *Alexander* before him with a drawn sword. For which cause hee sodainly tooke him and cast him in prison, and tortured his friends, many of which died in torments, because they would not confesse more then in conscience was true: others not able to endure the torments, were forced to confesse that *Alexander* and his brother *Aristobulus* thought to haue wrought treason against their father, and that they expected their time till he went a hunting; resolving in themselves that hauing killed him, they would presently flie to Rome. Although these and such like calumniationes were no waies probable, yet extremitie of paine forced men extempore to inuent them, and the king willingly beleued them, as it were comforting himselfe thereby in that hee might not bee thought to haue imprisoned his sonne vnjustly.

Herode casteth *Alexander* into prison and tortured his friends.

E *Alexander* perceiuing that it was impossible for him to abolish his fathers suspicion, thought it better to yeeld himselfe guilty: and so wrote foure bookes against his aduersaries, and confessed the treason: affirming that hee had many partakers therein, namely *Pheroras*, and *Salome*, who were the chiefe; auouching that before that time he had had the vse of her body in the night time: and how though he himselfe was vnwilling, yet shee forced him thereunto. Now the bookes came vnto *Herods* hands, which charged the greatest amongst the nobilitie with most hainous matters. *Archelaus* fearing his son in law and daughter to be in great danger, speedily came into Iudea, & ingeniously appealed the kings wrath: for so soon as he came vnto *Herod*, he cried, Where is that wicked sonne in law of mine, or where may I see the face of that wretch that goeth about to murder his father, that I may tear him in pieces with mine owne hands, and marry my daughter anew to a better husband? for although shee be not priuie to his

Alexander, during his imprisonment wrote foure bookes against his enemies.

F counsell, yet is shee defiled for that shee was wife to such a man. Nay I admire thy patience who art in such danger, and sufferest *Alexander* yet to liue: for I came thus hastily out of Cappadocia, thinking hee had bene put to death, to talke with thee concerning my daughter, whome I married to him for thy sake and honour. Wherefore now let vs take counsell what to doe with them both: and seeing thou art too fatherlike and not able to punish thy sonne, thy treacherous sonne; let vs change rourmes, and let me be in thy place to reuenge thee: with such like inuocations

Archelaus king of Cappadocia.

Kkk 3

hee

The year of the world, 3956, before Christs birth 8.

Archelaus and Herode consult vpon Alexanders bookes.

Herod is incensed against his brother Pheroras.

Pheroras attended in a mourning garment with teares falling before Herods feete and craueth pardon. Pheroras by Archelaus meanes pacifieth Herod.

Archelaus compelleth Herode of his own accord to be entreated for Alexander. Herod diminisheth Archelaus and his friends with great presents. Antilib. 16. cap. 11. Eurycles the Lacedemonian secretly accuseth Alexander to his father, and is the cause of his death.

he deceived *Herod* (though otherwise firme in his purpose.) Then *Herod* shewed him the bookes that *Alexander* had written reading euery chapter with deliberation, *Archelaus* tooke occasion fit for his purpose, and by little and little laid all the fault on *Pheroras*, and those that were accused in the booke. And perceiuing the king to giue eare vnto him, let vs (quoth he) consider whether the yong man was not circumvented by the treachery of so many lewd persons, & notwithstanding by the yong man: for there appeares no cause why he should fall into such wickednes, who now enioyed the kingdome and hoped to succeed thee therein, had hee not bene perswaded thereto by other men, who seeing him a yong man, entised him vnto such naughtines. For wee see that through such men, not only yong men, but also old men, and most noble families, yea, and whole kingdomes are ruined. *Herod* vpon these speeches began somewhat to relent, so that he appeased his wrath toward *Alexander*, and encreased it towards *Pheroras*; for hee was as it were the subject of the whole booke. VVho perceiuing the king so to trust vnto *Archelaus* friendship, that he was ledde by him to do what he pleased, leauing *Alexander*, he in humble maner came to *Archelaus*, seeking impudently for succour at his hands, of whom hee had not deserued any fauour. *Archelaus* answered him, that he knew no waies to obtaine his pardon, who was guilty of so heinous crimes, and conuicted manifestly to haue practised high treason against the kings own person, & to be the cause of all these miseries that had now befallen the yong man, except that hee would lay aside all subtil dealing, and denying of his fact, and confesse the crimes whereof he was accused; and so in humble wise goe vnto his brother who loued him dearly, and craue pardon; promising him that if he would so doe, he would doe him what good he could. Hereupon *Pheroras* obeyed *Archelaus* his counsell, and putting on a blacke attire, he in pitifull maner and with teares prostrated himselfe at *Herods* feete, and crauing pardon obtained it, confessing himselfe to be a most wicked and vile person, and to be guilty of all that which was objected against him, and that the cause which moued him to doe all those things, was the franticke & madde fits he fell into for the loue of that woman. Now when *Pheroras* became his owne accuser, and a witness against himselfe, then *Archelaus* endeauoured to mitigate *Herods* wrath towards him, and excuse his faults with fit examples: for he alleadged that his brother attempted greater matters against him, whom notwithstanding for natures cause he pardoned: adding that in euery kingdome as in mighty bodies, alwaies some part began to swell, which notwithstanding was not presently to be cut off, but to be cured by easie means.

Archelaus vsing many speeches vnto *Herod* to this purpose, at last quite appeased his wrath toward *Pheroras*, still counterfuiting himselfe to be angrie with *Alexander*, affirming that hee would take his daughter away with him, till at last he forced *Herod* of his owne accord to entreat for the yong man, requesting him againe to despoise his daughter vnto him. *Archelaus* after much entreatie answered, that hee was willing that the king should bestow his daughter vpon a my loue *Alexander*, for he greatly esteemed the law of affinity. *Herod* replied, that if he did not disuorce his daughter from *Alexander*, he should thinke that he bestowed his sonne vpon him: for they had no children, and his daughter was dearly loued of the yong man; so that if hee would permit her to stay still there, for her sake hee would pardon all *Alexanders* offences. Hereto *Archelaus* with much adoe agreed, and so was reconciled vnto his sonne in lawe, and he vnto his father. Yet *Herod* affirmed that he must needs be sent to Rome to speake with *Cesar*, for hee had written the whole matter vnto *Cesar*. Thus *Archelaus* craftily deliuered his son in law from danger, & after his reconciliation was made, they spent the time in feasting and mirth. Vpon *Archelaus* departure, *Herod* gaue him seuen ty talents, and a throne of pure gold adorned with precious stones, and Eunuches, and a concubine named *Pannychis*; and rewarded euery one of his friends according to their deserts. And all the kings kined by the kings appointment and consent, bestowed rich gifts vpon *Archelaus*, and both hee and all his nobilitie accompanied him to Antiochia.

Not long after there came one into Iudæa far more subtil then *Archelaus*, who both disannulled the reconciliation made for *Alexander*, and caused his death also. This man was a Lacedemonian borne named *Eurycles*, who by money sought to haue obtained the kingdome. This man brought vnto *Herode* rich gifts as it were for a bait of that he intended; hee had so behaued himselfe in Greece that it could no longer tolerate his exccesse: and *Herod* againe rewarded him with farre greater gifts then those were that he gaue him: but hee esteemed his liberalitie as nothing, except he bought it with the blood of Princes. For which cause hee circumvented the king, partly by flattering him, partly by praising him fainedly, and especially by his owne craft and subtiltie: and quickly perceiuing his inclination, hee both in word and deed sought to please him;

so

The year of the world, 3956, before Christs birth 8.

Eurycles by fained friendship deceiueth Alexander.

As for that the king accounted him amongst his chiefeft friends. For both the king and all the nobilitie honoured him the more for his country sake, in that hee was a Lacedemonian. But hee very easily perceiuing the feeble stay of *Herods* house, and the hatred betwene the brethren, and how the king was affected towards euery one of them, he first of all entertained himselfe at *Antipaters* house, making a shew in the meane while of good will towards *Alexander*; pretending and protesting, that in times past he had been *Archelaus* companion; & by this meanes hee quickly crept into fauour with him, as an approued friend: which was the cause that he was suddenly entertained for a faithful man. Hee presently likewise brought him into friendship with *Aristobulus*, and hauing founded euery mans disposition, he accommodated himselfe vnto all humours: and to begin withall, he became *Antipaters* pensioner, and a traytor to *Alexander*. And hee often vied here words to *Antipater*, as it were chiding him, that he being eldest of the brethren, so slenderly looked after them, who pretended to put him besides the crowne, which was his right. Hee manie times likewise vied the like words to *Alexander*, admiring him who was borne of a queene, and husband to a queen, and yet would permit such a one who was descended of a priuate woman to succeed in the kingdome, especially seeing hee had such occasion & opportunitie to effect the contrary: for he might assure himselfe of *Archelaus* his help in any thing. *Alexander* supposed he had spoken as he thought, because he counterfeited friendship with *Archelaus*: so that he misdoubting nothing, disclosed vnto him all his mind concerning *Antipater*, saying, that it was no wonder though *Herod* disinherited them of the kingdome, sith before time he had slaine their mother.

Eurycles, counterfeiting himselfe both to pitie them, and to bee sorrowful for their mischance, entised *Aristobulus* to speake the like: and hauing animated the both to complaine in this sort against their father, he presently went to *Antipater*, and disclosed to him all their secrets, forging also the treachery which those two brethren intended against him, which was to dispatch him with their swords. For this cause *Antipater* gaue him a great summe of money, and commended him to his father, and being hired to effect the death of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, he himselfe became their accuser: Whereupon hee came vnto *Herod* & told him how in regard of those benefites which he had receiued at his hand, he would now bestow his life vpon him, and the light of this world for recompence of his hospitalitie; affirming that *Alexander* had lately stretched forth his hand with his sword drawne to kill him, and he onely was the cause that hee performed it not by staying his hand, and promising him to asist him in the matter: adding that *Alexander* vied these speeches; that *Herod* was not contented to enioy a kingdome which was another mans right, nor yet as it were to dismember his kingdome after *Mariammes* death, but hee would also leaue the kingdome belonging vnto their ancestors, vnto a pernicious bastard *Antipater*: and for that cause hee would reuenge *Hircanus* and *Mariammes* death: And that it was not conuenient to receiue the kingdome from such a father without blood; and euery day he had occasion giuen him so to doe: for he could speake nothing without calumnniation. For if any mention were made at any time of any ones nobilitie, presently hee was vpbraided without cause, for his father would presently say, there is none noble but *Alexander*, whose fathers base birth is a shame and discredite vnto him. And that going a hunting, if hee held his peace, his father was offended; if hee praised, then it was said hee mocked: so that in euery thing he found his fathers affection turned from him, and that he was onely fauourable to *Antipater*: so that hee would die with all his hart if he failed of his purpose; if he killed him, his father in law *Archelaus* would worke his safety, to whom he might easily flie. And after he would goe to *Cesar* (who as yet knew not *Herods* manners) for hee would not stand before him then, as hee did before, being terrified because his father was present: neither would he onely speake of his owne wrongs, but of the wrongs of the wholenation, who were oppressed by exactions euen vnto death. And then he would lay open in what pleasure, and after what sort the money gotten with blood was consumed; & vvhoy and what kind of men they were that were thereby enriched; and what was the cause of the affliction of the citie; and that there he would bewaile the death of his vnkle, and his mother, and vnfold all *Herods* wickednesse: vvhich beeing once made manifest vnto the world, no man would account him a murderer of his father. *Eurycles* hauing falsly reported this of *Alexander*, fell presently to praise and extoll *Antipater*, affirming that hee onely loued his father, and hindered such practices.

The king yet not thoroughly appeased for that which had past, grew into an exceeding agonie, and *Antipater* once againe suborned other falsse witnesses against them, who affirmed that they were wont to haue secret talke with *Incundus* and *Tyrannius*, who sometime were generals of the kings horsemen, who were then displaced for some offence they had committed. Whereupon

Herod

Another falsse accusation of Alexander & his brother Herode to indignation.

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs Nativity, 8.

Diophantus the kings notary, writeth in Alexanders name.

Herod being verie angry, presently tortured them: and they affirmed that they were ignorant of all that which was laid to their charge. But there was found and brought vnto the king a letter, as though it had bene written by *Alexander*, vnto the Gouvernour of the Castle of Alexandria; requesting him, that he would receiue him and his brother *Aristobulus* into the Castle, when he had killed his father, and to asist them both with weapons and other necessaries. *Alexander* affirmed that this letter was counterfeited by *Diophantus* the kings Secretarie, who was both bold, and could counterfeite any ones hand; and hauing counterfeited many, was at last for the same put to death.

Herod caused the Gouvernour of the Castle to bee tortured, but hee confessed nothing that was laid against him: and although hee had no good prooffe of any thing, yet hee commaunded his two sonnes to be kept in hold. He likewise called *Eurycles* (who was the bane of his house, and the breeder of all the mischief) author of his safetie, and one who had wel deserved at his hands, and gaue him fiftie talents: who departing from Iudæa before matters were well knowne, went to *Archelaus*, and faining that he had reconciled *Alexander* and *Herod*, he receiued there a peece of money. From thence he went into Achaia, and spent that which he had euilly gotten, in as bad manner as he got it. Lastly, he was accused vnto *Cæsar*, that he had caused dissension in all Achaia, and spoiled the Cities: for the which cause he was banished. And this was the punishment which was inflicted vpon him for *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* troubles.

Cous Euarat.

It is not amisse here in this place to compare *Euaratus* of Cous vnto this *Eurycles*; who being a deare friend vnto *Alexander*, and arriuing about the same time that *Eurycles* did, being put to his oath, swore that hee heard the young men say nothing: yet his oath nothing preuailed nor it profited them poore foules. For *Herod* would only heare and giue eare vnto accusations; and he highly esteemed them that would belieue them with him, and shewe themselves moued thereat.

Ant. lib. 16. cap. 12.

Moreover, *Salome* increased his crueltie towards his sonnes: for *Aristobulus* minding to bring her into the same trouble with himselfe, who was his mother in law and his Aunt, sent vnto her, willing her to looke to herselfe, as though the King was minded to put her to death. Who being now called into question for the matters whereof she was before accused, to wit, that shee purposed to marrie with the kings enemy *Syllæus* the Arabian, to whom she priuileie reuealed the Kings secrets: this was the vtter ruine of the young men, where-with-all they were overthrowne as it were with a violent tempest. For presently *Salome* went vnto the King, & told him what *Aristobulus* had admonished her of: and hee being now outrageous, caused both his sonnes to be bound and imprisoned in seuerall places. Then sent he *Voluminius*, who was the Generall of his Armie, and *Olympus* one of his familiar friends, vnto *Cæsar*, to carie him the informations against his sonnes in writing: who sayling to Rome, after their arriuall deliuered the kings letters. And *Cæsar* was very forie for the young men, yet he permitted the father to doe what he would with his children: and so wrote vnto him, that hee should haue licence to doe what hee thought good: yet he signified vnto him, that he should doe better to call his Nobles together, & let them make enquire concerning the treasons; and then if he found them guiltie of these things whereof they were accused, to put them to death.

Ant. lib. 16. cap. 13.

Herod gathered in a council against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*.

Heereupon *Herod*, according to *Cæsars* letters and appointment, came vnto Berytum, and there gathered an assembly to sit in iudgement; the chief in that iudgement were the Gouvernors that *Cæsar* in his letters appointed, *Saturninus* and *Pedanius* Embassadors, & with them *Voluminius* Procurator: next, the kings kinned, and *Salome* & *Pheroras*: and then the nobilitie of Syria, *Archelaus* onely excepted, who because he was father in law to his sonne, *Herod* suspected him to be partiall. But hee suffered not his sonnes to come into iudgement: for hee knew that the verie sight of them would haue moued all men to compassion. And moreover, if they were permitted to speake for themselves, that then *Alexander* would easily haue acquitted them both: for which cause they were kept in Platane, in a Castle of Sidonia. The king beginning his oration, was as vehement, as though they had been present against whom he spake; and he was halfe afraid to object any treason against them, for that he had no prooffe thereof: and therefore hee prosecuted their opprobrious words, iniuries and offences which they had committed against him, the which he affirmed to be more grievous then death.

Herod accused his sons in open iudgement.

Herods sentence against his sonnes.

At last (when no man contradicted him) hee began to lament, as though by ouercomming in such sort, himselfe was also ouercome, & therupon requested euery one to giue their verdict. And first of all *Saturninus* condemned his sonnes, but not to die: saying, that hee had three sonnes present, and he thought it not lawfull to adiudge other mens sons to death. The two Legats also affirmed,

The yeere of the world, 3956. before Christs birth.

A affirmed the same, and many followed their aduise: But *Voluminius* was the first that pronounced the sorrowfull sentence: after whom all the rest followed, some to flatter *Herod*, some for hatred they bare him, but none for any indignation against the young men. Then all Iudæa & Syria expected an end of this tragedy; yet no man thought *Herod* to be such a tyrant, as that he would haue put his two sonnes to death. *Herod* caused his sonnes to be brought to Tyre, and from thence by ship he conueyed them to Cæsarea, bethinking himselfe what death he should put them to. In the meane time, there was an old souldier of the kings named *Tiro*, who had a sonne belonging to *Alexander*, and highly in his fauour, and he himselfe greatly loued the two young men: who being verie much grieved in mind at that which had past, went about crying, that iustice was trodden vnder foote, truth oppressed, that nature was confounded, and the life of man full of iniquitie; and whatsoeuer else griefe put into his mind, who nothing esteemed his owne life. At last, this *Tiro* came boldly vnto the king, and said vnto him: O king, thou seemest to me most unhappy, who doost giue credit vnto wicked and vile persons against thy dearest sonnes. For *Pheroras* and *Salome* thou believest before thine owne children, whom notwithstanding thou hast often found to haue deserved death; and thou doost perceiue that they doe this, to the intent to make thee want lawfull successors, and leaue thee none but *Antipater*, whom they with their harts would haue king, because they can rule him as they list. But bethinke thy selfe (O king) how all thy souldiers will hate him for the death of his two brethren; for there is no man that doth not pittie the two young men, and many of the Nobility are displeased hereat. After hee had spoken this, hee named them who were displeased: vwhereupon the king commaunded them, and him, and his sonne to be laid hold on; and presently one of the kings Barbers named *Tryphon*, shewing himselfe to be in I know not what furie, came forth, and laid vnto *Herod*; *Tiro* perswaded mee to kill thee with my razour, promising me, that if I would so doe, *Alexander* would giue mee great rewards. *Herod* hearing this, caused *Tiro*, and his sonne, & the Barber to be tortured, and they denied all, and the Barber affirmed nothing more then he had already said. Then hee commaunded *Tiro* to be more tormented. Whereupon his sonne moued with compassion towards his father, promised to disclose all the matter vnto the king, so that he would pardon his father: who being released of his torments, presently declared how his father through *Alexanders* meanes & procurement, was purposed to haue killed him. Many that were present, thought this was a deuise of the young man, to free his father from torments: and yet others were perswaded that it was true.

D Vpon this *Herod* made a speech vnto the people, wherein hee inuighed against the Gouvernors of his armie, and *Tiro*, and made the people arme themselves, & kill both them and the Barber with stauies and stones. Now hee sent his sonnes vnto Sebaste, which was not farre from Cæsarea, and there he caused them to be strangled: and hauing quickly dispatched the matter, he caused them to be brought into the Castle Alexandria, there to be buried with their mothers vncle. And this was the end of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*.

Tiro an old souldier, exclaimeth against *Herods* crueltie.

Tiro with his sonne, are by the kings commaund laid hands on.

Ant. lib. 16. cap. 13. Another false accusation against *Tiro*.

Herod commaundeth his sonnes to be strangled, and to be buried with *Alexander* their mothers vncle.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of *Antipaters* conspiracie against *Herod* his father.

E **B**Vt *Antipater* now hoping without all controuersie to succeed in the kingdom, was generally hated of the whole nation: for it was openly knowne that hee by false calumniation had caused his brethrens deaths. And on the other side, hee stood in no little feare of his brothers children, whom he perceived now to beginne to grow to yeeres: for *Alexander* had by *Glaphyra* two sonnes, *Tigranes* and *Alexander*: and *Aristobulus* had by *Berenice*, daughter to *Salome*, five children, to wit, three sonnes, *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Aristobulus*, & two daughters, *Herodias* and *Mariamme*. *Herod*, after hee had put *Alexander* to death, sent away *Glaphyra* with her dowrie into Cappadocia, and married *Berenice* *Aristobulus* his wife vnto *Antipaters* vncle: For *Antipater* deuised this match to become friends with *Salome*, whom he before time hated and eniued. He also by his great gifts sought to get *Pheroras* fauour, and the friendship of such as were friends vnto *Cæsar*, sending to that end great summes of money vnto Rome. Hee gaue *Saturninus* and all the rest great riches in Syria. But the more he gaue, the more hee was hated of all men; for euery one iudged that hee did not consume such wealth, for that hee was liberal, but that hee launified it out for feare; so that he got not the loue of them, vpon whom he bestowed it; and they to whom he gaue nothing, were so much the more his enemies. Yet he became euery day more bountifull, seeing against his expectation, *Herode* made much of their children: whose parents he had slaine, intending to shew how much hee repented their deaths, by the pittie and

Ant. lib. 17 cap. 21.

Antipater striueth by gifts and bribes to creepe into mens fauours.

The yeare of the world, 3561. before Christs birth.

Herod grievously bemoaned his sons, expressing the same by his comiseration toward their children. Herod becometh his nephews.

and compasſion he tooke vpon their children. For assembling together his friends, he caused the children to be placed by him, and the teares standing in his eyes, he said: Hard, cruell, and sinfull fortune tooke away from me the fathers of these children: but I pitie to see them orphans, and naturall affection commendeth them vnto me. Wherefore I will endeavour, that seeing I have bin an infortunate father, I may be a wiser and happier grandfather, & leaue them who are most deare vnto me, to raigne after me. Wherefore brother *Pheroras*, I betroth thy daughter vnto *Alexanders* eldest sonne, that for that cause thou maist be carefull to provide for him, and asist him: & vnto thy sonne *Antipater* I assure the daughter of *Aristobulus*, that so thou maist be a father to her who wants a father; and my sonne *Herod*, whose mothers vncl was high priest, shall marry with her sister. And this is my will and pleasure touching this matter, and let no man who touch mee seek to alter this. And I beseech Almighty God, for the good of my countrey, and of these my Nephewes, to prosper these mariages, & to looke vpon these children with a more fauorable eye, then he did their fathers. Having thus spoken, hee wept, and ioyned the childrens hands, & courteously saluting euery one, he dismissed the Councell.

Vpon this, *Antipater* was amazed, and all the Orphans well perceiued how sorrowfull he was. For now he thought himselfe dishonoured by his father, and that his good fortune was endangered, seeing that *Alexanders* son was like to haue both *Archelaus* and *Pheroras* the Tetrarch to assist him. Moreouer, he considered how he was hated, and how the people did compasſionate the children, for that they were fatherlesse, and affected them, remembring their fathers who were dead, and were terrified at his wickednesse. Wherefore he attempted all meanes possible to breake off the mariages, yet he feared to insinuate any thing to his father cunningly, who was now verie seuer, and warie, & mistrustfull. And therefore went openly vnto him to make his humble sute, and request him, that he would not leaue him without honour, nor deprive him of that dignity, which before time he had iudged him woorthy of, giuing him onely the bare title of a king, and leauing the substance of the kingdome in others mens powers. For it would bee impossible for him to obtaine the kingdome, if *Alexanders* sonne (beside *Archelaus* his fauour) were by marriage made sonne in law vnto *Pheroras*. Wherefore he earnestly besought him, that seeing he had a great many daughters, to change the mariages: for the king had nine wiues, and by seauen of them he had children: *Antipater* by *Doris*, *Herod* by *Mariamme* daughter of the high Priest, & *Antipas* and *Archelaus* by *Malthace* the Samaritane, and his daughter *Olympias*, whom his brother *Joseph* married; and by *Cleopatra* of Ierusalem, *Herode* and *Philip*; and by *Pallas*, *Phasaelus*: & he had two other daughters also, *Rexane* and *Salome*, one of them by *Phedra*, and the other by *Elpis*. He had likewise two wiues by whom he had no issue, his cousin, and his neece: and beside these he had two daughters by *Mariamme*, sisters to *Aristobulus* and *Alexander*. Wherefore *Antipater* seeing his father had such choice of daughters, he requested the mariages to be altered.

The king well perceiuing his mind and purpose towards the Orphans, was very angry: and calling to remembrance the misfortune of his sonnes, whom he had put to death, he greatly feared lest *Antipater* by some false accusations should ouerthrow them, & so with sharpe words did driue him off for that time; yet after ward he so flattered *Herod*, that he got the mariages to be altered. And first of all he ioyned *Aristobulus* daughter with *Antipater* himselfe, and his sonne to *Pheroras* daughter. Heere one may see what *Antipater* could doe by flattering speeches: for *Salome* in the like matter could not speed although that she was his sister, and procured many times *Iulia Cæsars* wife to speake for her, that shee might marie with *Syllaus* the Arabian: yet was not she permitted so to doe. But *Herod* (ware that he would account her as an vtter enemy, except she would desist from that purpose, and afterward against her will hee married her vnto one *Alexander* a friend of his: and one of her daughters to *Alexanders* sonne, and the other to *Antipaters* vncl.

As for *Mariammes* daughters, one of them was married to *Antipater* his sisters sonne, the other vnto *Phasaelus* his brothers sonne. VVhen *Antipater* had quite ouerthrowne the hope of the Orphans, and ioyned affinitie, as he thought good, he now held himselfe on a sure ground: & adding confidence to his malice, hee became intolerable to all men. And seeing hee could not auoid their hatred, hee now sought by feare to worke his owne safetie; and so much the more, because *Pheroras* now assisted him, as one that was confirmed and established for king. Also the women in the court fell at variance, and raised a new broile: for *Pheroras* wife with her mother, & her sister, and the mother of *Antipater* did vse themselves very insolently in many things, abusing also two of the kings daughters verie contumeliously: to which matter she was chiefly set on by *Antipater* who hated them, hauing the others at his commaund, onely *Salome* hindred their agree-

Ant. l. b. 17. cap. 3. Antipater buildeth vpon the kingdome.

A debate betwixt the Ladies in the court.

The yeare of the world, 3561. before Christs birth.

A agreement: who went vnto the king, and told him that their meetings were not for his profit.

The women vnderstanding how he had informed the king, & that *Herod* was offended the more, they came no more together openly, and abstained from their wonted familiaritie, and in the kings hearing faigned themselves to fall out one with another. *Antipater* also made the same shew, so that he stuck not openly to offend *Pheroras*: notwithstanding, they had meetings & banquets in the night, and the vnitie was the more confirmed because they perceiued themselves to be noted: for *Salome* knew all this, and told it vnto the king. The king was very angry, and especially against *Pheroras* wife, whom chiefly *Salome* blamed: and hauing called together his kinred & friends, he laid many accusations against her before them; and told them how contumeliously she had behaued herselfe toward his daughter, and that shee hired the Pharisees against him, and that by her poison she had made his brother his enemy. And turning himselfe vnto *Pheroras*, he asked him whether he had rather haue him for his brother, or haue his wife. And hee answering, that he had rather die then lose his wife: *Herod* doubtfull what to do, turned him to *Antipater*, and commaunded him neuer to talke with *Pheroras*, nor his wife, nor any one belonging vnto them after that time. But hee obeyed his fathers commaund openly in shew, but secretly lay in their house: and fearing that *Salome* should perceiue it, he by his friends in Italy caused himselfe to make a voiage to Rome, by letters brought to *Herod*, wherein it was commaunded, that shortly after the receipt thereof, *Antipater* should be sent to Rome vnto *Cesar*. Wherefore *Herod* vying no delay, sent him presently, furnishing him with all things necessarie, and a great summe of money: giuing him likewise his last Will and Testament to cary with him to *Cesar*; wherein was written, that *Antipater* should be king, and after him, *Herod*, the sonne of *Mariammes*, daughter of the high Priest. But *Syllaus* the Arabian, neglecting *Cæsars* commaundement, at the same time failed to Rome, there to contend with *Antipater*, about matters which were before in controuersie between him & *Nicholaus*. He had also a great contention with *Aretas* his king, whose friends he had slaine, and also *Soemus*, the most potent in all the towne of Petra: and seeing *Fabatus*, *Cæsars* Procurator, he vsed his fauour also against *Herod*. But *Herod* giuing *Fabatus* a greater summe of money, alienated him from *Syllaus*, and by this meanes dispatched that which *Cesar* commaunded: and because *Fabatus* restored nothing vnto him, he accused him that hee was Procurator, not for *Cesar* but for *Herod*: wherewith *Fabatus* was moued; and being as yet in great estimation with *Herod*, he did disclose *Syllaus* his secrets, and signified vnto the king, how that *Syllaus* corrupted *Corinthus* one of his guard, whom he willed to be taken and kept in hold. And the king followed his counsel: for this *Corinthus*, though he was alwaies brought vp in the kings court, yet was he borne in Arabia. Wherefore he presently tooke him & two other Arabians that were found with him; one of them was *Syllaus* friend; and the other *Phylarchus*: who vpon their examination, confessed that *Corinthus* for a great summe of money was hired to kill the king. After this, they were sent vnto *Saturninus* the gouernour of Syria, and from him to Rome.

Herod forbideth Antipater of his brothers company, or to haue conference with his wife.

Fabatus, Cæsars gouernour, discouereth Syllaus secrets.

CHAP. XIX.

How Herod should haue bene poisoned, and how it was knowne.

Herod still urged *Pheroras* to forsake his wife: for hee knew not how to punish her, hauing many matters against her: at last he was so moued that he banished his brother & sister. *Pheroras* taking this iniury patiently, departed into his Tetrarchie, taking an oath that his banishment should endure so long as *Herod* liued, & that whilst hee liued, he would neuer come any more vnto him; In so much, as he would not come at his brother to visit him when he was sick, notwithstanding he was often sent for, when (as he thought) he lay now on his death-bed, & would gladly impart something vnto him: but contrary to all hope he recovered, & afterward *Pheroras* fell sick. At which time *Herod* shewed his patient and humble mind: for hee went vnto him, and very kindly sought help for him; but hee was too far spent, for a few daies after he died: and although *Herod* loued him vntill his dying day, yet was it bruited abroad that hee poisoned him. *Herod* caused his body to be brought vnto Ierusalem, and commaunded all his nation to mourne, and buried him with a sumptuous funeral. And thus one of the murderers of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* came to his end: but shortly after, the reuenge of that wicked fact did fall vpon *Antipater*, who was the chiefe author thereof: it did but begin with *Pheroras*. For certaine that belonged to *Pheroras* came in mournfull wise vnto *Herode*, and complained vnto him how that his brother *Pheroras* was poisoned, and that one of his wiues gaue him meate that

Herod banished his brother *Pheroras* and his wife.

Pheroras died & was buried in Ierusalem.

Ant. lib. 17. cap. 5.

was

The years of the world, 3961. before Christ's birth.
3. A Witch of Arabia.

The confession of the women in their tortures.

was not seasoned after the accustomed maner: which when hee had eaten, hee presently fell sick. G And that two daies before his death, there came a Witch out of Arabia, who was sent for by his mother and his sister, to giue *Pheroras* a loue potion, and she in steed thereof, through *Syllaus* inducements, gaue him poison, for she was of *Syllaus* acquaintance.

The king, daunted with so many suspitions, caused diuers of *Pheroras* maids and libertines to be put to torments, and one of them impatient therein, exclaimed in this wise: O thou God, ruler of heauen and earth, reuenge vs vpon *Antipaters* mother, who is the cause of these our euils! When the king vnderstood thus much, he ceased not to search out the truth: and then the women disclosed *Antipaters* mothers familiaritie with *Pheroras*, and his women, & their secret meetings: and that *Pheroras* and *Antipater* after they came from the king, vsed to drinke with them all night long, nor suffering any seruauant or maid to be in the roome with them; and one of the Libertines wiues reuealed this. And when euery one of the maids were tortured apart, at their examinations agreed; so that now it was euident, wherefore *Antipater* had compacted to goe to Rome, and *Pheroras* beyond the riuer Jordan. For they were often wont to say, that *Herod* hauing killed *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, now he would come to them and their wiues: and that it was vnlike that he would spare any one, who spared not *Mariamme* and her sonnes: and therefore it was best to flie as farre as it was possible from such a beast. And that *Antipater* was wont often to complaine vnto his mother, that now he grew gray-haired, and his father waxed young & lustie; and that it might so chauce, that hee should neuer liue to be king; or if euer his father died, he should enjoy the pleasure of the kingdome but a short time. And moreover, the heads of *Hydra*, that is to say, *Alexanders* and *Aristobulus* sonnes, beganne to spring vp againe: and that his father had iniuriouly cutt off all hope from his sonnes, appointing none of them to succeed him, but the sonne of *Mariamme*: wherein he was perswaded that hee doted, if so be hee thought his will should be of force; for he would take such an order, that hee would leaue none of all his progenie aliue, and that *Herod* was the greatest hater of his sonnes of any father in the world: and was not therewithall contented, but he also hated his owne brethren. Furthermore, that hee not long ago gaue him an hundreth talents that he should haue no conference with *Pheroras*: and when *Pheroras* asked wherein they hurt him, *Antipater* answered, I would to God that hee would take away all men else, and leaue onely vs two naked, so that he would grant vs life: but, quoth he, it is impossible to escape this dangerous beast, who will not suffer men openly to shew friendship to one another. Lastly, though we now secretly meet, yet if wee beare the harts and hands of men, the time will be when we may talke and meete openly. The maids in torments disclosed these speeches, and that *Pheroras* was determined to flie with them into Petra. *Herod* believed all their sayings, and the rather for that which was said concerning the hundreth talents. For hee said nothing of them to any one but to *Antipater*.

And first of all hee bent his furie against *Doris*, *Antipaters* mother: and taking from her all the ornaments which he had bestowed vpon her, and bought with many talents, he banished her. When his wrath was somewhat appeased, he released *Pheroras* maids from torments: and now he became timorous and fearful, and prone to any suspicion, torturing many that were innocent, for feare he should let any escape that were guiltie. Hereupon hee set vpon *Antipater* the Samaritan, who was Procurator for his sonne *Antipater*; who through torments confessed that his sonne *Antipater* had procured poison out of Egypt to kill him, by the meanes of a friend of *Antiphilus*; which poison *Theudion*, *Antipaters* vnckle tooke of him, and deliuered to *Pheroras*: who *Antipater* charged to dispatch *Herod* whilst hee was at Rome, far from suspicion, and that *Pheroras* gaue his wife the poison to keepe. VVherefore the king calling for her, commaunded her to bring forth that which was deliuered vnto her. And shee making as though shee would haue gone forth to fetch it, cast herselfe downe from a house toppe, thereby to preuent the torments, which if she were couisted, they would inflit vpon her. But by the prouidence of God (as it should seeme) it came so to passe that she fell not on her head, but vpon her side, and so escaped death, to the end that God might inflit punishment vpon *Antipater*. And beeing brought vnto the king, so soone as he began to come to herselfe (for she was amazed with the fall) the king demanded M of her, wherefore shee had done so, and swaue vnto her that if shee would truly disclose all, hee would pardon her for all; but if shee told an vntruth, her body should be torne in peeces with torments, and not be buried. Shee awhile held her peace, and at last said: Wherefore should I keepe any thing secret, seeing *Pheroras* is dead, to saue *Antipater*, who hath caused all our overthrowes? Heare O king, & God be witness of the truth hereof, who cannot be deceiued. When I late weeping by *Pheroras*, as he lay dying, he called me vnto him and said; See wife how much

Pheroras wife freely confessed what was become of the poison.

Doris *Antipaters* mother is spoiled of her jewels, and thrust out of the palace.

The years of the world, 3961. before Christ's birth, 3.

A I am deceiued concerning my brothers loue towards me, for I hated & sought to kill him, who thus loueth me, and sorroweth so much for me, though I am not yet dead: but truly I am iustly rewarded for my iniquity. And now (wife) bring me hither the poyson which was left by *Antipater* in thy keeping for my brother, & make it away before my face, that I carry not with me to hell a guilty conscience for that crime. So I brought it as hee willed mee, and the most part of the poyson I cast into the fire, where it was consumed, & kept a little thereof to my selfe, for feare of mi'chances, and of thee. And hauing thus sayd, she brought forth a box which had in it a very little of the poyson. And then the king tortured the brother and mother of *Antiphilus*, & they also confessed that *Antiphilus* brought a box out of Aegypt, & that hee receiued poyson from his brother, who practised physicke at Alexandria. The ghosts also of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* went all about the whole kingdom, and became as it were spies, to giue notice of such things as were vncertaine; who also caused those that dwelt in the vttermost parts of the kingdome, to come & giue euidence of such things as were suspected. At last it was proued that *Mariamme* the daughter of the high Priest was acquainted with these conspiracies, for her brethren being tortured did confesse it. VVherefore the king reuenged the mothers fault vpon her child: for hauing writ in his wil, that *Herod* her son should succeed *Antipater* in the kingdom, now for her fault hee blotted that out.

Gods iustice leaueth nothing vnperished.

CHAP. XX.

C How *ANTIPATERS* malicious practices against *HEROD* were known and reuenged.

AFTER all this, *Bathyllus* ioyned himselfe with *Antipater*, as it were to adde the last hand vnto all his practices. This *Bathyllus* was one of his libertines, who brought another sort of poyson, to wit, of Aspes, and the poyson also of other serpents; that if the first proued too weake and took not effect, that then *Pheroras* and his wife should make an end of the King with these. And beside these shamefull practices of his against his father; hee also had letters which hee had counterfeited against his brethren. For *Archelaus* and *Philip*, two of the kings sonnes were at that time at Rome to studie, who were very toward young men: and for that *Antipater* feared they might be some hinderance to him, in that which he expected, hee hastened by all meanes possible to make them away. And the better to effect this purpose, he counterfeited letters in his friends names that were at Rome, and he for money got others to write, that these two young men vsed in taunting wife to raile against their father, and openly to complaine of the death of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*: and that they took it in bad part that they were sent for home (for their father sent word that they should come away) and thereat *Antipater* was most troubled. For he before his departure from Iudæa to Rome procured such like letters to be forged against them at Rome; and so deliuering them to his father, that he might auoid all suspicion, seemed to excuse his brethren, affirming some things that were written to be lies; other things to be offences, whereunto yong men were prone. At which time hee gaue great summes E of money to them in whose names he had counterfeited the letters against his brethren: heereby as it were hiring them to be secret. He gaue them also rich apparell, and Tapistrie of curious worke: also siluer and golden cups, with many things more, to the end that by the precious gifts and rewards which he bestowed, he might haue all things kept close; so that at his returne hee made his father account that hee had spent two hundred talents, the greatest portion whereof was consumed in following the law against *Syllaus*. *Antipaters* small faults were all hid by a greater: for all they that had beene tortured gaue euidence against him, how that hee practiced his fathers death, and the letters witnessed how againe hee went about to make away other two of his brethren: and yet for all this, none of those who came out of Iudæa to Rome, bare him so much good will as to giue him intelligence what troubles were in the court at home, although F it was seuen moneths after that he was conuicted, before he came to Iudæa from Rome. Peraduenture they who were minded to tell him all, were forced to hold their peace by the ghosts of them who were put to death. At last he sent letters from Rome to his father, that now he would shortly return home, and that Cæsar had dismissed him very honorably. The king desired greatly that the Traitor were in his power; and fearing that if he had an inkling of any matter, that hee would looke to himselfe, fained great kindnesse towards him, and sent back againe vnto him very louing and familiar letters, willing him to hasten his return: for if he made haste, it might be he should obtaine pardon for his mothers offence: for *Antipater* vnderstood that she was banished. Then his re-

Antipaters treasons against his father & Philip his brothers.

Antipater giueth a great summe of money to those that counterfeited letters against his brothers.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 8. *Antipater* is solicited by *Herod* with many kind wordes to haue his re-

About turne.

The yeare of the
world, 3961. be-
fore the Natiui-
tie of Christ,
3.

Antipater ha-
ted in Cæsars

Antipaters
entertainment
at his fathers
hands.

Antipater is
iudged before
Varus.

Herods accu-
sation against
Antipater.

About this time he receiued a letter at Tarentum, whereby he understood the death of *Pheroras*, and greatly lamented it, which diuers thought well of. Yet as farre as one may coniecture, the cause of his griefe was, that his treason went not forward as hee wished; and hee did lament *Pheroras* so much, as though hee had lost one to effect his treacherie. Moreouer hee feared lest that which had passed should come to light, and least the poyson should be found: yet when hee came to Cilicia, and there receiued his fathers letters, which before we mentioned, he then made great haste homewarde: yet when he came to Celenderis, hee began earnestly to thinke vpon his mothers mishap, his minde as it were presaging some sinister fortune. And the wiser sort of his friends about him counsell'd him not to goe to his father, till such time as hee were certaine for what cause his mother was banished and diuorced. For it was to be feared, that he should bee accused also of the same that was laide to his mothers charge: But the vnwiler sort being more desirous to see their country, then to bethinke themselves what was expedient for *Antipater*, admonished him to make haste, least that his long delay should breed any suspicion in his father, and least thereby he should giue occasion vnto malignant people to raile vp slanders. For (sayde they) if any thing hath passed against you, it was in your absence, & were you in presence no man durst do nor speake against you; and it were a very vnwile part, for vncertaine suspicions to depriue himselfe of certaine felicity, and not to returne speedily vnto his father, and receiue the kingdome at his hands, who had him in whom only his hope was. This counsell (for fortune would haue it so) *Antipater* followed, & so arriued in theauen of Cæsars passing *Sebastus*, where contrarie to his expectation, he fell into great sorrow and admiration: for all men eschewed his companie, and no man durst come neere him. For although that he was alwaies hated of them, yet then they had libertie to shew their hatred. Many abstained from comming to him for feare of the king: and now the rumour of those things which *Antipater* had done was knowne in euery City, and to euery man, only *Antipater* himselfe was ignorant thereof. For there was neuer any man brought thither with more maiestie then he, when hee was to saile to Rome, nor neuer any man more basely entertained at his returne. And now vnderstanding of the massacre at home, he craftily made himselfe ignorant thereof, and notwithstanding that he was almost dead for feare, yet in his countenance he counterfained confidence. For hee could not now possibly make any escape, nor rid himselfe out of those present daungers: and yet hee heard no certaine newes of matters at home, nor there: for the king, by an edict had forbidden all men to giue him notice thereof: So that many times he comforted himselfe thus, that either all matters concerning him were yet secret, or if any thing was come to light, that he by policie and impudencie could acquite himselfe thereof; for these two were his refuge and hope. Being thus determined, hee went into the kings palace alone without any of his friends and followers; which at the verie first gate were most contumeliously repulsed. And by chauce *Varus* the ruler of Syria was there within: then hee boldly going in to his father, came neere vnto him, as though hee would haue saluted him. But *Herod* stretching forth his hand and shaking his head, cried out, O thou that hast attempted to murder thy father, dar'st thou yet presume to offer to embrace me, who art guilty of so many treacheries! God confound thee, wicked wretch, and come not neere me till thou hast cleared thy selfe of all that which is laid against thee: for thou shalt haue iustice, and *Varus* shall be thy iudge, who is by good fortune now here. Go and premeditate how to acquite thee against tomorrow, for I will giue thy subtil and crafty braine some time to do it.

Hereat *Antipater* was astonished with feare, that hee was not able to reply any thing; but so went his way. Presently his mother and his wife came vnto him, and told him all the proofes of treasons against him. Then he calling his wies together, bethought himselfe how to answer euery point. The next day the king caused an assembly of his friends and kinsfolks, and to them admitted *Antipaters* friends: and he and *Varus* sitting in iudgement, commanded all proofes to be brought, and witnesses to appeare: amongst whom were certaine of *Antipaters* mothers seruants, lately apprehended, who had letters from her to carry vnto him, to this effect. Forasmuch as all those things are now known vnto thy father, beware that thou return not vnto him before thou hast obtained some warrant of thy safety from *Cæsar*. These and others being brought in, *Antipater* also came in with them, and prostrating himselfe before his fathers feete, he said: I beseech thee, O father, beare no preiudicate opinion against me, and lend me an open eare whilst I purge my selfe: for if you please to giue me leaue, I will proue my selfe guiltlesse. But *Herod* with a vehement voice commanding him to hold his tongue, spake thus vnto *Varus*. I know *Varus*, that both thou, or anie other iust and indifferent Iudge, will adiudge *Antipater* to haue deserued death: and I feare me least you also should disdaine me for my bad fortune, and think me worthy of

The yeare of the
world, 3961. be-
fore Christ's na-
uitie, 3.
Herods kind-
nesse towards
his children.

Herod loued
Antipater a-
boue the rest,
and bestowed
many benefits
on him.

Antipater
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by
all
his
children.

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A of all calamities, who haue begotten such tonnes as you see. And yet this should moue thee so much the more to pittie me, who haue bene so mercifull and careful for such wicked cattifes. For I had alreadie appointed those young men that are dead to be kings, and brought them vp at Rome, & gotten them *Cæsars* fauor: but they whom I had so much honored, and exalted vnto the crowne, became traitors against mine owne life, whose death was much auailable to *Antipater*. For his securitie I sought therein, because he was a young man, and the next that should succede me: but this cruell beast being more then full gorged with my sufferance and patience, hath emptied his stomacke euen vpon my selfe, and thinketh my life too long, & is grieved that I liue to be old, & hath attempted to make himselfe king, nor any other way but by murdering his father. And for what cause did this come to passe? for that I recalled him out of the field, where hee was contemptible; and casting them off whom I had begotten of a Queene, appointed this to bee heire of my kingdome. I confesse vnto thee, *Varus*, my error: for I incited them against mee, because that for *Antipaters* sake I depriued them of their right. For wherein had I so well deserued of them, as at this mans hands? vnto whom, being yet aliue, I committed the sway and rule of my kingdom, and openly in my will and testament declared him to be my heir and successor: whose charges I with mine owne money haue still supported, notwithstanding that I had bestowed vpon him the yearly reuenues of fiftie talents. And lately when he was to saile to Rome, I gaue him three hundred talents, and commended him vnto *Cæsar*, as the onely man of all my house, who had preserued his fathers life. And what was their offence, if it bee compared with *Antipaters*? and what proofe was there of that, for which they suffered? none but that which this fellow treacherously inuented. Nay, I may boldly say so of him, who hath attempted to murder his father, and now dorth hope to colour all againe with craft and deceit. Beware *Varus*, that hee deceiue not thee: for I know this beast, and I euen now see by his fained teares, how probable a tale hee will tell. This fellow once warned me, that whilst *Alexander* liued I should beware of him, and not put euerie one in trust with my person. This is he who was wont to go before mee into my bed-chamber, and looke about in euerie corner, least some should haue lien in waite to haue effected any treason against me. This is he who watched me in my sleepe, and through whom I thought my selfe secure: who comforted me when I mourned for them that were put to death. This is he who censured the good will of his brethren when they were aliue. This was my defender & champion. O *Varus*, when I remember his crafts and subtilties, and all his counterfeittings, I scarcely thinke my selfe aliue, admiring how I escaped the hande of such a traitor: and seeing that Fortune stirreth vp those of mine owne house against me, and that those whom I most esteeme of, are my greatest enemies, I will bewaile mine owne fortune, and alone lament mine owne desolation; and not one that hath thirsted after my blood shall escape, although proofe bee brought against euerie one of my children. And thus his heart being surcharged with sorrow, hee was forced to brake off his speech: and presently he commaunded *Nicholaus*, one of his friends, to shew all the proofes and euidences.

All this while *Antipater* lay prostrate at his fathers feete, and lifting vp his head, hee cried aloud: Thou thy selfe, O father, sufficiently purgest me. For how should I be one who sought to murder thee, when thy selfe dost confesse, that I alwayes haue preserued thee from all dangers? Or if, as thou sayst, I did it fainedly, was it probable that I would be so circumspect in other affairs, and at other times, and now in so weightie a matter, play the part of a foolish and senselesse man? Nay, I might well thinke, that although such a thought might haue bene kept secret from men, yet it could not be hidden from God, who seeth all things. Was I ignorant what befell my brethren, whom God so punished for their wicked intents towards thee? Or what should cause me to enuie at thy life? The hope of the kingdome. Why? I had the kingdome. Or a suspicion of thy hatred towards mee? I knew thou loudest mee. Or any feare which I had of thee? Nay, in obeying thee I was feared of others. Perhaps want might cause mee thereto. Much lesse. For who might spend more then I? Truly, if I had bene the wickedest person in the world, or the cruelllest beast vpon the earth, yet should I haue relented, being overcome by the benefites of so louing a father; seeing, as thy selfe hast said, thou didst recall and preferre me before so many tonnes. And thou yet aliue, didst proclaim me king, and made me a spectacle to all men for to emulate, through the benefites thou bestowedst vpon me. O wretch that I am! O vnhappie time of my absence out of my country! What an head did I giue to enuy, & what opportunitie to malicious & deceitfull people? Yet, O father, it was for thy sake, and about thy affaires that I went to Rome, that *Syllaus* might triumph ouer thy old age. Rome can witnesse my pietie, and *Cæsar* the Prince of the whole world, who did often call me a son of my father. Receiue here, O father, his letter,

Nicholaus by
the kings com-
mand begin-
neth a mis-
hainous and
bitter accusa-
tion against
Antipater.Nicholaus
peroration.The venome
tried vpon a
condemned
male.An other
prooffe against
Antipater.Herod inten-
deth Antipa-
ters punish-
ment, & there-
fore blotteth
his name out
of his testa-
ment.Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 8.

farre truer then these fained calumniationes against me: let these plead my cause, let these shew my affection towards thee: remeber how vnwilling I was to faile to Rome, knowing I had here in thy countrey many secret enemies. Thou like an vnwile father hast cast me away: thou forcedst me to giue enuie time to frame accusations against mee: but now I will come to the proofes of these matters. Behold here I am, who notwithstanding a murderer of my father, yet did I neuer suffer any misfortune by sea nor land: Is not this, O father, a sufficient argument of my innocence? For I know father, that before God and thee I am condemned: and being condemned, I beseech thee, giue not credit to reports extracted by torments: let me be burned, inflict all torments vpon me, spare not my wicked bodie. For if I be a murderer of my father, I must not die without torments: crying out aloud after this manner, and weeping, hee moued all that were present, and *Varrus* also to compassion; but *Herode* onely abstained from teares, for his anger gaue attention to the truth. And preleny *Nicholaus* at the kings commandement making a long speech of *Antipaters* craft and subtiltie, tooke away all hope of mercie, and began a verie bitter accusation, alcribing all mischiefe which had befallen that kingdome vnto him, and especially the death of the two brethren, who through his calumniationes were made away: affirming also that hee vied treacherous practises against those, who were yet aliue, fearing least they should seek to succeed in the kingdome: for he who had prepared poyson for his father, would much lesse spare his brethren. And then comming to the prooffe of his pretence to poyson his father, he declared in order all euidence thereof, aggravating his offence by *Phororas*; as though *Antipater* also were the cause why he purposed to murder his brother; and how hee had corrupted the kings dearest friends; and so filled the wole court with wickednes. And when he had accused him of many o-
ther things, and brought prooffe thereof, he ended his speech.

Then *Varrus* when he had commanded *Antipater* to make aunswere vnto those things, and that he said nothing more, then God is a witnes of my innocence, hee called for the poyson and gaue it to one that was condemned to die, who hauing drunke thereof presently died. Then *Varrus* talked secretly with *Herod*; and what was done there in that counsel he wrote vnto *Cesar*. Yet notwithstanding whē *Herod* had sent *Antipater* to prison, he sent messengers vnto *Cesar*, to shew him his hard fortune and calamitie. After this it was prooued that *Antipater* wrought treason against *Salome*. For one of *Antipaters* seruants came from Rome, and brought letters in the name of *Acemes*, who was one of *Julia* her maides, which she writ vnto the king, telling him that she found a letter of *Salomes* amongst *Julias* letters, and so for good will she had sent it him: the letter which she affirmed to be *Salomes*, contained many bitter inuestiues against *Herod*, and many accusations. But these letters were written and faued by *Antipater*, who for money had per-
luded *Acemes* to doe, as we haue said: for the letter which shee writ to *Antipater* evidently shewed it to be so, for she wrote as followe. h. I haue written vnto thy father as you requested me, and sent also other letters: and I assure my selfe he will not spare his sister, if he doe but reade the letters: and you may do well, seeing I haue performed all your requests, that now you would be mindfull of your promise. This letter against *Salome* and others being found to be counterfai-
red, the king began to doubt that *Alexander* was made away by such counterfai-
red letters: and he was verie angrie that he had almost put his sister to death, through *Antipaters* deuile. Where-
fore he no longer delaid to punish him for all, yet he was hindered by a great sicknesse from accomplishing his purpose. He also sent letters vnto *Cesar* concerning *Aceme* the maid, and *Salomes* false accusation, and changed his testament, and blotted out the name of *Antipater*, and in his roome wrote *Antipas*, leauing our *Archelaus* and *Philppus*, who were the elder brethren, because *Antipater* had accused them. And he bequeathed vnto *Cesar* a thousand talents, beside many o-
ther rich gifts: and to his wife and children, and kinred, and libertines, about fise hundredth, and gaue euery one a great gift, either in ground or money, and honoured his sister *Salome* with most rich gifts. And thus he corrected his will.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the golden Eagle, and of Antipaters and Herods death.

Herods disease encreased, partly through age, and especially for his griefe and sorrow, for he was now threecore and ten yeares olde, and his mind was so troubled by the death of his children, that though he were in health; yet he tooke no pleasure in any thing: and his sicknes was so much the more grievous vnto him, because that *Antipater* was yet aliue, for he purposed to put him to death when he was recouered of his sicknes. To encrease his calami-
tie

ty, there arose a tumult amongst the people. For there were in the City two sophisters, who made a shew as though they were very skilful in their country laws, & for that were renowned all ouer the countrey. One of them was named *Iudas* who was sonne vnto *Sepphorus*: the other was called *Matthias* sonne vnto *Margalus*. These two were followed by a great many yong men, so that when they expounded the law they had an assembly like a great army, all yong men. These two hearing that the king partly by griefe, and partly by his disease was very like to die, spake vnto their acquaintance, laying, that it was now a fit time wherein God might be reuenged, and those things which were made against their countrey lawes taken away: for it was a great offence to God to permit the Images or shapies, or likenesse of any liuing thing to bee in the temple. This they said, because the king had set a golden eagle vpon the chiefest porch of the temple, which the

Iudas and
Matthias per-
suade the peo-
ple to pull
downe the
golden Eagle.

Sophisters now willed the yong men to take away, laying that it was meritorious, although danger might ensue thereon, yea euen to die for their country lawes. For, they that died for such a cause should haue their soules immortal and enioy euerlasting blisse: and that many vnwile men ignorant of that doctrine, so loued their liues, that they chose rather to dy by sicknesse then to spend their liues in a vertuous quarrell. Whilest they sayd thus, there was a rumor spred that the king was now at the last cast: whereat the yong men beeing encouraged, about noone when many were walking in the temple, they let themselves downe from the top of the temple with great ropes, and so with hatchets cut downe the Eagle: Whereof the Captaine of the fouldiers being aduertied, accompanied with a great many soldiers, went speedily to the temple, and took almost forie of the yong men, and caried them to the King. Who first of all asked them if they

The yong men
that pull
downe the Ea-
gle are brought
before Herod,
and are exam-
ined.

were so bold as to cut downe the golden Eagle: and they confessed they had done it: then he demaunded by whole commandment? they answered by the commandment of their country lawes. After this it was asked them why they who were presently to die were so iouful? they answered, for that after death they hoped to enioy many good things and eternall blisse. The king hereat greatly moued with anger, ouercame his disease and went forth and made a speech to the people, wherein he inueighed against them as Church-robbers, and that vnder pretence and colour of their country laws and religion they attempted great matters, and adiudged them as impious people worthy of death. The people fearing that he would torture many to learne who fauoured that act, requested him that first the authors of that crime, & then those that were found guilty therein should receiue punishment: and that he would remit the offence to all the people be-
sides. The king with much ado entreated, caused the yong men that let themselves down in cords, and the *Sophisters* to be burned, and the rest which were taken in that act to be beheaded. After this the kings sicknesse spred ouer his whole body, and he was afflicted with most grievous pain: for he had a vehement ague, and an itch ouer all his whole body, which was intolerable, and a daily colicke, and his feete were swollen, as though he had the dropie: his belly was swollen, and priue members putrified, so that wormes bred in the putrified places. He was also short winded, and he was grievously tormented with difficultie of breath, and a conuulsion of the whole body: so that some said that this was a punishment laid vpon him for the death of the two *Sophisters*. *Herod* notwithstanding he was afflicted with so many & grievous sicknesse, yet was he desirous to liue, and sought remedy wherby he hoped for health. At last he passed ouer Iordan, where he used the warme waters of Calliroe which runne into the lake of Alaphatites, and are so sweet that men vse to drinke of them. There the Physicians caused his body to be bathed in hor oyle, and it was therewith so dissolved that his sight failed, and he was as though he were dead: whereat those that were about him being troubled with their cries caused him to looke vp, & now despairing of life he willed fiftie Drachmes to be distributed vnto euery fouldier, and great summes of money to the captains and his friends.

The yong me
with the ring-
leaders con-
demned to dyThe king trou-
bled with nar-
ry diseases.
Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 9.

As he returned, when he came to Iericho, he was in very great likelihood to die of melan-
choly, and there he deuised a wicked fact: for he caused the chiefe men of euery towne and vil-
lage in all Iudæa to be assembled together, and then he shut them vp in a place called the Hippo-
drome: and calling vnto him *Salome* his sister, and *Alexas* her husband; I know quoth he, that the
Iewes will make feasts for ioy of my death, yet if thou wilt do my command, I shall be mourned
for, and I shall haue a princely funeral. Therefore so soone as I haue giuen vp the ghost, cause foun-
dours to compasse these men, whom I haue here in hold, and kill them all: for to all Iudæa, and
euery household thereof shall against their will bewaile my death. As thus he commanded this
to be done, the Legates came which he had sent to Rome, bringing him letters, wherein was shew-
ed how *Acemes* *Julia* her maid, was by *Cesars* command put to death, and *Antipater* condem-
ned to die: yet *Cesar* writ that if his father had rather banish him, he would condiscend therun-
to

Herod seeketh
remedy in his
sicknes at the
hot bathes.Herod full of
melancholy,
The Ambasia-
dors signifie
Acemes death,
and bring let-
ters that au-
thorize Herod
to punish An-
tipater.

The year of the
world, 3764. af-
ter the birth of
Christ.

Herode ouer-
came with
paine would
haue flaine
Antipater.
Antipater
cap. 16.

Antipaters
death.

Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 12.

Herods death
signified to
the souldiers.

Archelaus
and
Antipater his
brother
cede.

Herods pom-
pous funerall.

to also. *Herod* with this newes was something refreshed, yet presently with paine he was ouer-
come: for he both was troubled with a vehement cough, and almost pined with fasting, so that he
thought to hasten his owne death; and taking an apple in his hand, he called for a knife: for he
was accustomed to cut the meate which he did eate; and then looking about him, least any stand-
ing by might hinder him, he lifted vp his arme to strike himselfe. But *Achiabus* his cousin ran ha-
stily vnto him, and stayed his hand: and presently there was made great lamentation through-
out the kings palace, as though the king had bene dead. *Antipater* hauing speedy newes hereof,
was glad, and took courage, and promised the keepers a peece of mony to let him go. But the
chiefeft of them did not only deny to doe it, but also went presently to the king, and told him all
what *Antipater* requested. *Herod* hearing this, lifted vp his voice with more strength then was
meete for a sicke man, and commanded his guard to goe and kill *Antipater*, and bury him in the
Castle called Hyrcanium. And then againe he altered his testament, and writ *Archelaus* his eldest
sonne, who was brother to *Antipater*, for king, and appointed *Antipater* for Terrarch. Five daies af-
ter the death of his sonne *Antipater*, *Herod* died: hauing reigned thirty and foure yeares after he
flew *Antigonius*, and thirty seauen yeares after that the Romans had declared him king. And in all
other things he was as fortunate as any man: for he being but a private person, got the crowne
and kept it, and left it vnto his posteritie: but in his household affaires hee was most infortunate.
Salome, before it was knowne that the king was dead, went forth with her husband, and released
all those that were in hold, whom the king commanded to be slaine; saying, that the kings minde
was now altered, and therefore he gaue them all licence to depart: and after their departure the
kings death was made knowne to the souldiers, who together with the other multitude were assem-
bled in the Amphitheater at Iericho. Where *Ptolemaus* keeper of the kings seale made a speech
vnto them, and began to say that *Herod* was now happie; and comforted the multitude, and so
he read vnto them a letter which the king left, wherein he earnestly requested the souldiers to fa-
uour and loue his successor. After the Epistle read, hee recited the kings testament, wherein
Philip was appointed heire of *Trachon*, & the places therunto adioining; *Antipater* designed Te-
trarch, and *Archelaus* king. Him also he commanded to beare his ring vnto *Cesar*, and withall no-
tice and intelligence of the estate of the kingdome, wherof he had bene gouernour, fast sealed in
writing: for he appointed *Cesar* to be ouersee of all his ordinances, vnto whose pleasure he left
the performance of his testament.

This was no sooner read, but presently the skies were filled with the voyces and cries of the
people, who did congratulate *Archelaus*, and the souldiers and the people came in companies
vnto him, promising their fauor and furtherance, and desired God alwaies to assist him. This
done; euery one was busied about the kings funeralls: where *Archelaus* spared no cost, but buried
the King with all royall pomp possible. The Beere wheron he was carried was adorned with gold
and precious stones: vpon it lay a bed wrought with purple, wherupon was laid the dead corps of
the king covered also with purple, with a crowne on his head, and a diadem of pure gold, and a
scepter in his right hand. About the Beere were his sonnes and kinsfolke: and the guard, & bands
of Thracians, Germans, and Gauls all went before in order, as though they had gone to warres.
The rest of the souldiers in warlike order did follow their Captaines and leaders, and 500. ser-
uants and libertines carried perfumes. And thus the corps was carried the space of two hundred
furlongs into the Castle named *Herodion*: where, as himselfe had appointed, it was interred. And
this was the end of king *Herode*.



THE

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THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES: WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS

IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 2. Booke.

- 1 Of *Herods* successor *Archelaus*, how he entred into the Temple, and the mutinie that arose for
the reuenge of those that were executed for taking away the golden Eagle.
- 2 Of the fight and massacre in Ierusalem betwene the Iewes and Sabinians.
- 3 Of *Varus* his deeds concerning the Iewes that were crucified.
- 4 How the Iewes had an *Ethnarcha* constituted ouer them.
- 5 Of the false supposed *Alexander*, and how he was taken.
- 6 Of the death of *Archelaus*.
- 7 Of *Simon the Galilean*, and the three sects of the Iewes.
- 8 Of *Pilates* gouernment.
- 9 Of the pride of *Caius*, and of *Petronius* the President.
- 10 Of the reigne of *Claudius* the Emperour, and the raigne and death of *Agrippa*.
- 11 Of diuers tumults in Iudaea and Samaria.
- 12 Of the tumults in Iudaea vnder *Foelix*.
- 13 Of *Albinus* and *Florus* Presidents of Iudaea.
- 14 Of *Florus* crueltie towards the Iewes of *Casarea* and Ierusalem.
- 15 Of another oppression of those of Ierusalem through *Florus* his meanes.
- 16 Of *Politianus* the Tribune, and *Agrippa* his oration to the Iewes, wherein he exhorted them to
obey the Romans.
- 17 Of the beginning of the rebellion of the Iewes against the Romans.
- 18 Of the murder of *Ananias* the high Priest, *Manahemus*, and the Roman souldiers.
- 19 Of a great slaughter of the Iewes in *Casarea*, and throughout all Syria.
- 20 Of another grieuous slaughter of the Iewes.
- 21 Of the massacre of the Iewes at *Alexandria*.
- 22 Of the massacre of the Iewes by *Cestius*.
- 23 Of the battell of *Cestius* against Ierusalem.
- 24 Of the besieging of Ierusalem by *Cestius*, and the massacre there.
- 25 Of the crueltie of them of *Damascus* towards the Iewes, and of *Ioseph* his practises in Galilee.
- 26 Of *Ioseph* his dangers and evasion, and the malice of *Iohn* Giscalaus.
- 27 How *Ioseph* recovered *Tiberias* and *Sephoris*.
- 28 How the citizens of Ierusalem prepared themselves to warre, and of *Simon* Gioras tyrannie.

CHAP. I.

Of *Herods* successor *Archelaus*, and how he entred into the Temple, and the mutinie that arose
for the reuenge of those that were executed for taking downe the golden Eagle.

Archelaus being appointed successor in the kingdom of *Herod* late dead, neces-
sitie constrained him to go to Rome, which iourney gaue occasion of new
broyles. For after that for seauen dayes space he had celebrated his fathers
funerals, and largely feasted the people (for this is a custome amongst the
Iewes, which bringeth manie of them to pouertie; yet he that doth not so is
reputed impious) he went vnto the Temple attired in a white garment,
where he was with great ioy receiued of the people; and he himselfe sitting
in a tribunall seat & a throne of gold, did verie curiously admit the people to his presence: and
chan-

The year of the
world, 3764. af-
ter the birth of
Christ.
Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 12.
The lamenta-
tions and an-
guets *Archelaus*
made.

The year of the world, 3964, after Christ's birth 2.

Archelaus prometh his subjects all fauour.

A fedition about the pulling downe of the Eagle, and the agents thereof. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 13. Archelaus humbly towards the feditious.

The feast of Easter tolemnly kept and much sacrifice offered.

Three thousand of the Iewes slaine at the feast of Easter.

Sabinus cometh into Iudaea to seise the fortresses, and keepe the treasure. Ant. lib. 17. cap. 13. Antipas elected king by Herodes former testament striueth with Archelaus for the kingdom.

thanked them for their diligent care vsed in his fathers funerals, and for that they exhibited honour vnto him, as though he were alreadie King. Yet he said that he would not take vpon him the authoritie nor name of a king, till such time as his succession was approued by *Cesar*, who by his fathers testament was Lord and maister of all: and for that cause he withstood the souldiers at Iericho, when they would haue crowned him. But he promised, that if he were confirmed king by those who were in authoritie, he would largely recompence both the souldiers and the people for their good will; & that he fully purposed to be better vnto them then his father was. The multitude hereat greatly reioyced, and made present triall of his mind and purpose; for some cried out, requesting that the tribute might be no more exacted. Others desired that the yearly payments might cease. Others requested to giue all prisoners libertie. *Archelaus* in fauour of the people graunted all their requests: & then offering sacrifices, he banquetted with his friends: when suddenly after the noone time of the day, a great multitude desirous of alteration (the common lamentation for the kings death being ceased) began a priuate mourning, bewailing their mischance, whom *Herod* had put to death for pulling down the golden Eagle from off the porch of the Temple. This sorrow was not secret, but the whole cite did resound with laments for them, that were thought to haue lost their liues for the temple and their countrie lawes. They also cried that reuenge was to be taken vpon them, whom *Herod* for that fact rewarded with money. And that first of all, he who by *Herod* was constituted high Priest, was to bee reiected, and another more holy and deuout to be put in his place. *Archelaus*, although he was hereby moued to reuenge, yet because he was presently to take such a iourny, abstained fro it, fearing least that if he brought the multitude into hatred of him, they might hinder him. Wherefore he sought rather by admonishing them, then by force to reclaim those that were feditious, and lent the Gouernour of the souldiers to request them to be pacified. But the authours of that sedition so soone as he came to the temple, before he spake one word, threw stones at him: and in like manner they vied others sent after him to appease them (for *Archelaus* dispatched many messengers vnto the) whom they spitefully intreated, making a shew that if they had beene more in number, they would not haue bene appeased. Therefore when the feast of vnleavened bread drew nigh, which the Iewes call Easter, wherein an infinite number of sacrifices were appointed; an innumerable multitude of people came out of all villages thereabout for deuotion sake to that solemnitic, and they who so lamented the death of the Sophisters, remained in the Temple, seeking by all means to nourish their sedition. Which *Archelaus* fearing, sent a band of souldiers and a Tribune with them, to take the chiefe of the feditious, before such time as they had drawne vnto them the multitude of the people: against whom the whole number being stirred vp, slew a great many of them with stones, and the Tribune himselfe being sore hurt, had much ado to escape. And when they had so done, they presently went and offered sacrifice, as though that no hurt had bene done. But *Archelaus* perswaded himselfe that the multitude would not be appeased without slaughter: wherefore he sent vnto them the whole armie, the footmen into the cite, and the horsemen into the field, who inuading the seditious people as they were sacrificing, slew of them almost three thousand, and scattered the residue into the mountaines neere adioyning. There were also Criers who followed *Archelaus*, and proclaimed by vertue of his command, that euerie one should depart home to his house: so euerie one notwithstanding the holiness of the day departed. But he accompanied with his mother *Popla*, *Ptolemey* and *Nicholaus* his friends, went vnto the sea coast, leauing *Philip* for Gouernour of the kingdom, and ouer his household: with them departed *Salome* and her children, and the kings brethren & kindred, vnder pretence to asist *Archelaus* to the crowne, but indeed it was to informe *Cesar* of that which was done in the Temple against the law.

When they came to *Casarea*, they met with *Sabinus* Gouernour of Syria, who was coming toward Iudaea to take into his custodie *Herods* treasure: whom *Varus* forbade to go any further, being sent for by *Archelaus*, and *Ptolemey* requesting him thereunto. And so *Sabinus* for the loue of *Varus*, neither entred the Castles, nor shut vp *Herods* treasure from *Archelaus*, but promised that he would let all alone till *Cesar* vnderstood thereof. But so soone as one of them that hindered him was gone to Antiochia, and the other, to wit *Archelaus*, to Rome; he still remaining at *Casarea*, now hastened vnto Ierusalem and tooke the kings palace: where calling for the chiefe of the guard, and the Purueyors, he exacted of them an account, and sought to take into his custodie the Castles and strong holds. But the Capitaines of the garrison, mindfull of the charge which *Archelaus* gaue them, kept vnto themselves the custodie of all, affirming that they kept them more for *Cesar* then *Archelaus*. At this time *Antipas* made a claime to the

crowde

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Antipas accuseth Archelaus by letters to Cesar.

Cesar calleth a counsell of Roman nobilitie.

Antipater's vehement accusation against Archelaus.

Antipater's vehement accusation against Archelaus.

The wilchanged during Herods sickness. Antipater against Archelaus. Nicholas defendeth Archelaus.

Archelaus humbly himselfe at Cæsars feet. Cæsars bounty and humane towards him.

A crowne alleging that *Herods* first testament was of more force then the last, and that hee in the first was declared king; and both *Salome* and many more of his kinred, who layled with *Archelaus*, promised him their aid. He looke with him his mother, and *Ptolemey*, brother vnto *Nicholaus*, perswading himselfe that they for their trustinesse and loyaltie vnto *Herod*, would stand him in great steed: for this *Ptolemey* was *Herods* dearest friend. He had also great confidence in *Ireneus* his orator, because he had an excellent grace in pleading, in so much as he refused the counsell of them who sought to perswade to yeelde vnto *Archelaus*, both for his age, and for the last testament of his father. Now he was well beloued of all his kinred at Rome, because they hated *Archelaus*, and especially those that desired to liue at libertie, and either to be gouerned by the Romans, or else to haue *Antipas* for their king. And to further him the more, hee vsed *Sabinus* letters vnto *Cesar*, wherein *Archelaus* was accused, and *Antipas* commended. Therefore *Salome*, and the rest of their complices brought the accusations vnto *Cesar*. And after them *Archelaus* deliuered all that which he had done, in writing, & withal his fathers ring by *Ptolemey*; & the reasons of that which he had done he sent inclosed vnto *Cesar*. *Cesar* pondering with himselfe what both parties alleged, and the greatnesse of the kingdom, and large reuenues, and number of *Herods* children, reading also the letters of *Varus* and *Sabinus*, he called the chiefe of the Romanes to counsell. Wherein *Caius* the sonne of *Agrippa*, and his daughter *Julia*, by his assignment, sate in the first place (this *Caius* was *Cæsars* adopted sonne) and so he licenced the parties to plead their rights. Then *Antipater Salomes* sonne being the most eloquent of all *Archelaus* aduersaries, offered himselfe to be his accuser, for that *Archelaus* seemed now in wordes to contend for the kingdome, which he had alreadie possessed himselfe of: and that hee did now trouble *Cæsars* eares with vaine cauations, whom he would not wish to iudge of his lawfull succession. For after *Herods* death, he laboured some to put a diademe vpon his head, and then sitting in a throne of gold in kingly manner, he partly changed, partly aduanced the orders of the souldiers, and granted vnto the people their requests, which could not be effected but by a king. He had also let at libertie many men, who for great crimes were imprisoned by his father: and hauing done all this, he came now vnto *Cesar*, to craue the shadow of the kingdome, the substance and bodie whereof he alreadie occupied: so that herein he left nothing vnto *Cesar* but a bare title. Moreover, he alleged that *Archelaus* did but counterfeit sorrow for his fathers death, faining himselfe to mourne in the day time, and in the night he would be drunke and rioted. Finally, hee said, that the sedition of the people came by hatred thereof. But the force and drift of his speech was altogether bent to declare the multitude slaine about the Temple: for he said, that they only came against that festiual day to offer sacrifice, and that they themselves were sacrificed, as they were offering their sacrifices which they brought; and that there were such heapes of dead bodies in the Temple, as neuer by any foraine warres were slaine the like. Therefore *Herod* foreseeing his crueltie, neuer iudged him worthe of the kingdome, till such time as his memorie layled him: and that now being more sicke in mind then bodie, hee knew not whom he named his successour in his last will, especially for that he had nothing wherein he could blame him, whom in his former wil he appointed his successour, when he was in health both of mind and body. Yet (quoth he) put case *Herod* in his extremitie knew what he did, yet (said he) *Archelaus* hath depriued himselfe of all kingly dignitie, hauing committed many things against the lawes. For (said he) what will he be after he hath receiued authoritie from *Cesar*, who before hee receiued any, hath murdered so many. *Antipater* hauing spoken much to this effect, and a euerie accusation taking witness of his kinred that stood by, ended his speech.

Then *Nicholaus* stood vp, and first of all he shewed that the slaughter of them in the Temple was necessarie. For they, for whose death *Archelaus* was now accused, were not only enemies of the kingdome, but also of *Cesar*: and for other crimes objected, hee shewed how that they were done euen by the counsell and perswasion of the aduersaries. He also requested that the second testament might be of force, for that therein *Herod* requested *Cesar* to be a confirmer of his succession. For he who had such remembrance, as to leaue the performance of his will to the discretion of him who was Lord of all, did neither mistake himself in appointing his heire, nor yet was depriued of his eues, seeing he knew by whom he should be established. When *Nicholaus* had ended his speech, and declared all that he thought might make for *Archelaus*, *Archelaus* comming in to the midst of the Counsell, prostrated himselfe at *Cæsars* feet: whom *Cesar* courteously taking from the ground, shewed that he was worthe to succeed his father. Yet did he not pronounce a definitive sentence: but the same day the Counsell being dismissed, he deliberated with himselfe, according to the euidence he knew, whether any of those nominated in the two wills should succeed

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IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

ceed their father in the kingdome, or that the kingdom should be distributed amongst the whole G familie: for he thought that they for number wanted succour.

CHAP. II.

Of the fight and massacre at Ierusalem betweene the Iewes and the Sabinians.

Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 14.
Sedition in
Ierusalem.

Sabinus sear-
zeth the kings
treasure, and
laboureth to
get possession
of his for-
treffe.

Three camps
of the Iewes.

Sabinus ge-
teth into the
highest tower
of the stron-
gest castle.
A skirmish
betweene the
Iewes and Ro-
manes.

The Romanes
flee the Por-
ches.

BEfore such time as *Cesar* determined any thing concerning this matter, *Malchace* the mo-ther of *Archelaus* fell sicke and died; and many letters came out of Syria, signifying that the Iewes had rebelled. Which *Varus* foreseeing after the departure of *Archelaus* from thence, went vnto Ierusalem to repress and resist the authours of that sedition: and because the multitude would not be quiet, hee left one legion of the three which hee brought out of Syria, in the Citie, and so hee returned vnto Antiochia. But *Sabinus* comming afterward to Ierusalem, was the cause that the Iewes beganne a new broyle. For one while he forced the guarriisons to render to him the Castels, another while he rigorously made search for the kings treasure; and he was not onely assisted by those that *Varus* left there, but also hee had a great multitude of his owne seruants all armed to further his auarice. And in the feast of Pentecost (so called because of the number of fenen weekes) the people assembled themselves together, not for religion sake, but for anger and hatred: so that there was an infinite multitude of people which came out of Galilee and Idumæa, and Iericho, and the Countreies beyond Iordan. Yet the Iewes which were inhabitants of the Citie surpassed the rest both in number and courage: and they therefore parted themselves into three bands, and made three camps: one vpon the North part of the Temple; the other on the South part, neere vnto the Castle called Hippodromus; the third on the West part neere the palace, and so they besieged the Romanes on euerie side. *Sabinus* greatly fearing them, both for their multitude, and for their courage, sent many letters vnto *Varus*, earnestly requesting him with all speed to bring succour: for if hee did not, the whole legion would be extinguished. Hee himselfe got him into the highest tower of the Castle Phasaelus, which is so called by the name of *Herodes* brother, whom the Parthians killed: and from thence he gaue a signe vnto the soldiers to issue out suddenly vpon their enemies: for himselfe was in such a feare that he durst not come downe to the souldiers of whom he was gouernour. The souldiers obeying his commaund, issued into the Temple, and there fought a sore battell with the Iewes, who hauing no bodie to assist them, being vnexperienced in warlike affaires, were soone conquered by them that were skilfull. At last many Iewes got vpon the Porches, and cast darts at them from the toppe thereof, so that they killed many: but the other could not reuenge themselves of them, who fought against them from so high a place; neither could they sustaine the force of them, who ioyned battaile with them; till at last they fired the porches, which for greatnesse and curious worke were admirable. And so, many were either destroyed with the sodaine fire, or else leaping downe amidst their enemies, were by them slaine: others going backward were cast headlong from the wall: others despairing of life killed themselves with their owne swords: and they who priuily came downe the walles, and assaulted the Romanes, being astonished with feare, were easily ouercome: till at last, all being eyther put to the sword, or caste downe through feare, the treasure dedicated to God, was left destitute of keepers; so that the Souldiers tooke away thereof about foure hundred talents, and that which they left *Sabinus* tooke away.

But this losse of men and money stirred vp many more Iewes, and those more warlike then the first, against the Romanes; who besieging the kings palace, threatened all their destructions, unless they would presently depart from thence: promising *Sabinus* and the legion leauero depart if he so liked. Part of the kings souldiers, who of their owne accord fled vnto them, did assist them. But the most warlike and valiant amongst them were three thousand of *Sebastes* whole Makers were *Rafai* and *Gratus*; but, leader of the foot-men, and the other of the horse-men; both which, although they had had no souldiers with them, for their valour of bodie, and counsaile, might yet haue bene a great helpe vnto the Romanes in those warres. The Iewes earnestly continued the siege and assaulted the castle walles, crying vpon *Sabinus* to depart, and not to hang them now after so long time to haue their countreies libertie. *Sabinus* though with all his hart he wished himselfe away, yet durst he not trust them; but he suspected that their countreies was but a plot

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Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 15.

A plot to entrappe him: and on the other side hoping that *Varus* would come and helpe him, still induced the danger of the siege. At the same time there were tumults in many places of Iudæa, and many through opportunitie of the time aspired to the kingdome. For in Idumæa two thousand olde souldiers, who had borne armes vnder *Herod*, gathering together and hauing armed themselves, came and fought with the kings forces, whom *Achiabius* the kings cousin resisted in the strongest villages, alwaies eschewing to fight in the open field. At Sephoris also a towne of Galilee, *Indas* the sonne of *Ezechias* the capitaine of the theuees, who before was taken by king *Herode*, and had wasted that countrey, gathered together a great multitude, and brake into the kings armory, and armed all his company, and fought against them who affected the royall dignitie. Also beyond the riuier, *Simon* one of the kings seruants being faire and of a huge stature, put a crowne vpon his owne head, and gathering together a companie of theuees, went about with them vnto Iericho and burned the kings palace and many faire and sumptuous houses there, and so got great prey by burning the houses: and he had surely fired all buildings of account, had not *Gratus* captain of the kings footmen made haste to meete him with the bowmen of *Trachon*, and the most warlike men of *Sebastes*, where many footmen were slaine. But *Simon* though he fled into a streight valley, yet he ouertooke him, and cut him ouerthwart the necke, and so hee fell downe. In like manner other of the kings palaces neere Iordan by *Bethara* were burned, by a multitude of others gathered together in bands from beyond the riuier. At this time a shepheard named *Athrongeus* presumed to vsurpe the crowne: he was thereunto induced by the courage he bare, and the disdain of death. With this resolution he armed his foure brethren, and euerie one of them had a companie armed, and they were as his captaines and champions to make incursions: and he like a King medled onely with great affaires, and then he put a crowne vpon his head; and thus he continued a long time wasting the country, and killing especially the Romanes, and also the kings souldiers; so that none of the Iewes escaped if they were in hope to gaine by them. They also presumed to meete a companie of the Romanes at *Ammauns*, who caried corne and armour vnto the legion, where they killed with darts one *Arius* a Centurion, and forie of the most valiant amongst them; and the rest being in the like danger, through the helpe of *Gratus* with the souldiers of *Sebastes*, escaped. When they had done many things in this manner against the inhabitants & strangers, at last three of them were taken: the eldest by *Archelaus*; & the two others who were eldest after him, fell into the hands of *Gratus* & *Ptolemaus*; and the fourth yeelded himselfe vnto *Archelaus* vpon composition; and thus at last they came to their end. And all Iudæa by their example was filled with theuees.

Simon one of
the kings ser-
uants taketh
the kingdome
vpon him.

Athrongeus a
shepheard vs-
turpeth the
kingdome.

The end and
issue of the
warre.

CHAP. III.

Of Varus his deedes concerning the Iewes that were crucified.

When *Varus* had receiued the letters of *Sabinus*, and of the nobles with him, fearing the whole legion, he hastened to succour them: Wherefore hee came to *Ptolemais* with two other legions and foure cornets of horsemen, where he willed the kings forces, and the nobles to meete him. Moreover as he passed by *Berytum*, they accompanied him with 15. hundred armed men. *Aretas* also the King of Arabia, for the hatred he bare to *Herode*, was come with a great number of horsemen and footmen. As soone as the host was assembled, *Varus* incontinently directed part of his armie into Galilee adioyning thereto, and appointed a friend of his the sonne of *Caius* for their gouernour, who presently put them all to flight against whom he was sent; and hauing taken the castle of *Sephoris* he fired it, and made the inhabitants thereof bond-slaves. *Varus* with the rest of the armie went into Samaria, and tooke it; yet hee did the Citie no harme because he founde that amidst all those tumults they had been quiet. When he had pitched his tents at a villa called *Aun*, which was in the possession of *Ptolemaus*, the Arabians sacked it, for they hated them who loued *Herod*. From thence they went to *Sappho* an other strong borough, which they in like manner sacked and destroyed, with all the fruits & ieuencues they found there. All was filled with the slaughter and fiers which the Arabians made, and there was no end nor hinderance of their auarice. Also *Varus* commaunded *Ammauns* to be burned, being angrie for the death of *Arius*, and the rest that were slaine there: and the inhabitants thereof were scattered, euery one by flight seeking to save himselfe. From thence hee went to Ierusalem, and at the sight of him the Iewes fled and scattered themselves, some here, some there, all about the country: they that remained in the Citie excused themselves, that they were not con-

Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 16.
Varus assis-
teth the Ro-
manes against
the Iewes.

Varus taketh
diuers cities
and castles of
Iudæa.

Ammauns
burnt.
Varus com-
meth to Ieru-
salem with his
army, & with
his onely pre-
fere dimaith
the Iewes,
senting

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ter Christs birth
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Varus crucified
two thou-
sand of the se-
ditions.

Varus mercy
and bountie
to the Idu-
means.

senting to that tumult, but that for the celebration of the feasts sake, they permitted the to come G into the citie, affirming that they had rather beene besieged together with the Romans then to haue conspired with those of the sedition: and so they laid the cause of that tumult vpon others. But first, *Iosephus Archelaus* his cousin, with *Gratus & Rufus* came to meet him, leading the kings armie, and the Sebastians & the Roman souldiers adorned in their accustomed apparell. *Sabinus* durst not beleeue of *Varus*, and therefore got him out of the towne before, and went vnto the sea coast. *Varus* diuided his armie, and sent it into the fields against the Authours of that tumult: and those that were brought vnto him who were in lesse fault, hee committed to prison, and those who were the chiefeft he crucified, to the number of two thousand.

And vnderstanding that in Idumæa there yet remained ten thousand of armed men, he presently sent the Arabians home, because he perceived that they did not warre as those that came to H helpe him, but as they themselves pleased, wasting the country against his will: and so accompanied with his owne armie, he hastened against the enemies. But they without any fight, through *Achab* counsell, yielded themselves to *Varus*. And he pardoned the common souldiers, and sent the Captaines to *Cesar* to answer the matter. Who pardoning the most of them, yet punished some that were the kings kinsmen (for some of them were a kin to *Herod*) because they altogether rebelled against their king. *Varus* hauing thus quieted the estate of Iudæa and Ierusalem, leauing the same legion that was there before, departed to Antiochia.

CHAP. IIII.

How the Iewes had an Ethnarcha constituted ouer them.

Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 17.
Ethnarch a
ruler or go-
uernour.
The Iewes cal
Archelaus in
question.

NOW *Archelaus* had a new proceffe at Rome against the Iewes, who before the sedition with the leaue of *Varus* were gone to Rome to craue the liberty of their country. These who came as Embassadors in their countries behalfe, were fiftie in number, and they were assisted by more then eight thousand Iewes that liued at Rome. Wherefore *Cesar* called a Councell of the Nobilitie of Rome in the Temple of *Apollo*, which was situate vpon mount Palatine, and ioyned to *Cesars* priuate palace, which was most sumptuously adorned: & the multitude of Iewes, appeared with the Legats against *Archelaus* and his friends. *Archelaus* kinned neither came with him, nor with the rest of the Iewes: with him they would not ioine, for enuie; and with the Iewes they durst not, for shame. Amongst them also was *Philip* the brother of *Archelaus*, whom *Varus* sent in courteous manner to assist his brother; or if that it pleased *Cesar* to diuide *Herods* kingdome amongst his children, that then he might haue a part. The aduersaries were commaunded to shew what *Herod* had committed contrarie to the lawes: First of all they answered, that they found him not a King, but the most cruell tyrant that euer was, and that he murdered many, & those whom he left aliue endured such miserie, as they thought themselves far vnhappier then those who were so butchered. For (said they) he was not onely contented to teare his subiects bodies with torments, but also defacing and ruining the cities of his owne countrie, he adorned and reedified the cities of strangers: and permitted forrainers to massacre the Iewes without reuenge. And in stead of their ancient and wonted happinesse, and their lawes inuiolated, their countrie was by him made so poore, and so filled with iniquitie, that within those few yeares that *Herod* reigned, they had sustained more murders and massacres then all their ancestors had, from the time of their departure out of Babylon, vntill the beginning of his raigne: being then prouoked to take armes when *Xerxes* was king of Persia. Yet they by enduring such miserie, being now accustomed thereunto, would willingly be subiect to such a successour of his as they knew would make them liue in most bitter seruitude: for they when *Herod* his father was dead, presently called *Archelaus* king, notwithstanding he was the sonne of such a tyrant, and with him mourned for the death of *Herod*, and offered sacrifice for the prosperitie of his successor. But he to shew himselfe *Herods* son, began his reigne with the slaughter of three thousand citicens; and because he had so well deserved the kingdome, he offered so many men to God for sacrifice, and on a festiuall day filled the Temple with so many dead bodies. Wherefore M they who had escaped that massacre, had iust occasion to consider their calamitie, and after the law of armes, to turne their faces to them who wounded them, and beseech the Romans, that they would thinke the remnant of the Iewes worthe of compalsion, and not to abandon and expose the residue of their nation as a prey vnto the, by whom they should be most cruelly butchered: but that it might please them to adioyne their country to the borders of Syria, & to let them be ruled by the Romans; and so they should find that the Iewes, who now were accounted sediti- ous,

A bitter accu-
sation of the
Iewes against
Herod & his
sonnes.

Herods tyrannic
& cruelty.

The Iewes
beseech the
Romans to
haue compas-
sion on the re-
mainder of
the Iewes.

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world, 3966, af-
ter Christs birth
4.
Nicholaus de-
fendeth Arch-
elaus before
Cesar and the
rest.

Cesar maketh
Archelaus
Ethnarch of
Iurie.
The distributing
of the kingdome
to Herods
children.
Those Cities
that were vnder
Archelaus
subiectiō.

Salome Prin-
cesse of Iudæa,
Azotus and
Phasaelus.

ATIOUS and rebellious, vnder peaceable and quiet gouernours, to be a peaceable nation: and with this petition the Iewes ended their accusation. After this, *Nicholaus* stood vp against them, and first of all acquired the kings of the crimes laid to their charge: and then reprooed his coun- trey-men, for that they would not be easily gouerned, and by their owne nature would not, except they were forced, obey their king: and he also blamed the kinsmen of *Archelaus*, who ioyned with his accusers. *Cesar* hauing heard what both parts could say, dismissed the Assembly. And within few daies alter hee gaue *Archelaus* halfe of the kingdome vnder the title of an Ethnarch, promising him moreouer to make him king, if hee behaued himselfe well: the other halfe he diuided into two Tetrarchies and gaue them to the rest of *Herods* sons: one vnto *Philip*; the other vnto *Antipas*, who contended with *Archelaus* for the crowne. *Antipas* his part lay from Ga- B lilee beyond the riuer Iordan, the reuenues whereof was two hundred talents a yeere. And *Philip* had Batanæa and Trachon, and Auranitis, and part of Zeno his house neere Iannia, the reue- nues wherof amounted to one hundred talents a yeere. *Archelaus* had in his Ethnarchie Idumæa and all Iudæa and Samaria, which was freed from the fourth part of their tribute, because they rebelled not with the rest. And these Cities were giuen him, ouer which hee was Lord, *Stratons* tower, *Sebalte*, *Ioppe* and *Ierusalem*. The rest, *Gaza*, and *Gadara*, and *Hippō* *Cesar* took from the kingdome, and ioyned them to Syria. *Archelaus* yearly reuenues amounted to foure hundred talents a yeere. *Cesar* also (beside that which *Herod* left her) made *Salome* Lady of Iannia, *Azotus* & *Phasaelis*, and the Palace at *Alcalon*, all which amounted to threescore talents a yeere. But *Cesar* made her house subiect vnto *Archelaus* his Ethnarchie. And hauing distributed C vnto the rest of *Herods* kinned that which in his testament he left them, he gaue his two daughters that were virgins, ouer and aboue, siue hundred thousand drachmes of siluer, and married the vnto *Pheroras* ionnes: and hauing diuided *Herods* patrimonie amongst them, hee also distributed that which *Herod* bequeathed vnto him, amounting vnto a thousand talents, leauing himselfe onely some iewell of small value, which he reserved in honour and remembrance of the dead.

CHAP. V.

Of the false supposed Alexander, and how he was taken.

AT the same time a certaine young man, a Iewe borne, brought vp by a Libertine of Rome in the towne of Sidonia, being verie like vnto *Alexander* whome *Herode* put to death, went to Rome, hauing one of his countrymen for his companion, who knewe very well all the estate of the kingdome: by whome hee receiuing instructions, affirmed, that they who should haue put him and *Aristobulus* to death, being moued to compassion, let them goe, and tooke two others in their roome like them: With this tale he deceiued many Iewes liuing in Crete, where hee was honourably receiued, and from thence hee failed to Melos, where he was yet entertained with greater pompe, and enriching himself he used such means, that he got his hostes (which gaue him entertainment) to sail with him to Rome: and after arriuing at Dicæarchia, he receiued al manner of rich gifts of the Iewes which dwelled there, and there by his fathers friendes was honoured as a King. For hee was so like vnto *Alexander*, that they that had seene *Alexander*, and knewe him well, would haue sworne hee had beene *Alexander*. Wherefore all the Iewes at Rome desired to see him, so that an infinite multitude followed him whithersoouer hee went in the streetes: and they so doted vpon him, that they carried him in a horflitter, and at their owne proper cost and charges prepared for him a royall traine.

But *Cesar* well remembred *Alexanders* visage (for *Herode* accused him before him) and although before hee saw him hee iudged that it was some that presumed because of his likeness vnto *Alexander*, to say that hee was the same, yet he made as though he beleueed all, and sent one *Celadus*, who knew *Alexander* well, to will this yong man to come vnto him. Who no sooner beheld him, but forthwith hee perceived the difference betwixt them, and especially when he felt his hard flesh and feruile shape, hee presently vnderstood the whole matter. But hee was greatly moued with his bold speeches: for when they demanded of him what was become of *Aristobulus*, hee answered, that he was aliue: yet he vpon purpose taried behinde and liued in Cyprus, fearing some treason: for they being asunder could not so easily be intrapped. *Celadus* taking him apart from the rest of the companie, told him that *Cesar* would saue his

Ant. lib. 17.
cap. 18.
A certaine
young man
faining himself
to be that Ale-
xander whome
Herod slew,
deceiuech
many.

Cesar desireth
to see the yong
man.

M m m

life

The yeere of the world, 366. after Christs birth
4. Cesar maketh the counter-ite Alexander a galley slaue, and executeth his counsellor.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

life, if he did truly confesse, by whose counsell he fained himself to be *Alexander*. He accepting of this offer, followed him to *Cesar*, and declared himselfe to be a Jew, who for lucre sake (being verie like him) counterfeited himselfe to be *Alexander*: affirming that hee had receiued such great gifts of the Cities by which hee passed, that he thought if *Alexander* had bene aliue, hee should not haue receiued the like. *Cesar* laugh't at this leſt, and made false *Alexander* (for the abilitye of his body) a galley slaue, and put him to death who induced him thereto. And as for the Jewes of Milo, he thought that they had punishment sufficient, if they lost all that which they had laid out, and bestowed vpon him.

CHAP. VI.

Of the banishment and death of Archelaus.

An. lib. 17. cap. 19.

Archelaus banished for his tyranny, and his goods confiscated.

Archelaus dreame of the oxen & eares of corne.

Archelaus resusins Mariamne marieth Glaphyra.

Glaphyra sawe Alex under in her sleepe.

Archelaus being now made Prince, remembered the discord past, and in reuenge thereof he tyrannized not onely ouer the Jewes, but also ouer the Samaritans: and in the ninth yeere of his raigne the Jewes and Samaritans sent Embassadors against him vnto *Cesar*: and finally he was banished and sent to Vienna, a Citie of Gallia, and all his patrimonie was confiscated vnto *Cesar*. Before hee was summoned to appeare before *Cesar*, he reported that hee had a maruellous dreame: for he saw nine great eares full of corne deuoured by oxen; and presently sending for Prophets and Chaldeans, he demanded what that dreame betokened. Some interpreted it one way, and some another: but one *Simon* an Eſſean told him that the eares of corne betokened yeares, & the oxen signified the changes and mutations of this world, for as much as in labouring the land, they turned vp and altered it: and therefore he was to raigne so many yeares as there were eares of corne in number; and then, after he had abidden many mutations, he should die. Fiue dayes after this interpretation, *Archelaus* was sent for to Rome, to answer that before *Augustus*, whereof he was accused. I also thought it worth rehearsing to set downe the dreame of his wife *Glaphyra* daughter to *Archelaus* king of Cappadocia, who was first married vnto *Alexander* brother vnto this man, and sonne to king *Herod*, by whom he was put to death, as wee haue sayd before: after whose death shee was married to *Iuba* King of Lybia, and he being dead, she returned home to her father: and liuing in her widowhood at home with her father, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch beholding her, was to inflamed with her loue, that presently being diuorced from his wife *Mariamne*, he married her. Who shortly after shee came into Iudaea, dreamed that she saw *Alexander* her first husband standing before her, and saying vnto her, It had bene enough for thee to haue married the king of Lybia: but thou not contented therewith, comest againe to my house, greedy of a third husband; and which is worst of all, now married to mine owne brother. I will not conceale nor dissemble this iniurie which thou doest mee, but I will recover you against your will. And she scarcely liued two dayes after she had recounted this dream.

CHAP. VII.

Of Simon the Galilean, and the three sects amongst the Jewes.

An. lib. 19. cap. 12.

The yeere of the world, 373. after Christs birth

Three sects among the Jewes, which the Eſſeans were the best. The Eſſeans doctrine of marriage. Among the Eſſeans goods are common.

After that *Archelaus* his dominions were made a prouince, a certaine Romane knight called *Coponius* was made gouernour thereof, receiuing authoritie from *Cesar* to punish and put to death. In his time a Galilean named *Simon* incited his countrymen to revolt, reprouing them for paying tribute to the Romans, and for being subiect to any mortall men, but God. This *Simon* was a Sophister, hauing a sect of his owne deuising, nothing like other sects. For there are three sects of Philosophers amongst the Jewes: one is that which the Pharisees do follow; another which the Sadducees do follow; the third is that which the Eſſeans follow, which is the most famous of the three. The Eſſeans are Jewes borne, but they are most friendly to one another, who beside all other pleasures do eschew witchcraft: neither do they suffer themselves to be led with their own affectiōs, but account it a great vertue to abstaine from all vices & to keep chastitie. For they refuse marriage, & account other mens children, put to them to be taught whilest they be young, as their kinsmen, whom they do diligently instruct in their manners and opinions; not for that they condemne marriage and propagation of mankind, but for that they thinke men should auoyd womens intemperance, for they think that none of them keep themselves truly to one man. Also they contemne riches, and all things with them are common, & no man amongst them

OF THE IEVVES. THE II. BOOKE.

The yeere of the world, 373. after Christs birth

The Eſſeans hospitalitie.

The Eſſeans apparell.

Their religion and labour.

The Eſſeans in compassion & helping others haue free choice, in other things they are ruled by their gouernour. The Eſſeans were not.

The Eſſeans, pious and continent.

A them is richer then other. And they haue a law amongst themselves, that whosoever will followe their sect, hee must make his goods common to them all: for so neither any amongst them shall seeme abiekt for pouertie, nor any great for riches sake, but they haue as it were all equall patrimonies like brethren. They account it a shame to vie oile, and if any man against his will bee appointed therewith, they vie all diligence to wipe it away: for they account homelines best; & all their clothes are white. They haue amongst them procurators, to ouersee and vie all things for their common benefit, and euerie one seeketh the good of all, who are chosen from among them by a common consent. They haue not one certaine citie, but are in many cities: and if any of their sect come vnto them from another place, they giue him any thing they haue, as if he himselfe were owner thereof. And in brieſe, they goe boldly into those, whom they neuer in their liues did see before, as though they were verie familiarly acquainted with them: and therefore when they take a iourney, they only arme themselves against theues, & cary nothing with themselves. In euery city there is one of them appointed, whose office it is to haue a care of the guests, and see that they neither want cloathes, nor any thing els necessarie for them. All children vnder gouernment, brought vp by them, go apparelled alike, & they neuer change their apparel, nor shooes, except they haue cleane worn their first apparell, or that by reason of long wearing they wil do no more seruice. They among themselves neither buy nor sell, but euerie man that hath any thing that another wanteth, giueth him it, and taketh that of him which him selfe needeth: yet euerie one of them may take any thing he hath neede of from whom he please, without any change. About all, towards God they are verie religious: for before the sunne rise they haue no profane talke, but they make certain vowes & prayers after the custome of their countrey, as it were, praying that it may rise vpon them. After this, euerie one is dismissed to practise the art hee knoweth, and when euerie one hath diligently laboured till siue of the clocke, they all gather themselves together againe, and being couered with linnen cloathes, so they wash their bodies with cold water: & hauing thus purged themselves, they haue a secret assembly, vnto the which no man that is not of their sect is admitted: and so they come into the refectorie as into a holy temple, all sitting down with silence, & the baker setteth euerie man in order a loafe, & the cook euerie man a messe of pottage of one sort. Then before meate the Priest giueth thanks, and no man may taste anie meate before they haue made their prayers vnto God. Likewise when dinner is ended, they pray againe: for both before and after they giue thanks vnto God the giuer of all, and then putting off that apparell as sacred, they apply themselves vnto their worke till euening. This done, they doe as before, causing their guests to suppe with them, if by fortune any come. Their house is neuer troubled with cries or tumults, for euerie one is appointed to speake in his turne: so that they who are without the house esteeme their silence as some sacred myſterie. The cause hereof is their continuall sobriety, and that euerie one is limited how much he should eate or drinke. And although that in all other matters they are ruled by their gouernour, yet in these two, to wit compassionating and helping, they may doe as they thinke good: for euerie one may when hee please helpe those whom he thinketh deserue helpe: and when they please, giue meate to them that are in need. Yet may not they giue any thing to their kinsred without the leave of their Gouernour. These men giue not place to anger, but refraine from wrath, keepe their promise, and maintaine peace, and account euerie word they speake of more force, then if they had bound it with an oath: and they shun oathes worse then perurie: for they esteeme him condemned for a lyer, who is not beleueed without he call God to witnesse. They studie diligently auncient Writers, chiefly gathering out of their writings, what is most conuenient for the soule and the bodie. Out of them they learne remedies for diseases, and medicinable hearbes, and what is the proper effect of euerie stone. Those who are desirous to be of their order, doe not straightway conuerſe with them, but for a yeare before they liue out of their Colledge, and haue the same diet, giuing them also a litle hatchet, and such a girdle, as is before spoken of, and a white garment. But at the yeares end, if they perceiue him to be continent, then they take him into their refectorie, and he is made partaker of purer waters (to the end he may continue chaste) yet is hee not admitted in common amongst them: for two yeares after this his trial, they obserue his life and manners: and at last, when he is thought worthy, then is he admitted to their common companie. And before he be receiued to the common table, first he protesteth with great and solemne oaths, that he will worship God, and obserue iustice & fidelitie towards all men, and neither willingly hurt anie man, nor iniure any one for another mans command, but that he will alwaies hate the wicked, & assist the good, and euer keepe his faith to all, but especially to his superiours. For no man can obtaine the power of principallitie without the will and good pleasure of God: and that if he be put

The year of the world, 3973, after Christs birth 17.
The Effians circumpect in iustice.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

The Effians reuerence the Sabbath.

The Effians live long time.

The Effians coillancy in the warre with the Romans.
The year of the world, 3979, after Christs Nativity, 17.

The Effians esteeme the soule immortal, but they beleue not the resurrection of the dead.

The Grecians opinion of the soule of man.

in authoritie ouer others, he neuer will abuse it to the prejudice of those that are vnder him, and neither exceed the rest in apparrell, nor in any other ambitious pompe) that he will alwaies loue the truth, and euer endeauour to confute liars: and that he will keepe his hands from stealing, and his soule pure from all vniust gaine: and that he wil not conceale any mysteries, or secrets from his companions, nor reueale them to any strangers, although hee should be thereto compelled by death. Adding moreouer, that they will neuer deliuer any doctrine, saue that which they haue receiued; and that they will auoid theft, and diligently keepe the bookes of their doctrine, and the names of Angels. And with these oaths they trie, and as it were arme those who enter into their order: Those of their congregation, who shall be condemned, they thrust out of their companie: and whosoeuer is so punished, for the most part dieth a miserable death; for hauing once taken this oath, it is not lawfull for him to take meat of any stranger; so that feeding on grasse like beasts, at last hee perissheth through famine. For which cause oftentimes they moued with compassion, receiue many into their order againe, euen ready by famine to yeeld vp the ghost, iudging them to haue endured penance inough for their offences, who with famine were almost brought vnto deaths doore. They are verie seuer, and iust in their iudgement; and to decide any matter, there is neuer fewer of them then a hundreth, and that which by them is agreed vpon, is an irreuocable sentence. Next after God they reuerence the lawmaker, inso much as if one reuile him, they forthwith condemne him to death. They greatly reuerence olde men, and a multitude: so that if ten of them sit together, no man of them must speake without hee be licensed thereto by nine of the companie. They also must not spit in the midst of the assembly, nor on the right hand. And they are more seuer then any other Iewes in observing the Sabbath: And they do not onely abstaine from dressing meate vpon that day, but also they may not remoue any vessel out of his place, nor go to the priuie. Vpon other daies they dig a pit a foot deepe into the ground with the hatchet, which (as we before said) euerie one at his entrance into their order hath given him, and then couering themselves diligently with their garment, least they should doe iniurie to the light of heauen, in that pit they ease themselves; and the couer their ordure with the earth they took out of the pit: & this they do in most secret places.

And although this purging of their bodies be naturall, yet do they by washing purifie themselves after it, as after great vncleannes. Furthermore they amongst themselves are diuided into foure orders, according to the times which they haue taken to follow this exercise of life; & they who are iuniors, are so farre different from the seniors, that if they do but touch one of them, they presently purifie themselves, as though they had beene prophaned by a stranger. They are long liued, so that most of them liue a hundreth yeeres, which I iudge is by reason of their well ordered diet and their temperancie. They contemne aduersitie, and by counsell and discretion ouercome torments. They preferre an honourable death before life. And the wars which the Iewes made against the Romans, shewed what courage and hardines they haue in all things. For being then compelled by breaking of the members of their bodies, and fire torments, & all kind of tortures which were laid vpon them to reuile the lawmaker, and to eate any meate forbidden: yet could they not be forced to any of these; neither wold they entreat the torturers, nor shew any sorrow amidst their torments. Nay in the verie midst of their griefes and paines they scoffed at their tormenters, and laughing ioyfully yeelded vp their soules, as though they hoped to recouer the same againe. For it is an opinion amongst them, that the bodie is corruptible, and that the matter thereof is not perpetual: but yet the soules remaine for euer immortal; who passing out of a most pure and subtle ayre, wrap themselves in bodies as in prisons, being as it were drawn thercunto by a naturall inclination. And when they are deliuered out of these carnall bonds, then presently as freed from a long bondage they ioyfully mount aloft. And of the good soules they say, as did the Grecians; that they liue beyond the Ocean seas in a place of pleasure, where they are neuer molested with raine, nor snow, nor heat, but haue alwaies a sweet and pleasant ayre comming out of the Ocean. But the wicked soules (as they say) go into a place very tempestuous, where there is alwaies as it were winter weather, alwaies full of lamentations of those, who for euer are to be punished. But I iudge that the Greekes are of this opinion, when they say there is an Isle for the veracious, whom they call Heroes and halfe-gods; and that the soules of the wicked goe to a place in hell, where as it is fained, some to be tormented, as *Sisyphus*, *Tantalus*, *Ixion*, & *Tityus*. Which they did first inuent for this purpose, because those who are of good disposition, are made better in this life by hope of some reward in the life to come: and the wicked are (as they thought) hereby restrained for feare of eternall torments, which if they continue in wickednesse they shall endure. This is the Effians Philosophie touching the immortalitie of the soule: wherein they propose an eneuicable

OF THE IEWES. THE II. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 3979, after Christs birth, 17.
The Effians prophecy.
There is a college of the Effians that differeth from the former in the point of marriage.

The second sect of the Pharisees.

The third of the Sadducees.

A incuitable allurement to those who haue once tasted of their Philosophie. There are also some amongst them, who promise to foretell things to come, who from their tender age haue studied and followed holy bookes, diuers purifications and sayings of the Prophets: and their diuinat. O feldome faileth.

There is another college of these Effians agreeing with the former, both in apparrell, meate, and kind of life, and obserue the same lawes and ordinances; onely they differ in the opinion of marriage, affirming that they who abstaine from marriage, do cut off the greatest part of mans life, to wit, succession of mankind. For (say they) if all men should follow that opinion, presently all mankind would perissh: yet notwithstanding these people are so continent, that for three yeeres space they maketriall of the women they are to marrie, and when they haue proued the fit to beare children, then they marrie them. None of them must lie with their wiues when they are with child, to shew that they do not marrie to satisfie lust, but for to haue children. When their wiues with themselves they are covered with a garment as the men are, and this is the manner and custome of this sect. Of the two former sects, the Pharisees are said to be most skilful in interpreting the law, and are of opinion that all things are to be attributed to God, and Fate: and that euerie man may of his owne power doe good or ill, yet (say they) destinie helpeth in euerie action: and that the soules of men are all incorruptible, but onely the soules of good men goe into other bodies, and the soules of wicked men are sent into euerlasting paine. But the Sadducees denie Fate and Destinie, and affirme that God is the author of no euill, auowing likewise that a man hath free will to doe well or ill, and euerie man may chuse whether he will be good or bad: and they generally denie both paines and rewards for the soules after this life. The Pharisees are sociable & louing one to another: but the Sadducees are at discord amongst themselves, liuing like sauage beasts, and as vn courteous to their owne sect as to strangers. This is all which I haue to speake concerning the Philotophers amongst the Iewes. Now I will returne to my purpose.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the cities which Philip and Herod builded, and of Pilates government.

A Rehelaus his Ethnarchie being now made a prouince, the rest of his brethren, to wit Philip and Herod who was surnamed *Antipas*, gouerned their Tetrarchies. And *Salome* dying left vnto Iulia by her testament the Toparchie which shee ruled, as also Iamnia and the ground set with palme trees in Phasaelis. When *Tiberius Cesar* after the death of *Augustus* was made Emperour of Rome, after that he had reigned seuen and fiftie yeeres, sixe moneths, & two daies, *Herod* and *Philip* remaining in their Tetrarchies; *Philip* builded a citie neere vnto the head of Iordan in the countrey of Paneade, and called it *Casarea*; and another hee build in the lower part of Gaulanitis, and named it *Iulias*. *Herod* in Galilee build the Citie called *Tiberias*, and another in Peræa on this side Iordan, which also he named *Iulias*. *Pilate* being sent by *Tiberius* to be gouernour ouer the Iewes, caused in the night time the statua of *Cesar* to bee brought into Ierusalem couered: which thing within three daies after caused a great tumult amongst the Iewes; for they who beheld it, were astonished, and moued, as though now the law of their countrey were profaned: for they hold it not lawfull for any picture or Image to be brought into the citie. At their lamentation who were in the citie, there was gathered together a great multitude out of the fields adioyning, and they went presently to *Pilate* then at *Casarea*, beseeching him earnestly that the Images might be taken away out of Ierusalem, and that the law of their countrey might remaine inuiolated. When *Pilate* denied their suit, they prostrated themselves before his house, and there remained lying vpon their faces, for fise daies and nights neuer mouing. Afterward *Pilate* sitting in his tribunall seat was verie careful to cal al the Iewes together before him, as though there he would haue giuen them an answer: when vpon the Iodain a company of armed souldiers (for so it was prouided) compassed the Iewes about with a triple rank: the Iewes were herat amazed, seeing that which they expected not. Then *Pilate* told the that except they would receive the Images of *Cesar*, he would kill them all; and to that end made a signe vnto the souldiers to draw their swords. The Iewes as though they had agreed thereto, fell all downe at once, and offered their naked neckes to the stroke of the sword, crying out that they would rather lose their liues, then suffer their religion to be prophaned. Then *Pilate* admiring the constancie of the people in their religion presently commanded the statuaes to be taken out of the Citie of Ierusalem.

After this hee caused another tumult amongst them, for they haue a sacred treasure called

M m m 3

Corban,

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 5.
The year of the world, 3957, after Christs birth, 35.

The people would not condescend to *Pilate* to alter their countrey lawes.

Pilate admiring the constancie of the Iewes in their religion lent the statuaes to Ierusalem.
The year of the world, 3958, after Christs Nativity, 36.

The year of the world, 3998, after Christs birth, 33.
Pilate beareth the tedious with clubs.
The year of the world, 4001, after Christs birth, 39.
Agrippa Ariztobulus sonne of Herod the king put to death, went to Rome, and accused him to Caesar. Tiberius not admitting his accusation, he remained still at Rome, and sought the fauour of other potentates there, and especially he reuerenced Caius the sonne of Germanicus, he being yet a priuate person: & vpon a certain day being with him at a banquet, he stretched forth his hands, & openly began to beseech Almighty God that Tiberius Caesar might quickly die, that he might see him Lord of all the world. Tiberius having notice hereof by one of his familiar friends, caused Agrippa to be imprisoned, where he endured a hard and streight imprisonment, vntill the death of Tiberius, which was six moneths after. After he was dead (having reigned 22. yeares, fixe moneths, and three daies) Caius Caesar who succeeded him in the Empire, freed him from prison, and gaue him the Tetrarchie of Philip, who was now deceased, and the title of a king. When Agrippa came into his kingdome, Herod the Tetrarch began to enuie his estate, & Herodias his wife still vrged him forward to hope that he should be made a king: for (said shee) thou wastest that dignitie onely for slothfulness, because thou wouldst not goe to Caesar: for if Agrippa be made a king, being before but a priuate man, how canst thou doubt to be made a king, who art already a Tetrarch? Herod herewith perswaded, went vnto Caius Caesar, who greatly reprobred his auarice, in so much as hee fled into Spaine: for Agrippa followed him to Rome to accuse him before Caesar: and Caius gaue vnto him Herods Tetrarchie. And so Herod remained in Spaine with his wife.

Caius Caesar giueth the Tetrarchie to Agrippa Aristobulus sonne, and maketh him a King. Ant. lib. 18. cap. 14.
Herod and his wife remaine in Spaine. The year of the world, 4002, after Christs birth, 40.

Ant. lib. 18. cap. 15.
Caius Caesar collecteth & reputeth himselfe a God.
The feare the Iewes had of Petronius army.

The description of Ptolemais.

And like Galleneere Memnon's Sepulcher.

Corban, which Pilate vsed to bring water in vnto the Citie, foure hundred furlongs off: for this cause the people murmured; so that when Pilate came to Ierusalem, they flocked about his tribunall, crying and exclaiming. Pilate foreseeing that tumult, caused soldiers secretly armed to mingle themselves amongst the people in priuate apparrell, and commanded them not to vte their swords, but to beat those with clubs, whom they saw make such clamours. And when he had thus plotted the matter, sitting in his Tribunall, he gaue a signe vnto the souldiers; and presently the Iewes were beate, and many of them, partly with blowes, and partly troden vpon by the multitude, died miserably. The multitude amazed at the calamitie of those that were slaine, held their tongues. For this cause Agrippa sonne to Herod the Tetrarch, whose father Aristobulus Herode the king put to death, went to Rome, and accused him to Caesar. Tiberius not admitting his accusation, he remained still at Rome, and sought the fauour of other potentates there, and especially he reuerenced Caius the sonne of Germanicus, he being yet a priuate person: & vpon a certain day being with him at a banquet, he stretched forth his hands, & openly began to beseech Almighty God that Tiberius Caesar might quickly die, that he might see him Lord of all the world. Tiberius having notice hereof by one of his familiar friends, caused Agrippa to be imprisoned, where he endured a hard and streight imprisonment, vntill the death of Tiberius, which was six moneths after. After he was dead (having reigned 22. yeares, fixe moneths, and three daies) Caius Caesar who succeeded him in the Empire, freed him from prison, and gaue him the Tetrarchie of Philip, who was now deceased, and the title of a king. When Agrippa came into his kingdome, Herod the Tetrarch began to enuie his estate, & Herodias his wife still vrged him forward to hope that he should be made a king: for (said shee) thou wastest that dignitie onely for slothfulness, because thou wouldst not goe to Caesar: for if Agrippa be made a king, being before but a priuate man, how canst thou doubt to be made a king, who art already a Tetrarch? Herod herewith perswaded, went vnto Caius Caesar, who greatly reprobred his auarice, in so much as hee fled into Spaine: for Agrippa followed him to Rome to accuse him before Caesar: and Caius gaue vnto him Herods Tetrarchie. And so Herod remained in Spaine with his wife.

CHAP. IX.

Of the pride of Caius, and of Petronius the President.

Caius Caesar so abused himselfe and his authoritie, that he would be thought to be a God, & so be called. Also he put many Noble men of his countrey to death. He likewise exalted his impietie euen vnto Iudaea: for he sent Petronius with an armie to Ierusalem, commanding him to set his statues in the Temple, & if the Iewes refused to receiue them, that those who withstood him he should put to the sword, and lead the rest away captiue. Almighty God did otherwise dispose this proud commandement. But Petronius accompanied with three legions, and many assistants out of Syria, came with all speed from Antiochia to Iudaea: many of the Iewes would not beleue any warre towards, notwithstanding that they heard a generall report thereof: and they that beleued it, could not bethinke themselves of any meanes to resist. So dauidly all were in a great feare: for the armie was now come to Ptolemais, which Citie is situate by the sea shore in Galilee in a large field, and on the East side it is compassed about with mountaines, distant from it threescore furlongs, which appertaine vnto Galilee; on the South side it is inclosed with the mount Carmel, which is an hundred and twentie furlongs off from it: on the North side it is inclosed with an exceeding high mountaine, which the inhabitants call the Tyrians ladder: this mountaine is an hundred paces distant from the Citie. Two miles from this Citie there is a tiuer running by, called Belesus, a very little one, neere vnto which is the sepulchre of Memnon, hauing adioynning vnto it a place of the compass of an hundred cubits, worthy of admiration. This place is as it were a round valley covered with sand like glasse, which when many ships comming together take away for ballast, so that they emptie the place of it, that place is presently after covered with the like sand againe. For there are winds, which as it were vpon purpose carrie this sand from the higher places round about it thither, and whatsoever is within the mine of metall there, it is presently changed into crytall or glasse. And that which in my mind is more to be wondered at, is, that the sand being turned into glasse, if afterwarde any part thereof be cast vpon the brinke of this place, it is againe turned into ordinarie sand. And this is the nature of that place.

Now the Iewes with their wiues and children gathered themselves together in the field where the Citie Ptolemais is situate, and humbly besought Petronius, first not to violate their countie

Atrie lawes; and next, to be good vnto them. Petronius seeing the multitude of them who humbly sued vnto him, and how earnestly they besought his fauour, left his armie, and Caesar's statues at Ptolemais, and himselfe went from thence to Galilee, and at Tiberias called all the Iewes & their Nobilitie together, recounting vnto them the force of the Roman armie, & Caesar's deuotion: adding moreover, that the Iewes supplication was indeede a contumelie, seeing all nations vnder the dominion of the Romans (the Iewes onely excepted) had already placed Caesar's statues in their Temples amongst the rest of their Gods: & herein they did as it were reuolt from the Empire, & iniure the President. They answered, that it was against their lawes & custom of their Countrey: for it was not lawful for them to haue the image of God, much lesse the image of a man; & that they were not only forbidden by the law, to haue an image in the Temple, but also to haue it in any other prophane place. Petronius sodainly answered: Well, I must do my Lords command: for if I do not, but spare you, I shall be iustly punished: and not I, but he that sent mee, will fight against you. For I my selfe as well as you must do as I am commanded. At these wordes the whole multitude cried out at once, that before they would see their religion violated, they would willingly suffer themselves to be destroyed. When the noise of the people was ceased, Petronius sayd, Are yet then prepared and minded to fight against Caesar? The Iewes answered, Wee euerie day offer sacrifices for Caesar and the Romans. But if Caesar would needes place his image in the Temple, hee must first offer their whole nation for sacrifice: for they would willingly with their wiues and children offer themselves to any that would kill them. Hereat Petronius greatly marvelled, being moued to compassion when he beheld the constancie of the Iewes in their religion, and so great a multitude prepared to die for it. And for that time they departed, nothing being done. The next day following he assembled onely the Nobilitie of the Iewes, one by one, compelling them to accord to Caesars command, and spake publicly to the people, sometime admonishing them, otherwhile threatening them, and putting them in minde of the power of the Romans, and Caesars indignation, and that hee must of necessitie doe as he was commanded. But they were moued by none of these. And Petronius fearing the ground would bee left vntilled (for it was now seedetime, and all the people had remained idle in the Citie for fittie dayes space) calling them together, he said, that he would go about a thing which might greatly endanger himselfe. For (said he) I will either (God working with me) appease Caesars wrath, or else I will lose mine owne life to saue such a multitude as you are. And dismissing the people, who made dayly prayers to God for him, he led the armie from Ptolemais vnto Antiochia, from whence he pre-early sent vnto Caesar in all hast, recounting vnto him with how great an armie he went into Iudaea, and that all the whole nation made supplication vnto him: whose request and humble suit if hee denied, hee must utterly destroy the men and their countrey; for they had constantly remained in their countrey religion, and vehemently resisted any new law. Caius writ an answer of these letters vnto Petronius, threatening that it should cost him his life, because hee made no more haile to execute his command. The messengers that brought these letters were tossed in a tempest vpon the sea three whole moneths together, and others comming after them to bring newes of Caius his death, had a prosperous winde: so Petronius receiued the letters of Caius Caesars death twentie and seven daies before the other threatening letters came.

The constancie of the Iewes.

Petronius once more afflicth the Iewes, and threateneth the. Petronius sendeth to Caesar and signifyeth the Iewes supplication.

Petronius receiueth letters of Caesars death.

CHAP. X.

Of the Empire of Claudius, and of the raigne and death of Agrippa.

Caius Caesar being slaine by treason when hee had reigned three yeares and fixe moneths, Claudius was made Emperour by the army which was at Rome. The Senate by the intigation of the Consul's Sentius Saturninus and Pomponius the second, commanded three legions of Souldiers to keepe the Citie, during the Councell holden in the Capitol: and for Caius Caesars crueltie they determined to fight against Claudius, intending to reduce the Empire to the ancient government; that as before time, so for euer after, those should rule that the Senate iudged worthy. It chanced that at this time Agrippa came to Rome, and the Senate sent vnto him, requesting him to come and be one of their Councell. Claudius also desired him to take part with the armie, intending to vte his helpe where neede required. Agrippa perceiuing that Claudius was already as it were Emperour for his power, hee tooke part with him, who presently sent him as Embassadour to the Senate, to tell them his purpose; how that first of all, the Souldiers whether he would or no, set him in that dignitie: and it had bene in him

The year of the world, 4005, after Christs birth, 43.
Ant. lib. 19. cap. 3.

Caius reigned three yeeres & fixe moneths. Agrippa is chosen both betwixt the Senate & Claudius for an arbiter.

The yeere of the
world, 4005, af-
ter Christs birth
43.

The Senates
answere to
Agrippa.

The Senate
follow the
soldiers to
Claudius.

Claudius ho-
nourably enter-
taineth the
Senate.
Agrippas
kingdome.

The yeare of the
world, 4008, af-
ter Christs birth,
46.

Ant. lib. 19.
cap. 5.
Agrippa after
he had reigned
three yeeres in
Cæsarea dieth.
Herod after he
had reigned in
Chalcis dieth.
Ant. lib. 19.
cap. 7. 8.
Alexanders &
Aristobulus
Genealogy.

The yeare of the
world, 4011, af-
ter Christs birth,
49.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

an vndiscree part to haue forsaken such an offer at the souldiers hands, who did it for good will: G
nay, if he had refused it, his life should be in continuall danger; for it was sufficient cause of enuie
that hee had bene elected Emperour. Moreouer, hee purposed to rule, not as a tyrant, but
as a most mild prince: for he would bee contented only with the title of an Emperour, and doe
nothing without the common consent of them all. And although hee was not naturally inclined
to modest and courteous behauiour, yet he had a sufficient example to beware that he abused not
his authoritie, by *Caius Cæsars* death. *Agrippa* bare this message to the Senate, who answer-
ed (as though they trusted vnto their souldiers and learned counsell) that they would not
thrust themselves into wilfull bondage. *Claudius* receiuing this answer, sent *Agrippa* againe
to tell them, that nothing could cause him to betray them, by whome hee was made Empe-
rour: and that he was forced to make warre against them, with whom hee was verie loth to
strive, and therefore willed them to chuse a place out of the Citie for the battell to be fought in: H
for it stood with no realso to deface the city with ciuill wars & massacres for the obstinacie of som
few. *Agrippa* did also this message vnto the Senate: & one of the soldiers that were for the Senate
drew his sword, and said, Fellow souldiers, what should moue vs to massacre our friends, & kindred
and parents, who follow *Claudius*? especially seeing we haue an Emperour with whom we can find
no fault, vnto whom we should rather go forth with intreaties then with armes. When he had said
this, he passed through the midst of the court, and all the souldiers followed him.

The Senate being thus left desolate, & the Lords abandoned of their force, began to be in great
fear: and seeing it was no standing out for them, they followed the souldiers, & went vnto *Cla-*
udius. Before the Citie walled there met some that induoured to shew themselves duifull I
vnto *Claudius* for his fortune sake, hauing their swordes drawne, and they almost killed five be-
fore *Cæsar* vnderstood the outrage of the souldiers: and they had done it, had not *Agrippa*
ranne and told him of the matter, saying, that if hee did not presently appeale the souldiers fury,
now raging against the Citizens, that all his Nobilitie would presently be extinguished, and hee
should be left an Emperour of a desolate place. When *Claudius* heard this, hee repressed the
souldiers furie, and verie honourably received the Senate into his campe, and went forth presen-
tly with them, and offered sacrifice to God, as the manner is, for the good estate of the Em-
pire. Also hee presently made *Agrippa* King of all his fathers dominions, giuing him like-
wise that which *Augustus* gaue *Herod*, to wit, Trachonite and Auranite, and beside them ano-
ther kingdome, called the kingdome of Lysania, and published this his gift by an edict vnto the K
people, and commaunded the Senate to engrave that donation in brasen tables, and to place
it in the Capitoll. Moreouer hee rewarded his brother *Herode*, who was his kinsman, with the
kingdome of Chalcis, and married him to the Queene *Berenice*. *Agrippa* receiued greater re-
uenues of his kingdome then he could desire, which he spent not vainely, but in building such a
wall about Ierusalem, as had he finished it, the Romans could neuer haue taken it: but before he
could end that worke hee died in Cæsarea, hauing reigned three yeeres with the title of a king,
and other three yeeres before in the state of a Terrarch. Hee left behinde him three daugh-
ters which he had by *Cypris*, *Berenice*, *Mariamme*, and *Drusilla*, and one sonne by the same wife
named *Agrippa*: who, because he was verie young, *Claudius* reduced the kingdome into a pro-
uince, and made *Cestius Festus* Gouvernour thereof. But after him *Tiberius Alexander*, who no-
thing violating the lawes of the nation, ruled them in peace. After this, *Herode* king of Chalcis
departed, leaving behinde him two sonnes, which he had by his brothers daughter *Berenice*, to
wit, *Berenicianus* and *Hircanus*: and by his first wife *Mariamme*, *Aristobulus*. His other brother
also *Aristobulus* died a private person, leaving one daughter *Totapa*. And these were the posteritie
of *Aristobulus* king *Herods* sonne, and *Herode* had *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* by *Mariamme*,
whom he put to death: but *Alexanders* posteritie reigned in the greater Armenia.

CHAP. XI.

Of diuers tumults in Iudæa and Samaria.

After the death of *Herod* who reigned in Chalcis, *Claudius* created *Agrippa* the son of
the former *Agrippa*, king of Chalcis in his vnles kingdome: and *Cumanus* was made
ruler of the other prouince after *Alexander*, vnder whom there were many tumults &
new calamities, which befell the Iewes. For when they were assëbled together at the
feast of vnleauened bread in Ierusalem, the Roman soldiers standing in the porch of the temple (for
always

OF THE IEWES: THE II. BOOKE.

The yeare of the
world, 4011, af-
ter Christs birth,
49.
A hitly fact &
speech of a sol-
dier against the
Iewes on a
festiual day.
Cumanus lea-
reth the peo-
ples rage.
Some tenn
thousand men
straggled to
death.

A souldier
cutteth the
booke of the
holly scripture
in peeces and
burneth it.
The yeare of the
world, 4014, af-
ter Christs birth,
52.
The souldier
executed that
burned the
Bible.
A Galilean
slaine in Sama-
ria.

The souldier
executed that
burned the
Bible.
A Galilean
slaine in Sama-
ria.

Eleazar and
Alexander two
princes of the
Iewes execute
much crueltie.

Conspiracy in
robbery.

Quadratus
gouvernour of
Syria heareth
the Samari-
tanes & Iewes.
Quadratus gi-
ueth sentence
betwixt the
Iewes and
Samaritanes.

A alwaies armed men kept that place vpon festiual daies, least the people gathered together should
make any tumult) one of the souldiers taking vp his coat, turned his bare buttockes against the
Iewes faces, speaking words as vnseemely as was his gesture. Whereat the whole multitude be-
gan to murmur; so that they flocked about *Cumanus*, requesting him to punish the souldier for
this misdeameour: and some of them rash young men, and as it were prone to sedition, be-
gan to reuile the souldiers, and threw stones at them. Then *Cumanus* learning that the whole
multitude of the Iewes would violently rush vpon him, called vnto him many armed souldiers,
and sent them into the porch of the temple. The Iewes being in a great feare fled and left the
temple, and there was such a throng that as they rushed out to flee, aboue tennethousand people
were preit and troden to death: so that this festiual day was turned into wofull lamentations
& mourning in euerie place. This calamitie was encreased afterward by a company of theecues:
B for neere Bethoron one *Stephanus* seruant vnto *Cæsar*, carried some household stuffe, which the
theecues tooke from him in the high way. But *Cumanus* sending for those in the villages next
adioyning, to make inquirie of these theecues, commaunded them to bee bound and brought vnto
him, because they had not taken the theecues: in one of which villages a certaine souldier finding
the booke of the holly scripture, cut it in peeces and burnt it. Hereupon the Iewes gathered them-
selves together from all places, as though their religion were now violated: and drawn by the
force of their superstition as with an engine, all of them at one call went to Cæsarea to *Cumanus*,
there beseeching him that the souldier who had so blasphemed God, and their law, might not
escape unpunished. But *Cumanus* perceived the Iewes would not be appealed without some sa-
tisfaction, wherefore he condemned the souldier to death, and sent him to execution before their
faces; which done they all departed.

At last there arose a tumult betwixt the Galileans and Samaritans; for at a village called
Gennai, situate in the great field of Samaria, a certaine Galilean of the number of the Iewes that
came to the feast, was slaine: for which fact many Galileans ranne to fight with the Samaritans;
and the nobilitie of the countrey went vnto *Cumanus*, requesting him before any more harme
were done to go into Galilee and punish the authours of this euill. But *Cumanus* being busied
in greater affaires, sent them away without granting their request. When this murder was
known in Ierusalem, all the multitude left the solemnitie of the day, and went into Samaria
without any guide, refusing to be restrained by the nobilitie. Of this their tumult and sedition
D the sonne of *Dinaus* called *Eleazar*, and one *Alexander* were captaines; who with violence
entering the borders of the countrey of Acrabarena, killed man, woman and childe, sparing no
age, and burning the townes. When *Cumanus* heard this, hee tooke a cornet of horsemen called
the Sebastians, to come and helpe them that were thus oppressed, and so tooke and killed many
of them who tooke part with *Eleazar*. Now the nobles of Ierusalem came out to the rest of
that multitude, which so wasted Samaria, clothed in sackcloth & ashes vpon their heads, beseech-
ing them not to seek reuenge vpon the Samaritanes, as thereby to moue the Romanes to de-
stroy Ierusalem, and to bee mercifull to their countrey, the temple, their wiues, and children, and
not at once hazard all, and ouerthrowe their whole countrey and nation in reuenging the death
of one Galilean. The Iewes hereby were pacified, and departed. At the same time many con-
spired together to robbe and steale (as most commonly people by long peace grow insolent) so
that they robbed in euerie part of the countrey, & they that were most strong & able, offered vio-
lence to those that were weaker. Then the Princes of Samaria went to Tyre, beseeching *Numi-*
dus Quadratus being gouernour of Syria, to reuenge them of those that so robbed and spoiled
their countrey. There was also the nobilitie of the Iewes, & *Ionathas* the sonne of *Ananus* who
was high Priest, who defended the Iewes against the Samaritanes accusations, affirming the Sa-
maritanes to haue bene cause of that tumult in killing the Galilean: and after, that *Cumanus* was
cause of the rest of their calamities, who refused to punish the murderers. *Quadratus* for that
time sent away both parties, promising the that when he came into their countries, hee would dili-
E gently enquire of the matter; & coming fro thence to Cæsarea, he crucified all those whom *Cu-*
manus tooke alieue. And departing from thence to Lydda, hee heard the Samaritanes complaints,
and sent for eightene men whom hee vnderstood for certaine to haue been in that broile, & be-
headed them: & sent the two high priests *Ionathas* & *Ananias*, & his son *Ananus*, with som other
of the nobility of the Iewes to *Cæsar*, and also the chiefe of the Samaritanes. He likewise comman-
ded *Cumanus* and *Celer* the tribune to go to Rome, and yeelde account vnto *Claudius* for that
which they had done in that countrey.

This done, he went from Lydda to Ierusalem: and finding there the multitude celebrating the
feast

The yeere of the world, 4014, after Christs birth 52.
Clausius sentence against some Samaritans, Cumanus and Celer.

Claudius dieth and Nero succeeded him.
The yeere of the world, 4015, after Christs birth 53.
Nero killeth his brother, his mother and wife.

feast of vnleavened bread, without any tumults or disorders, he returned to Antiochia. *Caesar* at Rome hearing the allegations of *Cumanus*, and the Samaritanes (*Agrippa* was also there earnestly defending the cause of the Iewes, as also *Cumanus* was assisted by many potērates) he pronounced sentence against the Samaritans, & commanded three of their chiefe nobilitie to be put to death, and banished *Cumanus*, and sent *Celer* the tribune bound vnto Ierusalem, that the Iewes might draw him about the Citie, and then cut off his head. This done, he sent *Felix* brother to *Pallas* to rule Iudæa, Samaria, and Galilæa. And hee preferred *Agrippa* from Chalcis vnto a greater kingdom, making him king of that prouince, whereof *Philip* had bene ruler, to wit Trachon, Batanæa and Gaulanitis, adding thereunto *Lysanias* kingdom, & the Tetrarchy whereof *Varrus* was gouernour: And hauing reigned thirteene yeeres, eight moneths, and thirtie daies, *Claudius* departed this life, leauing *Nero* to succeed him, whom by the perswasions of his wife *Agrippina* he adopted to the Empire, hauing a lawfull begotten sonne of his owne, named *Britannicus* by his former wife *Messalina*, and a daughter called *Octauia*, whom he married vnto *Nero*; he had also another daughter by *Agrippina* named *Antonia*. How *Nero* abused his wealth and felicitie, and how he slew his brother, mother and his wife, & afterward raged against all his kindred, and how in a mad vaine he became a player vpon a stage, because it requireth a long narration, I will speak nothing thereof.

CHAP. XII.

Of the tumult in Iudæa vnder Felix.

The yeere of the world, 4018, after Christs birth, 56.
Ant. lib. 20. cap. 11.
Felix surpriseth Eleazar the captain of the theeues & many others, and sendeth them bound to Rome.
Another sort of theeues who at noone dayes went about the city to murder men.
Jonathan the high priest with many other flaine.
Ant. lib. 20. cap. 12.

Wherefore I will begin to recount what *Nero* did against the Iewes. Hee made *Aristobolus* sonne king of the lesser Armenia, and ioyned vnto *Agrippas* kingdom foure cities, and the ground belonging vnto them: two of them Abila and Iulias were in the country of Peræa, the other Tarichæa and Tiberias were in Galilee: and he made *Felix* gouernour ouer the rest of Iudæa. This *Felix* tooke *Eleazar* captaine of the theeues, after he had robbed and spoyled the country twentie yeeres, and many more with him, and sent them bound vnto *Caesar*, and he crucified a great number of them, who either were theeues and his confederates, or else such as assisted him. The country was no sooner cleansed from these, but presently another sort of theeues arose in Ierusalem called *Sicarii*, with short swords, who at high noone in the midst of the citie killed many in euery place: and especially at the celebrating of holy feasts they mixt themselves with the multitude, hauing short swordes vnder their coates, and therewithall killed those to whom they bare any grudge; and when men fell downe dead, they amongst the rest complained of this wickednes. By this deceitfull meanes they were a long time vnspiesed & vnknewen. And first of all they killed *Jonathan* the high priest, & after him euery day some were flaine: and the citie was put in a feare worse then death it selfe; for each man euery moment expected death, as though it had bene amidst open warres: likewise euery one cast a diligent eye vpon those that came neere him; also no man trusted his familiar friends: and yet were they murdered, whilst they were looking about them to escape daunger. So cunningly did these theeues couer and conceale their actions. Moreover there arose another sort of mischieuous people, who did not so much harme with their hands as the first, but with their impious counsell more, and did no lesse trouble the quiet estate of the citie then did the theeues. These people being vagabonds and iugglers, desiring alteration vnder pretence of religion, made the people as it were madde: for they went into the wilderness, affirming that there God would shew them tokens of their libertie. *Felix* perceiving that their action tended to rebellion, sent an armie of horse and footmen against these people, and killed a great manie of them.

An Egyptian Prophet gathered together welny 30000. men.

Felix ouerthroweth the Egyptian. For the theeues and magicians were much mislike to many men.

But a certain Egyptian a false Prophet, caused a farre greater massacre among the Iewes then that was: for being a Magician, he came into the country, and calling himself a Prophet, he gathered vnto him almost thirtie thousand Iewes, who were by his magicke artes seduced; and leading them from the wilderness to mount Oliuet, he determined from thence to goe to Ierusalem, and to driue backe the forces of the Romans, & to vse his authoritie ouer the people. Hee had for his guard those that came to follow him. *Felix* foreseeing his intent, met him with his legions of armed Romans: whom the other Iewes assisting, and fighting against him, the Egyptian with a few fled, and many that were with him were taken and committed to prison, and the rest of the multitude disperfed themselves euery one in his country. These being thus repressed, the other part (as it hapneth in a sicke body) began to rise: for some of the Magicians, and the theeues being gathered together, they brought many vnto miserie, and as it were exhorted them to libertie, threatening present death to those that obeyed the Romans; so that they forced them who were

contented

The yeere of the world, 4020, after Christs birth, 59.

A contented with their subiection to the Romans, to disobey them. These people being disperfed al ouer the country, robbed and sacked Noblemens and rich mens houses: moreover killed the, and fired the villages, so that all Iudæa was in extreame feare of them, and euery day their cruelty increased.

At this time arose another tumult at *Cæsarea*, by a sedition raised betweene the Iewes that dwelt there, and the Syrians. The Iewes challenged the Citie to be theirs, because it was founded by *Herod*, who was a Iew. But the Syrians denying not but that the builder of the city was a Iew, yet they affirmed that it belonged to the Gentiles: for (said they) it had not bene lawfull for the founder to haue placed in it shrines and statuaes, if hee had meant that it should haue belonged to the Iewes. So that hereupon there arose a great controuersie amongst the Iewes and Syrians, in so much as the one fought against the other, and euery day those that were the hardiest of both parts fought together. For the elder sort of the Iewes could not restraime those of their nation from being seditious: and the Greeks scorned to giue place vnto the Iewes. The Iewes ouercame them in riches and strength of bodie, and the Græcians ouercame the Iewes by help of souldiers: for a great company of the Roman armie came thither out of Syria, and they were ready to assist the Syrians, because they were as it were of their kindred & consanguinitie. The capitaines of the souldiers endeouored to appeale the tumult, and tooke those that were most seditious on both parts, and beat them, and cast them in prison. But the punishment of those that were apprehended did not terrifie the rest: nay, they were hereby made more seditious. When *Felix* saw this, by a streight edict he banished those who were most seditious out of the Citie: & those that obeyed not, he sent souldiers & slew them, suffering their goods to be taken by the souldiers. The sedition being still on foot, hee sent the Nobilitie on either part to *Nero* to plead their right and title. *Festus* succeeded *Felix*, who diligently persecuted them that troubled the country, and destroyed many theeues.

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 13.

A fight betweene the Iewes and Syrians about Cæsarea.

Sedition and slaughter among the Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 4024, after Christs birth, 63.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Albinus and Florus, Presidents of Iudæa.

But *Albinus*, who succeeded *Festus*, followed not his steps: for there was no iniquitie so great wherein he was not plunged. Furthermore, hee did not onely take away by force mens goods from them vnder colour of iustice, and at his owne pleasure exact a greater tribute, but also freed and let loose any one whom either the souldiers of the Citie tooke, or his predecessors had left in prison; so that their friends would giue a peece of money: and they only who were not able to giue money, were imprisoned as most heinous offenders. At this time they in Ierusalem that desired alteration, began to take courage, & those which were rich among them see'd *Albinus* with money, to permit them to be seditious, & the common people that could not bee in quiet, ioyned themselves with *Albinus* fauourites: and euery one of them had a troupe of theeues after him. But *Albinus* himselfe was ouer them all as a tyrant, and prince of theeues; and he vied the helpe of his guard to robbe the meaner sort: so they whose houses were sacked and spoyled, were glad to hold their peace; and they who yet had escaped, were glad to be verie officious towards those who deferred death, for feare they should suffer the like. In general, no man could trust one another: there were then many tyrants, and from that time the seedes of captiuitie, which after befell, began to take roote.

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 15.
Albinus president of Iudæa full of all wickednes.

The seditious bribe Albinus to winke at their robberies

Notwithstanding that *Albinus* was of such behauiour, yet *Gessius Florus* who succeeded him, so behaued himselfe, that in comparifon of him, *Albinus* might haue bene thought a good Gouernour. For *Albinus* did all things secretly and craftily, but *Gessius* committed any iniquity how great soeuer, so openly as though he gloried in his impietie; and behaued himselfe, not as a ruler of the country, but as a hangman sent to execute malefactors; omitting no manner of theft, nor any meanes whereby he might afflict the people. Where he ought to haue shewed pitie, there was he a tyrant; and where he ought to haue bene ashamed, there hee shewed himselfe shamelesse. No man euer could inuent more meanes to obscure truth, & deuise more waies to do harme then he: for it sufficed him not, for his owne gaine to abuse men one by one at his pleasure, but he wasted and spoyled whole cities at once, & destroyed the people in great multitude. Nay, he was not ashamed by the publicke voice of a crier, to proclaim it through the whole countie lawfull for any one that would, to rob and steale; so that they would bring him a part of their bootie. In brieft, his cruelty was such, that the countie was almost left desolate, people forsaking their own native home, & flying into strange lands. And during the time that *Gessius Gallus*

The yeere of the world, 4028, after Christs birth, 67.

Ant. lib. 20. cap. 16.
Gessius Florus succeeded

Albinus and proued worse then Albinus.

The countie of Florus spoyled whole cities.

The year of the world, 4028. after Christs birth, 66.

Cestius Gallus appeareth the people and requireth a mitigation of Florus severity.

The beginning of the warre of the Iewes, the 12. Year of Neros raigne.

was gouernour of Syria, no man durst go to him to make any complaint against *Florus*. But when at the feast of vnleavened bread *Gallus* came to Ierusalem, there met him a multitude of the Iewes about three hundred thousand, all beseeching him to help & succour their afflicted country, & banish *Florus*, who was the very plague of their nation. Yet *Florus* was so impudent, that being with *Gallus*, & hearing these cries against him, he was no whit moved thereat, but laughed at it. *Cestius* for that time appealed the people, promising that hereafter hee would make *Florus* more gentle vnto them, & so returned to Antiochia. *Florus* conducted him to Caesarea to stop his mouth with lies, deuising with himself how to make the Iewes rebel, & that hee thought was the safest means for to cloak his villanies: for if they continued in peace, and obedience, hee feared that some of them would accuse him before *Cesar*: marie if he could make them reuolt, he hoped that their great fault would shadow his impieties. Wherefore to bring about his purpose, he euery day oppressed them with new calamities, forcing them hereby to rebell against the Romans. At this time the Gentiles of Caesarea got the victorie over the Iewes, & brought letters to testify that decree before *Nero*. This was the beginning of the wars of the Iewes, in the twelfth year of *Nero* his empire, and the seuenteenth of *Agrippas* raigne, in the moneth of May.

CHAP. XIII.

Of *Florus* cruelty against the Iewes of Caesarea and Ierusalem.

Ant. lib. 20.

cap. 15.

The causes of the warre of the Iewes.

The year of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

Florus periuire and deceit toward the Iewes.

The conflict of the Iewes with the Caesareans.

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Florus had no iust cause for any of these calamities which he inflicted vpon the Iewes. The Iewes dwelling at Caesarea had a synagoge neere a peece of ground that belonged to a Gentile dwelling in Caesarea. The Iewes often sought to compound with him for that peece of ground, offering him far more then it was worth: but the Landlord of the soile did not only contemne their request, but also to their great griefe in that place builded tauerne; so that he left them a verie streight and narrow passage to go to their synagoge. Some young men among the Iewes, being verie zealous, resisted the workmen, and would not suffer them to build. *Florus* hearing this, commanded the Iewes to let the workmen goe forward in their worke. The Iewes not knowing what to do, especially one *Iohn* a Publican, offered *Florus* eight talents to hinder the building: he promised for that money to fulfill their request: and now hauing it, he presently departed from Caesarea, and went to Sebaste without performing any thing, giuing as it were occasion of sedition, & as though he had receiued mony of the Nobilitie of the Iewes to permit them to fight a certaine time. The next day which was the Iewes Sabbath, when they were all assembled to go to the synagoge, one of Caesarea, a seditious person, tooke a great earthen vessell and set it euert at the entrie into the Synagoge, and vpon it did offer birds. This fact so moued the Iewes that they would not be pacified, because it was done in contempt of their religion, & thereby the place was profaned. One part of the Iewes that was most modest & wisest, counselled the people to complain to them that were in authoritie: but those who for heat of their youth were prone to seditio, begā cōtumeliously to reuile the aduersaries. For the most seditious of the people of Caesarea were also prepared to fight with them, and had caused that to be done before the synagoge, only to picke a quarrel, and so they fought together. *Lucundus*, General of the horsemen, that was left to keepe all in quiet, presently came with souldiers, and commanded that vessell to be taken away, and so indeuoured to appease the tumult: but not being able to doe it through the violence of them of Caesarea; the Iewes tooke the books of their lawes, and retired themselves to a place called Nabata, belonging to them, which was distant from Caesarea threescore furlongs. Twelve of the chiefe of them, together with *Iohn* the Publican, went vnto *Florus*, being at Sebaste, to complaine of the iniurie done vnto them, requesting him to assist them, and modestly put them in minde of the eight talents they gaue him. But he presently commanded them to be bound and imprisoned, because they had presumed to take and carrie their law from Caesarea. Hereat those of Ierusalem were greatly moued, yet they shewed it not. *Florus* as vpon set purpose giuing occasion of rebellion, sent for seuentene talents out of the sacred treasure, pretending that it was to bee employed in *Cesars* affaires. At this the people was much troubled, calling and crying vpon the name of *Cesar*, praying that he would deliuer them from *Florus* his tyranny. Some of them being seditious, began to curse *Florus* bitterly, and tooke a basket and caried it about, and begged an almes for *Florus*, which they did in derision, as who should say, he were as miserable as beggers that haue nothing. *Florus* for all this left not his cruelty, but was more earnest to rob the inhabitants of their goods. So that when he should haue gone

The year of the world, 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

Another occasion of the warre. *Florus* scorneth the gratulation of the Iewes.

Florus in his tribunall requieth them to be yielded vnto him, who had spoken ill of him.

The outrage of *Florus* souldiers.

Florus souldiers kill 630 Iewes in one day.

A gone to Caesarea to haue quieted the sedition, and removed the cause of tumults, as also hee had receiued money for to doe taking an armie of horse and foot, he came to Ierusalem, that with the helpe of the Roman souldiers he might effect his pleasure, and terrifie the whole citie.

The people to pacifie his wrath, went out in courteous sort to meete the army, shewing themselves readie to giue them the best entertainment they could, & to receiue *Florus* with all honour and reuerence. *Florus* vnderstanding of them, sent before him one *Capito* a Centurion, with fifty horsemen, commanding them to depart, & not to mock him with a pretence of honour, whom they had so hainously abused. And that if they were as good as their words, they should flout and reproach him to his face; and not onely in words, but in deedes shew, that they desired libertie. Herewithall the multitude being terrified; and also for that the horsemen that came with *Capito* assaulted them with violence; euery one fled before they saluted *Florus*, or did their accustomed dutie vnto the army: and going euery one vnto his house, they past the watchfull night in feare and sorrow. *Florus* for that night lodged in the kings palace. The next day hee caused a tribunall openly to be placed, and the high priest and all the chiefe of the Iewes resorted thither and stood before the tribunall. Then *Florus* sitting in the tribunall seat, commanded them to bring forth presently all those, that had vied any opprobrious words against him, threatening to be reuenged vpon them except they did it. The Iewes made answer, that the people intended nothing but peace and quietnes, requesting that they that had offended in words might obtaine pardon. For it was no maruell in so great a multitude, if there were some rash and foolish yong men: and that it was vnpossible to discern all that offended, seeing euery one was now penitent for that which was done, and at least for feare would deny it. And that if hee were careful to conferre & maintaine the quietnes of the nation, and preserve the citie still to obey the Romans, hee then must rather pardon a few seditious for so many good mens sake; then, to reuenge himself of a few wicked persons, to hurt & molest so many that thought no harm. Hereat *Florus* wrath was encreased, & presently he commanded the souldiers to sacke the market place (which was in the higher part of the Citie) where things were sold, and put all they met or found vnto the sword. The souldiers, who were desirous of gaine, hauing now authoritie from their ruler, did not only sicke the place they were sent vnto, but also all houses, and murdered the inhabitants. All streets and gates were filled with them that sought to fly, and the dead bodies of them that did light into the souldiers hands: no sort of spoiling was omitted. They also apprehended many of the nobility, & brought them to *Florus*: and he causing them to be whipt, afterward hanged them vp. And there were slaine that day, of men, women and children (for they spared not infants) six hundred & thirty. Which did not afflict the Iewes so much, as to see the sodaine cruelty & tyranny of the Romans; *Florus* then doing that none before durst euer presume to doe: for hee caused knights before the tribunall seate to bee whipped, and after hanged them vp, who though they were Iewes borne, yet receiued they that dignitie from the Romans.

CHAP. XV.

Of another oppression of the Citizens of Ierusalem, by *Florus* his meanes.

E T the same time king *Agrippa* was gone to Alexandria, to entertaine *Alexander*, whom *Nero* sent to be ruler ouer Egypt; his sister *Berenice* in the meane while remained in Ierusalem, who seeing the cruelty of the souldiers, was much grieved: and often sent the lieutenants of her horsemen & her own guard vnto *Florus*, requesting him to abstaine from the slaughter of the citizens. But hee neither regarding the multitude of them that were slaine, nor the dignity of her that entreated, but onely his priuate gaine, & what he could gather by oppression & rapine, denied her request: so that the rage of the souldiers extended it selfe also against the Queene. For they did not only before her face beate and kill all that came in their way, but they had also killed her, had she not fled into the palace, where she watcht all night, keeping a trusty guard about her, fearing that the souldiers would breake in vpon her. She came to Ierusalem to fulfill her vow to God: for it is the custome, that if any be afflicted with grievous sickness, or be in any other distresse, they must abide in prayer thirty daies before they offer sacrifice, and abstaine from wine, & shauce their haire: which custome Queen *Berenice* then obseruing, stood also barefoote before *Florus* his tribunall seat, to entreat him: whom he not only contemned, but also put her in danger of her life. This was done the sixteenth day of May. The day after, the multitude gathered together in the vpper part of the Citie in the market place, and with great cries

Berenice requieth *Florus* to pacifie his displeasure against the Iewes.

The furie of the souldiers against *Berenice*.

The people exclaime against *Florus*.

N n n murmured

The year of the world, 4020, after Christ's birth, 68.

Florus reneweth the discontent of the people.

Florus subtilty and treason.

The exhortation of the priests and princes to the people.

The euent sheweth Florus intent and counsell.

The slaughter of the Iewes.

The seditions for feare least Florus should seize their spoiles flee to the temple. Florus taketh the spoiles, and entereth the temple. Florus seeing the Iewes inexpugnable in the temple, forceceeth his violence, and leaving a band behind him, goeth to Cæsarea.

murmured that so many were slain, & especially vsed contumelious words against *Florus*: which the nobilitie & high priests (feearing their deaths) apprehended, beseeching them to abstaine from such words as had already caused that calamitie in the city, & not to prouoke *Florus* vnto greater indignation. And so the multitude was pacified for their sakes who entreated, & hoped that hereafter *Florus* would desist from such cruelty. *Florus*, when he saw the multitude quiered, was sorry: and that he might againe prouoke them, he assembled together the nobilitie and high Priests, telling them that it would be an argument that the people did not seeke alteration any more, if they would goe in courteous wise and meet the souldiers which were coming from *Cæsarea*, where of were two legions. Hauing thus assembled the Iewes together to goe meet the souldiers, he sent and commaunded the Centurions not to salute the Iewes, who came to meete them: and if therefore the Iewes were offended, and gaue any hard speeches, they should fall vpon them with their weapons. The high Priests assembling the Iewes together in the temple, besought them to goe, and solemnly to meet and entertaine the souldiers, for feare of a greater inconuenience. Notwithstanding their counsell, those that were seditious refused to doe as they were requested: and others for griefe of them that were slaine, tooke part with the seditious.

Then all the Priests & Leuites brought forth the holy vessels & ornaments of the temple, and with Harps, songs & muscical instruments came before the multitude, beseeching them to endeuour, that the honour and pompe of the temple might still remaine, and not to incite the Romans through contumelious words to lacke the temple. There might you see the chiefe of the high Priests with albes vpon their heads, and clothes rent, so that their naked breasts were perceiued, and calling euery noble man by his name, & speaking vnto all the multitude, requested not for a small offence, to betray their whole country to them, who stil gaped after the destruction thereof. For what commoditie should the Romans reape by the Iewes salutation, and what amendment of their miseries could they expect, if they did not go to meet them? Contrariwise, if they would go to them in solemne sort, then they tooke from *Florus* al occasion of persecution, & saved their country from ruine, and themselves from further calamities. Adding that it was a great shame that such a multitude should be led away with a few seditious persons, & that it was more fit that so many should force those few seditious people to obey them, and ioine with them in opinion.

With these perswasions they did mollifie the malice of the Iewes, & also perswade many of the seditious people, some with threats, and some with reuerence of themselves to be pacified. And so they going before, al the people followed, & went out to meet the Roman soldiers. And coming neere them they saluted them: who answering nothing againe, those of the Iews that were seditious began to rayle against *Florus*, by whose consent this was done: & presently the soldiers apprehending them, did beat them with clubs; and the rest flying, the Roman horsemen pursued them, and trode vpon them with their horses. Many were slaine by the Romanes, and more were killed in the throng, one of them tumbling vpon another. There was a great throng in the gates of the citie: for euery one hastning and struiuing to get in, hindered themselves and others. Many died most miserably in that throng, and some were stifled, and some preft to death being troden vpon; so that their neighbours coming to bury them, could not know them. The souldiers also cruelly assaulted them, killing all that they could come vnto, and forced the people to goe in by the entrance called Bezetha, who desired to recouer the temple and the castle called Antonia.

Florus taking the soldiers with him, pursued them thither, struiuing to get the castle; yet did he not preuaile: for the people made resistance, and threw down stones from the house top; & killed many of the Romanes: who being overcome with darts cast from aloft, and could not resist the people, who on euery side came against them, retired themselves vnto the rest of the army at the kings palace. Those that were seditious, fearing that *Florus* would againe assault them, and by the castle Antonia make an entrance into the Temple, they got vpon the galleries that reached from the porch of the temple vnto Antonia, and beat them downe, hereby to repress the couetousnes of *Florus*. VVho greedily gaped after the sacred treasure, and struiued to enter by Antonia into the temple to take them: but seeing the porches beaten downe, he offered no more violence. And calling together the high priests and nobilitie, he said that hee was content to depart out of the city, but he would leaue them as great a garrison as they would request. Whereunto they answered, that nothing should be altered if he would leaue one company to keep all quiet: so he left not that, which a while before did fight against the people, because that the people would not easily brooke them, for that which they had suffered at their hands. So *Florus* as hee requested, changing the garrison with the rest of the armie departed to *Cæsarea*.

CHAP.

of Politianus the tribune, and how Agrippa made a speech vnto the Iewes, exhorting them to obey the Romanes.



Florus yet deuised another way to stir the Iewes to rebellion: for hee reported vnto *Cestius* that the Iewes were reuolted, impudently belving them to haue committed that which indeed they indured at his hands. The nobles of Ierusalem & *Berenice* certified *Cestius* of all that *Florus* had done: he receiuing letters from both parties deliberated with his nobles what to doe. Some counailed *Cestius* to go into Iudea with an army, and punish the Iewes if they were reuolted; and if they were not, then to confirme them in their obedience. Yet it pleased him better to send some about him thither before, to bring him true newes of their estate, & what had hapned. So he sent *Politianus* the tribune, who in his way met with *Agrippa* about Iamnia as he returned from Alexandria, and told him all, for what, and from whom he was sent. Where also were present the Priests and chiefe of the Iewes, to welcome *Agrippa*. And hauing saluted him as courteously as they could, they presently bewailed the misery which had befallen their nation, and the cruelty of *Florus*. Which although *Agrippa* disallowed, yet made as if he were angry with the Iewes whom hee greatly pitied, purposing hereby to bridle their affections; that they, perswaded that they had had no iniury, might abstaine from reuenge. So that all the better sort, who for their lands and linings desired quietnes, well perceived that the kings reprehension was not of malice but for their good.

The people of Ierusalem went out to meet them three score furlongs off, and receiued *Agrippa* and *Politianus* very courteously, yet the women lamented the death of their husbands slain, and with their teares moued the whole multitude to sorrow, who besought *Agrippa* to haue compassion on their nation; entreating also *Politianus* to go into the city, & behold what *Florus* had done: And so they shewed him the market place desart, and the houses destroyed, and by the meanes of *Agrippa* perswaded *Politianus* to goe round about the citie as far as Siloa, onely with one man, and behold with his eies what *Florus* had done, and that they were obedient to the Romanes in all things, and onely were enemies vnto *Florus* who had vsed them so cruelly. *Politianus* alledging the people, and inciting them to peace, and after returneth to *Cestius*.

The Iewes require the king that shew might be some embassadours sent to Rome to complaine of *Florus* to Nero. *Politianus* alledging the people, and inciting them to peace, and after returneth to *Cestius*.

Agrippa striueth to make the common sort flexible and attentive.

Niii 2

fore

The year of the world, 4030, after Christs birth, 68.

It behooveth to honour the magistrates, and not to provoke him by injury.

Agrippa excuseth Caesar and the Romans.

Depulsion of the Iewes which they so vehemently seeke for.

The example of the Athenians, Scythians who obey the Roman Empire. The Macedonians.

The comparison of the Romans force with the Iewes weakness. The Romans have brought the whole world under their government, & have fought another world beyond the Ocean.

fore I begin to declare vnto you who you are, and against whom ye purpose to beare armes, I will first diuide and separate such causes as you thinke inseparable. For if you seeke onely to reuenge your felues vpon those that haue iniured you, why do you then extend liberty? or if you thinke it not tolerable to obey any other, why then these complaints against your rulers are superfluous. For although they were neuer so milde, still would subiection be intolerable. Call all things to minde, and consider what a small cause of warre is giuen you. And first of all weigh with your felues the crimes and offences of your rulers: for you ought to shew your felues humble and dutifull to them that are in authoritie, and not exasperate and prouoke them to wrath by reprochfull speeches. For in reuiling them for small offences, you do incite them against you whom you forseele; and that whereas before they did onely doe you a little injury, and that secretly, now being moued through bad speeches, they openly set vpon you and destroy you. And there is nothing that so resisteth cruelty as patience; so that oft times the patience of them who haue suffered iniury, makes them that did the iniury ashamed thereof. Be it so, that they, which are sent into the prouinces and appointed by the Romans for your gouernours, are welcome to you, yet all the Romans doe not oppresse you, nor Caesar against whom you would take armes. For they command no cruell gouernours to come to you, nor can they who are in the furthest part of the West, easily know what is done in the East, nor heare thereof. And truly it is a thing against reason to take armes for so small cause, especially when they against whom you take armes, know nothing of the matter. It is an easie way quickly to haue redresse for these matters, you now complaine of. For there will not be alwaies the same gouernour; and it is credible, that they who succeed this, will be more gentle and courteous. But if you once begin to make warre, it is not easie to end it, or to staine it without great calamities. And let them who so thirst after libertie, diligently aduise themselves, that they doe not bring vpon their backs a greater bondage. For flauerie is a cruell thing, and it seemeth a lawfull cause to make warre, least you bee brought into it; yet he that is already in bondage and reuolterth, is rather a peruerse slaue, then one who desireth libertie. You should therefore haue endeauoured to haue resisted the Romans; when first Pompeius entred into this land: but then our ancestors & their kings far exceeding you in riches, strength of body, and courage, were not able to withstand a small part of the Roman forces; and doe you thinke who are their successors, and farre weaker then they, hauing succeeded them in subiection, that you are able to resist all the whole power of the Romans?

The Athenians, who sometime to conferre the libertie of Greece, set their owne citie on fire, and pursued that proud *Alexander* whom they forced to flie with one ship (which *Alexander* made the earth inuagable, and the sea firme land, who had such an army that the seas had not roome for one ship to flie by another, nor all Europe able to receiue his army) who also had such a victory ouer Asia, neare the little Ile of Salamina, yet now are subiect vnto the Romans, and that Kingly Citie is now ruled at the Romanes becke. The Lacedemonians also hauing gotten such a victory vpon the Thermopyles, and vnder their generall *Agessilaus* sacked Asia, acknowledge now the Romanes for their Lords. The Macedonians also who still imagine they see *Philip* and *Alexander* promising them the Empire of the whole world; now patiently beare this change, and obey them whom fortune hath made their masters. Many other nations, who for their power and strength haue farre more cause then you to seeke their libertie, yet patiently endure to serue the Romans. But you only thinke it a disgrace to obey them, who are Lords of the whole world. And where are the armies and armes that you trust in, or your naue to scoure the Roman seas? Where are your treasures to effect that you intend? thinke you that you are to warre against the Egyptians or Arabians? And doe you not consider the bounds of the Roman Empire? Doe you not consider your own inhabitation? Know ye not that your neighbor nations haue often by force taken your citie, and that the forces of the Romanes haue passed through the whole world vnto conquest; and as yet searching for something greater then the world? Whose dominion towards the East is extended beyond Euphrates, and towards the North beyond Ister, and towards the South beyond the wilderness of Lybia, and towards the West beyond Gades, hauing found an other world beyond the Ocean, and with an armie entred Britaine which is England, and Scotland, where neuer any came before. Are you richer then the Frenchmen, stronger then the Germanes, wiser then the Greekes, and are you more in number then the whole world beside? What hope can you haue that may incite you against the Romanes? But some of you will say, that bondage is a grieuous thing. But how much more then you, should the Greekes thinke so, that were thought to be the noblest nation vnder heauen, and had such large dominions, and now obey the Roman gouernours, as also the Macedonians doe, who haue greater cause then you

The year of the world, 4030, after Christs birth, 68.

Fifty Cities of Asia obey the Romans.

The defence of France.

The Spaniards subiect to the Romans.

The Germans multitude, vertue and huge stature.

The Britaines subiect to the Romans.

The Parthians.

The Carthaginians made subiect by Scipios hands.

The Romans gouerne the Moores.

A you to seeke their liberty? What shall I say of the fiftie cities of Asia? do they not al obey one ruler, & the authoritic of the Consul, without any garrison? What shall I speake of the Eniochians, Colchians, the people of Taurus, the inhabitants of Hellespontus, & Pontus, & about Maotis, who in the time past had no ruler of their owne nation, whom now three thousand souldiours keepe in awe, and fortie long Gallies keepe now peaceably those seas, neuer failed on before? What thinke you the Bythinians, Cappadocians, and those of Pamphilia, Lydia, and Cilicia, could say for their libertie, who notwithstanding now peaceably pay tribute vnto the Romans? What of the Thracians? whose countrie is fide daies iourney in breadth, and seuen in length, farre more hard and stronger then your countrie, where frost would hinder them that should assault them, yet doe they obey two thousand Romans, who are in garrison. After them, the Illyrians whose countrie reacheth vnto Dalmatia, and Ister, are kept in obedience onely by two legions, with helpe of whom they also resist the Dacians. The Dalmatians themselves, who hauing so often attempted their owne libertie being oftentimes conquered, & fil as their wealth increased rebelling, are now in peace vnder one legion of the Romanes. Nay, if any one haue cause to rebel, it is the Frenchmen, whose countrie is by nature of the place stragg, being on the East side compassed with the Alpes, on the North with the riuer of Rhene, on the South with the Pyrenean mountaines, on the West with the Ocean. Who notwithstanding, hauing amongst them three hundredth and fide nations, who haue amongst them as it were the verie fountaine of felicity and with their goods and commodities enrich the whole world: yet doe they pay tribute vnto the Romans, and account their happiness to bee builded vpon the felicitie of the Romanes, and that neither for want of courage nor Nobilitie of blood, who fourescore yeeres long fought for their libertie; admiring the Romanes & fearing them, who still gained more by fortune, then they did by warres: and now obey a thousand and two hundredth souldiours, hauing almost against euery souldiour a Citie.

Neither could the Spaniards, though gold grew in their countrie, keepe themselves from being subiect to the Romans. Nor the Portugales and the warlike Cantabrians, for all the distance of sea and land betwene them and Rome. The Ocean, whose waues beating against the shoare, terrifie the inhabitants adioining, could not stay them but they past it: and carried an armie beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, and passed the tops of the Pyrenean mountaines, which reach vnto the cloudes, and so made all those people subiect vnto them: and for all that they were so warlike a nation, and so farre from Rome, they left onely one legion for garrison. Which of you haue not heard of the multitude of the Germanes? whose vertue and mightie bodies I thinke you haue often scene. For in euery countrie the Romanes haue them for captiues, yet they whose countrie is so large, hauing hearts farre bigger then their bodies, and soules that contemne death, who are more cruell then brute beasts; yet are they now limited by the riuer Rhene, and kept in subiection by eight legions of Romanes: and those that were taken were made slaues, and the rest chose rather to saue themselves by flight then fight. And you who haue such confidence in the walles of Ierusalem, consider the walles of Britanie; whose countrie though compassed with the Ocean, and almost as great as our whole world, the Romanes sayling into it haue conquered, and foure legions keepe that Island so populous. What should I say more, when the Parthians a most warlike people, who lately raigned ouer so many nations, and abound in so much wealth, are now compelled to send pledges to Rome? Nay, you may see all the nobilitie of the East at Rome, who with peace shadow their captiuitie; and almost all the nations vnder the Sun trembling and dreading the Roman puissance: and will you only war against them? Doe you not consider what befell the Carthaginians, who boasting themselves of that great *Hannibal*, sprung from the noble race of the Phinicians, at last were destroyed by *Scipio*? Neither could the Cyrenians, who tooke their beginning from the Lacedemonians, nor all the race of the Marmaridians, which is extended as farre as the Deserts (which are very scarce of waters) nor the Syrtes, nor the Nafamonians, nor the Moores, nor the innumerable multitude of the Numidians, haue beene able to resist the power of the Romanes; who by force of armes haue conquered the third part of the world, the nations whereof can hardly be numbred, which from the Sea Atlantick and *Hercules* pillars vnto the red Sea, containeth an infinite company of Ethiopians, and innumerable habitations of them: who besides that they pay so much fruits and Corne vnto the Romanes, as for eight monethes in euery yeere will keep & sustain all the people of Rome, doe also pay tribute; and moreover assist them any way they can, and neuer murmure at it, as you doe; and there is onely one legion left to keepe them in obedience. But what should I need to tell you of forraine examples, to signifie vnto you the power of the Romanes, seeing you may

The year of the world, 4030, after Christs birth, 68.

Alexandria acknowledged the power of the Romans

Gods fauour towards the Romans.

The last argument that pro- ueth the Iewes destitute of Gods & mans helpe, and vnapt to make warre. Whilest the ship is yet in the Port, it is good to pre- uent the future tempest.

Agrippas pro- pectie of the Iewes future miserie.

Agrippa pro- testeth that hee hath omitted no coun- sell that he thought expedient for the Iewes.

well perceiue it by that they did in Egypt, hard by: which reaching vnto Æthiopia and rich Arabia, and bordering vpon India, hauing vnder it seuen hundreth and fifty millions of people, besides the inhabitants of *Alexandria* (which is easie to be counted by the tribute which is paid of euery person by the Poule) living in their country, yet disdain not to liue vnder the dominion of the Romans; notwithstanding, that they haue a great enticement to rebel, to wit, *Alexandria* which is both populous and very rich, in length 30. furlongs, in breadth ten, and payeth more tribute in a moneth then you doe in a whole yeere; and, besides their mony, finde al Rome with corne foure moneths in the yeere: and it is on euery side compassed about either with a waste wilderneffe, by which none can passe, or the fierce sea, which is boundles; or with great and strong riuers, or muddie and durty quagmires, and marish grounds: all which little auailed them to withstand the force of the Romans. For two legions only placed in the citie, keep al the greab H countrie Egypt, and the Nobilitie of Macedon in awe.

What lociaries will you haue from some countrie not inhabited to aide you against the Romans? For all those that at this day dwell in any place of the world, that is inhabited, obey the Romans. Except peraduenture some of you hope for helpe from beyond Euphrates, thinking that your countymen of *Adiabena* will help you: but they will not entangle themselves in these dangerous wars, for an vnreasonable cause; or if they would consent to so dishonest a deed, the Parthians will not suffer them. For they are carefull to maintaine their league with the Romans, and would thinke it violated, if any vnder their dominions should warre against them. It remaineth then, that you must only trust that God will helpe you; but God doth assist the Romans: for it is vnpossible that such an Empire should continue without the helpe of God. Consider that this contempt of Religion, although you were to warre against farre weaker then your selues, yet were it hard to be dispensed withall; and it may so come to passe, that that whereby you hope to make God your partaker, thereby you may make him your enemy: for if you obserue the custome of *Sabaoths*, and in them do nothing, it will not be hard to conquer you. For so your ancestors haue made experience by *Pompeius*, who euer deferred all his enterprises vntill that day, wherein his enemies were idle, & made no resistance. Now if in warre ye transgresse your countrie lawes, I know not then for what you should rebel. For truly all of you at this time are of that mind, that your country lawes shall not be changed. And I pray you how will you request help at Gods hands, if wilfully yee breake his lawes? All that begin warre, either trust in humane riches, or diuine succour: and they that warre, hauing no probability to hope for any of these, wilfully lead themselves into open captiuitie. What letteth you euery man with his owne hands to butcher his wife and children, and from consuming this goodly countrie with fire; for so you shall gaine this, not to abide the shame of a conquest. It is good O friends, it is good, whilest yet the ship is in the Hauen, to foresee and prouide for future tempests, and not then begin to feare, when you are amidst the waves and surges of the sea. They who fall into miserie not foresee, are worthe to receiue compassion: but they that runne into wilfull calamitie, deserue no pittie, but reproach. Vnlesse perhaps ye thinke that the Romans will fight with you, as you will condition, and that if they overcome you, they will not vse you hardly, nor fire and destroy this sacred Citie, and all the whole nation as they haue don others. If yee bee overcome, who so escapeth vnkilld, can haue no place of refuge: for all nations either are already subiect vnto the Romans, or feare that they shall bee shortly. So that not onely you shall bee in danger, but also all Cities wherein any Iewes remaine. For there is no nation nor people in the whole world, amongst whom some of your countrie are not, who all shall be most cruelly put to death if you rebel: and for the wicked counsell of a few men, all cities shall flow with blood of the Iewes; and no man shall be punished for killing Iewes, because of your offence. And if the Romans doe not execute all this outrage after your rebellion, then thinke how impious a thing it is, to rebell against so mild gouernours. Take compassion, if not of your children, and wiues, yet at the least of this citie, which is the mother citie of al your nation. Spare these holy walles, and sacred temple, and keepe vnto your selues the law and sacred things of the Temple: assure your selues that if the Romans againe overcome you, they will not spare these things, seeing you were no more gratefull vnto them, for preserving them before. I protest before God, your holy Temple, and al the Angels of heauen M and our whole countrie, that I haue kept backe no counsell, which I thinke profitable for you. Now if you consider of those things which are profitable for you, ye shall liue with me in peace: but if you follow your priuate affections, I will not be partaker of the miseries and dangers, you thrust your selues into. When he had thus spoken, he wept, his sister *Berenice*, standing by him, & by his teares mitigated a great part of their fury. Then they cried that they meant not to bear

armes

The yeere of the world, 4030, after Christs Natinitie, 68.

A armes against the Romans and *Cesar*, but against *Florus*, for the iniurie hee had done them. To this, *Agrippa* answered, But your deeds shew that you fight against the Romans: for you haue not paid your tribute to *Cesar*, and you haue burned the porches belonging vnto *Antonia*; now if you would hide your rebellion, repaire with speede the porches, and pay your tribute: for this fort belongeth not to *Florus*, nor the money. Herewith the people were content, and ascending into the temple with *Agrippa* and *Berenice*, they began to reedifie the porches, and the nobility and captaines gathered the tribute in euery village, & quickly brought forth talents (for so much mony was behind.) And thus *Agrippa* appeased the beginning of these warres. After this, he began to perswade the people to obey *Florus*, till such time as another were sent to supply his place. Herewith the multitude was so moued, that they contumeliously reuiled the king, and threw B stones at him, and drave him out of the Citie. The king seeing that their sedition would not bee quieted, complaining of the iniurie done vnto him, sent the nobilitie & all the potentates to *Florus*, who was at *Cæsarea*, that he might chuse whom hee would amongst them to gather the tribute through the whole country. And so he departed into his owne kingdome.

Agrippa the king, is by the people driuen out of the city with stones.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the rebellion of the Iewes begun against the Romans.

C T this time, some of the chiefeest rebels, assembled together, suddenly assailed a Castle called *Massada*, which at vnawares they tooke, and killed all the Romans, & in their places put a guard of their owne company. In the temple also, *Eleazar* son of the high priest *Ananias*, a bold and desperate young man, captaine of the soldiers, perswaded them who offered sacrifices, not to offer any but those, that were given by the Iewes. And this was the ground & cause of the wars that ensued. For they reiectd *Cæsars* sacrifices, that were wont to be offered for the good of the Romans. And although the high priests & people of account requested them not to omit that custome of sacrificing for their kings and gouernours, yet they refused so to doe, trusting greatlie to their faction: all the strength of the citie that desired alteration, were of their minds, and especially *Eleazar*, who at that time was General, as is before said. Wherefore all the potentates, high priests, and chiefeest of the Pharisees assembled themselves; and perceiving into how great danger those rebels daily brought the citie, they determined to make triall of the courage of the seditious people: vvhether they assembled the together before the brazen gate, which was in the inner part of the temple towards the East. And first of all, they greatly complained of their rash and vnadvised rebellion, and that they sought to stirre vp so great warres against their countrey, inuicighing against the cause that moued them thereto, as being without reason: telling them that their ancestors for the most part, adorned the temple with the gifts of Gentiles; neuer refusing the offerings of strangers; and not only not to haue refused their offerings (for that were an impious fact) but also placed in the temple the gifts that they sent, which were yet to be seene. And that now onely to prouoke the Romans to warre, and denounce it against them, they began to alter religion: and beside other dangers also, to make the citie seeme guiltie of impietie; as though it were such a one wherein none might offer sacrifice but Iewes, nor any but they might adore God. If we should make such a law against any priuate person, he had iust cause to accuse vs of inhumanity. But now the Romans were despised, and *Cesar* himselfe accounted profane: and it was to be feared, that if the Iew disdained to accept of *Cæsars* offerings, *Cesar* would hinder them from offering any: And that the Citie of *Ierusalem* would presently be accounted as an enemy to the Empire, vnlesse they presently accepted *Cæsars* sacrifice; and before such time, as they heard these newes against whom this outrage was attempted. And hauing thus spoken, they brought forth the most learned amongst the Priests to recount from time to time how their ancestors had alwaies accepted of the sacrifices of strangers.

The Iewes refused *Cæsars* sacrifices for the prosperitie of the Romans.

Against those who refuse to raine sacrifices.

F But none of the rebels gaue care vnto any thing that was said, and the Leuites came not to serue at the altar, as now preparing for warre. When the nobilitie saw that they could not appeale this sedition, and that they themselves should first feele the Romans power, they deuised all means to pacifie the tumult, and sent some as Embassadors vnto *Florus*: the chiefe whereof was *Simon* the sonne of *Ananias*; other some were sent to *Agrippa*, of which the noblest was *Saulus*, *Antipas* & *Costobarus*, who were also akinne vnto the king, requesting them both to come with an army into the citie, and suppress the sedition which was raised, before it went further. *Florus* was glad

None of the seditious gaue care to those that were in authority. Embassadors sent to *Florus* and *Agrippa* against the sedition.

War in Ieru-
salem between
the seditious
& those that
savored peaceXylophoria a
feast.The kings
souldiers are
ouercome.The Tewestake
Antonia and
Lurne it.Manahemus
the chiefe of
the rebels,
giues the
kings faction
and friends
licence to
depart.
The Romans
forsaking the
Stratopedon,
sle into the
kings forts.

glad of these tidings, and desiring nothing more then war, gaue no answer to the Embassadors. But *Agrippa* willing to spare both parts, as well the good as the rebels, and to preferre the Iewes for the Romans, and the temple for the Iewes, considering it not meet for him to busie himselfe in such affaires, sent 3000 horsemen to aide the people against the rebels. Which horsemen were of *Auranitis*, *Batanæa*, and *Trachon*, and made *Darius* their captaine, and *Philip*, sonne of *Ioachim*, Generall of all the army. These comming into the citie, the nobilitie with the high priests and the rest of the people that desired peace, received this succour in good part; and occupied the higher part of the citie; for the rebels kept the lower part, and the temple: so that they instantly fought with darts and slings, and shooting of arrowes, and sometime one rushing vpon another, sodainly they skirmished together. The seditious were more valiant, but the kings souldiers were more skilful in wars; who chiefly endeouored to get the temple, and expell out of it those who profaned it. And the rebels with *Eleeazar* endeouored beside that which they had already, to gette also into their hands the higher part of the citie. Wherefore, during the space of seauen daies, there continued a great conflict betwixt them, and either part kept that they had. When the celebration of the feast came, called *Xylophoria*, wherein euery one carieth wood to the temple, to keepe a fire continually vpon the Altar; the rebels would not suffer their enemies to doe their deuotion.

Now many of the thieues who caried poyniards vnder their coats, went amongst the weaker multitude, and boldly followed their old practise. The kings souldiers were overcome, and forced to leaue the higher part of the citie, and the rebels presently comming in, set the palaces of *Ananias*, *Agrippa*, and *Berenice* on fire, and forth-with went to the place where all charters were kept, purposing there to burne all bonds and obligations of debtors, thereby to defraud the creditors; and so to ioine all the debtors with their faction, and stirre vp all the poore people against the rich. But the keepers of these publique writings flying, the seditious persons set all on fire: & so hauing destroyed as it were the strength of the citie, they addressed themselves against such as resisted their proceedings. Some of the high priests and nobles hid themselves in vaults; others flying with the kings souldiers into the higher palace of the king, soone locked vp the doores after them; amongst whom were *Ananias* the high priest, & *Ezechias* his brother, and they, who (as is before spoken) were sent Embassadors vnto *Agrippa*: & so the seditious were satisfied that day with the victorie, and firing of the houses aforesaid.

The next day, which was the fiftenth of August, they assaulted the Castle Antonia, and besieging it two daies, they tooke all that guarded it, and killed them; and placed in it a garrison of their owne company. This done, they went vnto the kings palace, whither *Agrippas* souldiers were fled: and diuiding their company into foure parts, they began to cast down the walls: none of them that were within durst come out for feare of the multitude, but went vp to the turrets of the palace, and killed all those that offered to come vp, and many of the thieues vnder the wall, with things that they cast downe. This conflict continued day and night; for the rebels thought that those which were within, could not hold out for want of victuals: and they within, thought that the seditious being wearied, would soone giue ouer. In the meane season, one *Manahemus*, the sonne of *Iudas* of Galilæa (that most craftie subtle Sophister, who reuiled the Iewes in *Cyrenius* time for paying tribute, and would be subiect to any but to God) taking with him certaine nobles went vnto *Massada*, where king *Herods* armorie was, and breaking into it, hee armed the common people and other thieues; and hauing them for his guard, hee returned againe to Ierusalem as king: and when he was made prince of that sedition, he disposed of the battery of the fortresses. But they wanted engines, neither could they openly vndermine the wals of the aduersaries, who continually cast downe darts: wherefore they began a mine a great way off, till it came vnder one of the towers which was supported by posts of wood, & they set fire on the wood that supported it, and went their way: so the supporters being consumed with fire, the tower presently fell downe, and there appeared a very high wall within. For those within, percciuing their aduersaries intent, perhaps by the shaking of that tower, presently builded this wall, to keepe out the rebels betweene them and it. The seditious verily thinking that with the fall of the tower they should be victors, when they saw another wall, were amazed. And the kings souldiers were sent vnto *Manahemus* and others that were chiefe of the rebels, requesting them to haue licence to depart. Which *Manahemus* granted onely to the kings souldiers, and those of his owne countrey; who presently accepting thereof, departed, and so left the Romans in great feare. For they were not able to resist so great a multitude, and they thought it a shame to intreat that they might depart, thinking that it were dangerous for them although it were graunted. Wherefore leauing the lower place which was called *Stratopedon*, because it might easily be taken, they fled into the kings

A Kings towers, whereof one was called *Hippicos*, the other *Phaselus*, the third *Mariamme*. The rebels that were with *Manahemus*, brake presently into the lower part that the Romans had forsaken, and killed all that they found there, and when they had sacked it, they sette it on fire: And this was done the sixt day of September.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the death of *Ananias* the high Priest, *Manahemus* and the
Romane souldiers.

B The next day following, *Ananias* the high Priest was taken in one of the water Conduits of the Kings palace, where hee hid himselfe, and was there killed with his brother *Ezechias* by these thieues: and the rebels besieged all the towers round about, and kept diligent watch, lest any of the Romanes should escape. But *Manahemus*, both for his good successe in destroying the strong holds, as also with the death of *Ananias* the high Priest, became proud and cruell: and thinking none so wise as himselfe, in those affaires, became an intolerable tyrant. Now two of *Eleezars* companions rose vp and communed together, that it did not become them that rebelled against the Romanes (onely to recouer their libertie) that they should be traytors thereof to their owne companions, who were of the same condition, and that they should indure a King or Lord ouer them, who although he be poore man, yet hee was of more abiection & base condition then they. If it were so, that it were expedient to haue one Ruler ouer all the rest, they had rather haue any one then *Manahemus*: and being thus agreed, they let vpon him in the Temple, where he was praying with great pomp, apparelled like a king, and hauing about him a guard of his friends in armour. Now when *Eleezar* his followers leet vpon *Manahemus*, the people did also throw stones at him, and so stoned him, hoping that by his death the sedition would be extinguished. The guard of *Manahemus* at first, made some resistance; but when they perceiued the whole multitude against them, euery one shifted for himselfe, as he could, and those that were taken were put to death, and they that escaped were afterward sought for: onely a few of them fled vnto *Massada*, amongst whom was *Eleezar* the sonne of *Iairus*, the son of *Manahemus* kinsman, and afterward in *Massada* became a tyrant. But *Manahemus* fled into a place called *Ophlas*, where hee basely hid himselfe, and being taken, hee was drawne out from thence, and after manie tormentes put to death, and with him, all the Nobilitie that had assisted him, as also *Abisalomon*, who was his onely helper. And in this matter (as I haue said) the people greatly helped, hoping hereby to haue some end of that sedition. But the rebels did not kill *Manahemus* to the end to extinguish sedition, but to the intent to rob and spoile more freely.

The people with many intreaties, besought them to let the Romanes alone, whom they did besiege, but they were so much the more earnest against them: till they being no longer able to make resistance, with the consent of *Metilius* their Captaine, and some other of more authoritie, sent vnto *Eleezar*, requesting him to giue them licence to depart with their liues, and leaue their munition to the Iewes. Who accepting their petition, sent vnto them *Gorion* the sonne of *Nichodemus*, and *Ananias* the Saducee, and *Iudas* the sonne of *Ionathas*, to confirme the promise of their liues. Which done, *Metilius* led away the souldiers: and whilst the Romanes had their weapons, none of the rebels durst attempt any of their treacherie against them: but so soone as euery one according to couenaut, laid downe their shields and swords, and so departed mistrusting nothing, *Eleezar* his guard set vpon them, and killed them, who neither made resistance, nor any intreatie for their liues, onely putting them in mind of their promise and oath. So they were all slaine save onely *Metilius*, who greatly intreated for his life, and promising that hee would become a Iew in religion, & be circumcised, they spared him. Yet was this a small losse to the Romanes, who onely had then but a very few slaine of their great and almost infinite armie: and this seemed the very beginning of the Iewes captiuitie.

F When they saw themselves to haue giuen sufficient cause of warres, and too great, and that the Citie was now so filled with iniquitie, that the wrath of God did hang ouer it, though there had been no feare of any harme to them by the Romanes, yet the whole Citie mourned, and was sorrowfull, and quietly minded, lamented as though they themselves should answer for the seditious, for that murder which was committed vpon the Sabbath, when it is not lawfull for the Iewes to doe any good worke.

CHAP.

Of the great massacre of the Iewes at Cæsarea, and in all Syria.



The Iewes
spoil the vil-
lages & burne
the Cities of
Syria.

The same houre on the selfe-same day, it happened as it were by Gods prouidence, that the inhabitants of Cæsarea did massacre the Iewes that dwelled amongst them; so that at one time aboute twenty thousand were slaine, & not one Iew left aliue in all Cæsarea. For those that escaped, *Florus* tooke & brought them forth bound vnto the people. After this massacre done at Cæsarea, the whole nation of the Iewes waxed mad: and diuiding themselves into companies, they wasted and destroyed in short time all the borders of Syria, and the cities thereabout, to wit, Philadelpia, and Gebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis, and then they made incursion into Gadara, Hippon, and Gaulanitis, pulling downe some places, and firing other some. And from thence, they marched towards Cæsarea, a citie of the Tyrians, and Ptolemais, Gaba, & Cæsarea: and neither Sebaste, neither Alcalon could resist them, but they also were consumed with fire. Likewise they destroyed Anthedon, with Gaza, and most places adioyning to these cities were sacked, to wit, the fields and villages, & a mighty slaughter was made of them that were taken in these places. The Syrians made as great a massacre of the Iewes as this amongst them: for all the Iewes inhabiting amongst them were murdered, not onely for an old grudge, but also for the auoiding of imminent danger. And all Syria was troubled in most grieuous manner, and every citie was diuided into two parts, & either parts safely consisted in this, to prevent the other in murdering them I first: the daies were spent in bloodshed, & the nights in feare, worse then death it selfe. For though they onely pretended to destroy the Iewes, yet were they drawne to suspect other nations, that followed the Iewes religion; and because they were as it were neuters, the Syrians thought it not good to destroy them: and againe, for their agreeing in religion with the Iewes, they were constrained to hold them as enemies. Many of the contrarie part, who before seemed modest, were now through auarice incited to meddle in this murder, for euery one tooke the goods of the that were slaine, and caried them to other places as conquerers. And he was most renowned, that had stolen most, as hauing also killed most. There might you see in euery part of the citie, the dead bodies of all ages vnburied, old men & children, and women, lying in most shamefull manner, their secret parts being vncouered. Briefely, all the countrey was filled with exceeding great calamity, & the feare of misery to come was vnspokeable.

All Syria full
of miserable
calamities.

And these were the conflicts betwene the Iewes and strangers. But afterward making incursion vpon the borders of Scythopolis, the Iewes there dwelling were their enemies. For they conspiring with the citizens of Scythopolis, and preferring their owne commoditie and securitie before their kinred and consanguinitie, ioyned with the Gentiles against the Iewes, who for all that, were suspected for their forwardnes. Finally, the Scythopolites fearing that they would assault the citie by night, and excuse their reuolting by their great miserie, they commanded all the Iewes, that if they would shew themselves trustie vnto the Gentiles, they with all their children should goe into a wood hard by: who forthwith did as they were willed, suspecting nothing, and the Scythopolites were quiet for two daies after, and did nothing: But the third night they sent forth scouts to see what they were dooing: who finding some of them asleepe, and others not resisting, they surprised them in a moment and killed them all, who were in number thirteen thousand, and afterward tooke their goods. I thinke it not amisse to speake of the death of *Simon*, who was the sonne of *Saul*, a man of regard: hee was a man of great courage, and strength of bodie, both which he vied to the great hurt of his owne nation: for he daily killed many Iewes, who dwelt neere vnto Scythopolis, and hee alone often scattered diuers companies, and put whole armies to flight; who had an end woorthie for his decedes, and murdering of his countremen. For when the Scythopolites had compassed the wood about, so that none could escape their hands, they killed the Iewes in euery part thereof. *Simon* drawing his sword, made no resistance to any of his enemies: for he saw that it was bootlesse to striue against such a multitude. Then pittifullie crying out, I receiue (O Scythopolites) a worthy reward for that which I haue done, who to shew my fidelity towards you, haue killed so many of mine own countremen: & it is iust plague that a strange nation should be false vnto vs, who impiously forsook our own brethren. I wil therefore as a profane person, killing my selfe with my owne hands, & this death wil be a sufficient punishment for my offences, and a full argument of my magnanimitie, that none of my enemies may boast of my death, nor insult ouer me. When he had thus spoken, he beheld all his family with com-
pulsion

Iewes against
Iewes.

The Scytho-
polites kill
thirteen
thousand
Iewes.

Simon daily
killeth many
of his coun-
trimen in Scy-
thopolis.

A passion and rage mixt together: he had a wife & children, & aged parents. And first taking his father by the haire of the head, stood vpon him, & thrust him through; after him he killed his mother, who was willing to die; after them his wife & children, euery one of them as it were offering their bodies to the sword, desirous to prevent the enemies. VVhen he had slaine all his kindred, himselfe remaining aliue, he stretched forth his arme that they might see what he would doe, & thrust his sword into his own body vp to the hilt. A young man, who for his magnanimitie & strength of body was worthy to be pitied, had yet a iust and deserued end, for trusting forraine nations.

CHAP. XX.

Of another grieuous slaughter of the Iewes.



After this so great a massacre of the Iewes in Scythopolis, other cities also did rise against them where they inhabited, and two thousand and five hundred were slaine at Alcalon, and two thousand at Ptolemais, and the Tyrians killed diuers and kept many in prison: Likewise they of Gadara and Hippon slew the most valiant, and those of least courage they cast into prison. Also all other cities, who either feared or hated the Iewes, rose vp against them. Onely they of Antiochia, Sidonia, and Apamia, spared them that dwelt with them, and neither killed nor imprisoned any of them: perhaps they stood in no feare of them, if they should haue risen, because their citie was so populous: yet I thinke they spared them onely for pittie sake, because they saw that they were quiet, and not seditious. The inhabitants also of Gerasa did no harme to the Iewes amongst them: but when they desired to depart, they conducted them safely vnto the end of their borders. In the kingdome also of *Agrippa* much crueltie was shewed against the Iewes: For hee being gone to *Cestius Gallus* at Antiochia, left the rule of his countrey to one of his friends named *Varus*, kinsman vnto king *Sohemus*; and there came vnto him seauentie of the chiefe nobility of the countrey *Batanæa*, requesting a garrison to repress those that should attempt rebellion amongst them. *Varus* sent certaine of the kings souldiers armed, and killed them all as they were comming to him. But he did this impiety without *Agrippa* his consent, onely for auarice: and as it were emboldened by this fact, he ruined the whole realme, still continuing such crueltie and impiety against his nation, till such time as *Agrippa* vnderstood thereof, who for *Sohemus* sake durst not put him to death, but dispossessed him of his place. In the meane while the rebels tooke the fort called *Cyprus*, which is situate about Iericho, and after they had killed the garrison, they destroyed the fortress. At the same time a multitude of Iewes laid siege before the castle of *Macheron*, and perswaded the souldiers left in garrison to yield the Castle: who, fearing that if they denied, they should be compelled thereto, deliuered it vnto them; vpon condition, that they might quietly depart, & they of *Macheron* placed a strong guard within it.

An other
slaughter of
the Iewes.
The cities in-
armed against
the Iewes.

Varus killeth
70 Iewes in
their iourney.

The Romans
yield vp their
castle in Mari-
chunte to the
Iewes.

CHAP. XXI.

How the Iewes were slaine at Alexandria.



EHe citizens of Alexandria had alwaies a quarrell against the Iewes that liued with the, since the time that that famous *Alexander* vied their helpe against the Egyptians, and therefore permitted them to inhabit in Alexandria, and to haue the same priuiledges that the rest of the citizens had. And this honour was also continued with them vnto the time of the successors and heires of *Alexander*: who also gaue them a certaine place in the citie to dwell in, that there they might liue more commodiously: the Gentiles hauing nothing to do amongst them, permitted them also to call themselves Macedonians. And afterward when Egypt was brought vnder the rule of the Romans, neither *Cæsar* nor any one else, did diminish the Iewes dignitie in that place, which *Alexander* had giuen them. So that now there was daily conflicts between them & the Greeks: and although the Iudges on both parts still punished the that were in fault, yet the sedition more and more increased, and when all cities else were filled with troubles, there the tumult was more vehement. For when the Alexandrians had called together the people to determine of an embassage to *Nero*, certaine Iewes mingled themselves amongst the Greeks, & so went into the Amphitheater: who being espied by their aduersaries, the Greeks cried out, that the Iewes were enemies, and came as spies, and so laid violent hands vpon them. Some of them fled, onely three of them were taken by the Greekes, whom they drevv to a place to burne them aliue. All the Iewes of the citie came to succour them, and first they threw stones at them, and then taking fire-brands, they ranne in a rage into the Amphitheater, and threatened

Sedition in
Alexandria:
betweene the
Greekes and
Iewes.

The yeere of the world, 4030. after Christs Nativity, 68. Tiberius Alexander exhorteth the seditious Iewes to keep peace.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

to burne all the people there assembled: which they had done, if *Tiberius Alexander* gouernour of the citie had not appeased their furie; who did not at the first vse force of armes against them, but sent their nobilitie to perswade them to cease, and not incite the Romane army against them. But the seditious Iewes refused his admonition, & mocked *Tiberius*: who seeing that they would not otherwise be appeased, sent two legions of armed Romans against them which were in the citie, and with them five thousand other souldiers, who by chance came out of Lybia to this massacre of the Iewes, and *Tiberius* gaue them charge not onely to kill them, but also to fire their houses and take their goods. The souldiers presently went into the place called Delta (fortherethe Iewes were gathered together) and did as they were commaunded, and not without bloody victorie. For the Iewes gathering theselues together, put those amongst them that were best armed in the forefront, who held out for a long time; but when they began to flie, they were massacred like beasts, and some of them were killed in the field, some were burned in their houses, the Romans first taking what they found, neither sparing infants nor old men, but killing all ages. So that all that place flowed with blood, for there were slaine fiftie thousand Iewes: & all the rest had bin extinguished, had not *Alexander* (moued to compulsion by their intreaties) commaunded the souldiers to leaue off; who being obedient vnto him, presently departed: but the people of Alexandria were hardly withdrawn from that massacre, because of the hatred which they had conceived against the Iewes: and with much ado were withheld from tyrannizing ouer the dead bodies. And this befell the Iewes of Alexandria.

A cruell victorie, wherein fiftie thousand Iewes are slaine.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the massacre of the Iewes by Cestius Gallus.

Cestius Gallus now thought it time to bestirre himselfe, forasmuch as the Iewes were now hated euery where, and taking with him the twelue whole legions out of Antiochia, two thousand chosen footmen, and foure companies of horsemen out of euery one of the other legions, and with them the kings forces, that came to help him, to wit, two thousand horsemen of Antiochia, three thousand foot all boawmen, and three thousand footmen sent by *Agrippa*, a thousand horse, and foure thousand which *Sohemus* brought, whercof the third part were horse, the rest foot, and for the most part boawmen; he went towards Ptolemais: and many ioined themselves to them out of euery citie, who though they were not so skilfull in warre as the Romans, yet their hatred was more then theirs. *Agrippa* himselfe was there with *Cestius*, being ruler of those he brought. There *Cestius* taking a part of the army went to Zabulon (which is the strongest citie of Galilee, called also Andron, & parteth the borders of the Iewes from Ptolemais) and when he found it desolate (for the inhabitants thereof fled into the mountaines) who left it full of all riches, giuing licence to the souldiers to sack it; he afterwards set it on fire, although he admired the beauty thereof: for it was builded like Tyre and Sidon, & Berytum, & after spoiled all the territories about it. Likewise, when he had burned all the villages thereabouts, he returned vnto Ptolemais. The Syrians, and especially those of Beryth staid stil behind to get booties: which when the Iewes vnderstood, and that *Cestius* was departed, they tooke courage, and came and set vpon them, and killed of them 2000. In the meane while *Cestius* departed fro Ptolemais, & went vnto Cæsarea, and sent part of his army to Ioppe, commanding the to keepe the towne if they could get it: and if the townsmen made any resistance, that then they should stay til he came with the rest of the army. Some of the went by Sea, some by land, by which means they did easily take Ioppe: so that the people thereof neither had time to flie, nor to prepare themselves to fight; & setting on them, they killed all men with their families: & thus sacking the town, they set it on fire, & there were slaine 8000 and foure hundred. In like maner he sent part of his horsemen vnto Nabatena in the Toparchy neere Samaria, who spoiled the country, killed a great number of inhabitants, robbed and burned the villages, and caried away a great bootie with them.

Huge companies of the Romanes.

Zabulon a strong Citie of Galilee spoiled and burnt.

The Iewes kill two thousand Syrians.

The Romanes take Ioppe, & burne it, & kill 8 thousand and foure hundred.

Sephoris and other cities of Galilee doe friendly entertaine the Romanes.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Cestius his battell against Ierusalem.

He sent also *Casennius Gallus* Generall of the twelfth legion into Galilee, and gaue him as great an army as he thought sufficient to conquer that nation, whom the strongest citie of Galilee called Sephoris curteously entertained, and other Cities followed their example.

OF THE IEWES. THE II. BOOKE.

The yeere of the world 4030. after Christs birth, 68.

A example. They that were seditious, & gaue themselves to robbing, fled into the mountain which is situate in the midst of Galilee against Sephoris, called Asamon: thele *Gallus* encountered with his army; who, so long as they kept the higher part of the mountain, easily resisted the Romans, and killed about 200. of them: but when they saw the Romans had occupied a higher place then that wherein they kept they easily were overcome: for not being armed, they could not stand out, and if they should haue fled, they could not haue escaped the horsemen, so that onely a few hid themselves in difficult places, & about 2000 of them were slain. *Gallus* perceiving all Galilee in peace, and not minded to reuolt, returned with his companies vnto Cæsarea, & *Cestius* with his whole Army went vnto *Antipatris*: where vnderstanding that a great multitude of Iewes were gathered together in the Tower called Aphecy, sent some before to skirmish with them: but the Iewes would not abide battell, and the souldiers burned their tents, and the villages adioyning. *Cestius* went from thence to Lydda, and found the citie desolate, for all the people were gone vnto Ierusalem because of the Feast of Tabernacles: and when he had killed fifty persons whom he found there, he fiered the towne, and went no further: and going by Bethon he pitched his Tent in Gabaus, which is fifty furlongs distant from Ierusalem. When the Iewes saw theselues in danger, they left the solemnity, & prepared themselves for war: and hauing a great multitude, they went to fight obseruing no order, altogether with indiscreet cries, not regarding the Sabbath, which they hold in great estimation: & the same fury, that made them leaue their deuotion, made them also victorious in that battell, for they assaulted the Romans with such a courage, that they brake their battell array: and killing all that resisted, they pressed into the midst thereof, & if a fresh supply both of horse and foote had not come in time, all *Cestius* army had been in great danger. So there were slaine five hundred and fifty Roman souldiers, and foure hundred of them were foote, and the rest were horsemen, but of the Iewes but two and twenty. The most valiant in this combat were *Monobazus* and *Cenedæus*, kinsmen to king *Monobazus* of Adiabana, and next to them *Parades Niger*, and *Silas* a Babylonian, who fled vnto the Iewes from king *Agrippa*, whom he had lately serued: and so the Iewes being repulled, returned into Ierusalem; and *Simon* the sonne of *Giora* inuaded the Romans, as they were returning towards Bethoron, and slew many of the rereward, and tooke many carts, and much baggage withall, which hee brought into the citie. *Cestius* staid three daies in the field, and the Iewes kept the high places, espying which way he went, purposing not to be quiet if the Romans departed.

Two thousand seditious slain in Galilee by the Romans. Antipatris spoiled and burned.

Lydda burned.

Cestius planteth his army fifty furlongs from Ierusalem.

The assault & victorie of the Iewes against the Romans.

The courage of the Iewes against the Romans.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the siege of Ierusalem by Cestius, and of the massacre.

Agrippa perceiving the Romans to be in great danger, for that all the mountaines were couered with an infinite number of Iewes, he purposed to trie, if through few words he could perswade them to desist from warre, or if any refused, to receiue those that were willing. Wherefore he sent vnto them *Borcæus* and *Phæbus*, whome they well knew, assuring and promising them pardon from *Cestius*, and from the Romans, of all that they had already done, if they would now lay downe their armes, and ioine with them. But the rebels fearing that all the multitude in hope of safety would ioine with *Agrippa*, determined to kill the Legats, and slew *Phæbus* before he spake any word, & *Borcæus* being wounded, escaped. But the people were angry herat, and with stones and clubs draue them into the towne that were the authors of this fact. *Cestius* perceiving them at oddes amongst themselves, thought that he had now a fit opportunitie to assault them, and so came vpon them with his whole army: and putting them to flight, he pursued them vnto Ierusalem. And when he had pitched his Tents in the place called Scopus, he departed seven furlongs from the city, & did nothing against the citie for three daies space; perhaps hoping that they within would relent, and then sending a great many souldiers into the villages adioining to fetch corne, the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of October, hee came against the citie with his armie in battell array. The people of the Iewes were kept in awe by the rebels, who terrified by the Roman discipline, forsooke the outmost parts of the city, & fled into the innermost part of the temple. *Cestius* passing Berheza, burned Cænopolis and the new market place, and comming vnto the higher part of the citie, hee pitched his Tent neere the kings palace: and if at that time he had violently issued in at the walls, he had taken the city and ended the wars. But *Tyrannus Priscus*, General of the footemen, & many other rulers & captaines of the horsemen, being hired with money by *Florus*, hindred that his purpose, whereby the wars were so prolonged, and a thousand calamities befell the Iewes. In the meane time manie of the

The rebels kill one of the kings embassadours, another of them escapeth, being wounded. *Cestius* draweth forth his whole armie against the Iewes.

The yeere of the world 4530, after Christs birth, 68.
Dietrich Iewes call for Cestius as if they intended to open the gates vnto him.

The Romans come to themselves with their blades, & undermine the wals and burne the Temple gates.

Cestius sodain depaure maketh the Iewes more confident.

The Iewes pursue their enemies, and bring them into a desperate citie.

The mourning & lamentation of the Romans and the Iewes exhortation.

Cestius strageme.

chiefest among the Iewes, & *Ananus* the sonne of *Jonathas*, called *Cestius*, as though they would haue opened him the gates: but he was angrie and scarce trusted them, till at last they delayed the time so long, that the rebels perceiued this treason, and cast *Ananus* down the wal, & with stones draue his accomplices into their houses. Which done, they retired themselves into the towers, from whence they beat back those that scaled the wals. The Romans for five daies space assaulted the wals on euery side, but all in vaine; and the sixth day, *Cestius* with many chosen souldiers and bowmen assaulted the temple on the North side. The Iewes valiantly made resistance out of the porches, & often repulsed the Romans approching the wals: yet at last they, with the multitude of their aduersaries darts, were forced to giue backe. Then the Romans that went before hauing their shields vpon their heads, leaned against the wall, & they in the second place held their shields against theirs in the first, and so in order vntill the last, thereby making as it were a couering as the Romans call it, or defence, that all their shot and darts could doe them no harme; so that the souldiers did safely undermine the wals, and attempted to fire the gates of the temple.

Now the seditious people were hereat greatly amazed, and many fled out of the Citie, as though it would presently bee taken. And the good were hereby encouraged, as much as the rebels were dismaide, and came vnto the gates to open them vnto *Cestius*, who had well deserved at their hands. And truly had he but a little longer continued his siege, hee had taken the Citie. But I thinke that God being angry with the wicked, would not suffer the warres to be ended at that time: for *Cestius* neither regarding the good will of the people, nor the desperation of the rebels, removed his armie from thence, and hauing received no losse, very vnadvisedly departed from the Citie: at whose vnlooked for flight, the rebels tooke heart, and making after him, they killed the horsemen and footemen that came last. And then *Cestius* went to the Tents which hee had fortified in Scopion. The next day he went further into the countrie; whereby he more encouraged the rebels, who following him, killed many of his rereward. Afterward, either end of the armie being well strengthened, the Iewes assaulted them that were behind, and the last day not cast any darts against them, who wounded them on their backs, thinking that an infinite multitude had followed them; and they were not able to resist those that assaulted them on each side, being as it were heauie, and not daring to breake their order; on the contrarie, seeing the Iewes so active & apt to skip too and fro: so that the Romans endured much harme at the hands of their enemies, and did them none; and thus were they beaten all the way along, and many of them killed, amongst whom was *Priscus* capitaine of the sixth legion, and *Longinus* the tribune, & *Aemilius Lucundus* capitaine of a troupe of horsemen. And so with much adoe, they came vnto Gabio; where they first pitched their Tents, casting away much of their baggage, which might in any way hinder them. *Cestius* staid there two daies, doubtfull what to doe: the third day he perceiued his enemies to be increased, and all places about to be filled with Iewes: whereby he saw that his slow haste was to his disaduantage, and the number of his enemies would still increase if he made any longer abode there. Wherefore that he might flee speedily, hee caused the souldiers to cast away all those things that might in any way be a hinderance vnto them, & killed their Mules and Ases, & cartell, sauing onely those that bare munition, fearing that if he should not destroy them, the Iewes might make vse of them against him, and so he led the armie toward Bethoron. The Iewes in large passages did little molest his armie: but when they were to passe a streight, they killed them of the rereward, and thrust other some downe into the valley, and all the armie of the Iewes were spread vpon the eminent places, whereby the armie was to passe, expecting to welcome them with arrowes. Where the footmen amazed, and bethinking how to help themselves, the horsemen were brought into great danger: for they could not keepe their ranks for darts and arrowes, neither could they goe to hurt their enemies, the ascent vnto the top of the mountaines was so steepe: & they were compassed on each side with rockes and deep vallies, so that if any went out of the way, he fell down and was killed, in so much as there was no way to fly nor to resist. Now not knowing what to doe, they began to weepe, and crie out as men in desperation: and the Iewes answered them with an encouraging one another to play the men; being glad of their enemies aduersitie, and cruelly bent against them: and all the armie of *Cestius* had M there perished, had not the night come on and helped them, which by her darkness gaue leasure to the Romans to flee into Bethoron. In the meane while, the Iewes kept all the places thereabouts besieged, and garded the passages. *Cestius* seeing it not possible to march openly, thought it best to flee, and chose almost 400. of his strongest souldiers, and seerthem in very eminent places, commanding them that when they were aloft, they should crie that they did before, that the Iewes might thinke that the whole armie was there, and so he with the rest of his army marched

The yeere of the world 4530, after Christs birth, 68.

A ched quietly 30. furlongs. In the morning the Iewes perceiuing the Romans to be fled, assaulted the 400. whereby they were deceiued, & presently killed the with darts, & forthwith they followed *Cestius*: who hauing fled a great way in the night, made more haste the next day, so that the souldiers for feare left their rams & instruments to beat down the wals, and slings, and much other munition; which the Iewes taking, after vsed against them. And thus they followed the Romans vnto Antipatris: and seeing they could not ouertake them, they returned, bringing with them the warlike instruments, and rising those that were slaine, and taking whatsoever the Romans had left behind; and so singing songs of victory, they returned vnto Ierusalem, hauing lost verie few of their company, and slaine foure thousand, and three hundred and eightie of the footmen of the Romans, and their helpers; and nine hundred and fourescore horsemen. And this was done vpon the eight day of October, and in the twelfth yeere of the raigne of Nero.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the crueltie of those of Damascus against the Iewes, and of Iosephs affaires in Galilee.

Continently after *Cestius* aduerse fortune, many of the chiefest amongst the Iews daily fled and forsooke the citie, as a ship presently ready to sinke. *Cassobarus* and *Saul* two brethren, and *Philip* the son of *Ioachim* Generall of *Agrippas* army, fled out of the citie and yeelded themselves vnto *Cestius*. As for *Antipas*, who was also besieged with them in the kings palace, he would not flee with the rest, and so was killed by the rebels. But *Cestius* sent *Saul* and the rest of his company into Achaia vnto Nero, to let him vnderstand the cause of their flight, and to shew how *Florus* had caused all these wars: for so he hoped that Nero would bend his wrath against *Florus*, and quit him from danger. Then the people of Damascus vnderstanding the death of the Romans, deuised how to destroy the Iewes which inhabited amongst them: & they thought it was easie to be accomplished, for that the Iewes were already assembled in the common bathes, for feare of some such matter: yet they mistrusted their women, who all, except a few, were Iews in religion. Wherefore they tooke great heed to conceale their intent from them, & so assaulting the Iewes altogether in a narrow place, and hauing nothing to defend them, they put them all to the sword, who were in number ten thousand. The rebels that so pursued *Cestius*, returned into Ierusalem, and ceased not to ioinc all vnto them that fauored the Romans, either by force or by flatterie: and assembling themselves in the temple, they determined to chooe a greater number of captaines. Wherefore *Ioseph* the sonne of *Gorion*, and *Ananus* the high priest were appointed rulers of the Citie, and especially to see the wals therof repaired. *Eleazar* the sonne of *Simon* was put in no authoritie, notwithstanding that he had in his custodie all preies and spoiles taken from the Romans, and *Cestius* his money, and a great part of the publicke treasure, because they perceiued him through authoritie to waxe proud, and his attendants become stately. Yet in time *Eleazar* by money and craft, perswaded the people to obey him in all things. And they requested other captaines to be sent into Idumæa, who were *Iesus* the sonne of *Sapphas*, and *Eleazar* the sonne of the new high priest: and they commanded *Niger* who was borne beyond Iordan, to obey these captaines, who was therefore called *Peraides*, and was then Gouvernour of Idumæa. And they neglected not to doe the like by other regions: for *Ioseph* the sonne of *Simon* was sent to Iericho and Manasses beyond the riuer, and *Iohn* the Elfean to Tarnia, euery one to rule the gouernment of his country as a Toparchy. Lydda, Ioppe, and Amithus were annexed to *Iohn* the Elfean, and *Iohn* the sonne of *Ananias* was appointed Gouvernour of Gophnitis and Acrabatenia. And *Ioseph* the son of *Matthias* was made ruler ouer both Galilees, vnto which was ioined Gamala the strongest Citie in that coast.

As for other gouernors, euery one discharged his place according to his wisdom and dexterity. When *Ioseph* came to Galilee, which was committed to his protection, his first care was to get the good will of the inhabitants, knowing that it might much profit him, although in other matters he had offended. Then considering that hee should haue most mighty & assured friends, if he made them partakers of his authoritie; and likewise get the loue of the common people, if he did esteeme of those things which they should thinke well of; Hee chose seuentie of the most ancientest wise men amongst them, and made them rulers ouer all Galilee, and elected seuen iudges ouer the lesser townes to iudge inferiour matters: for he referred all great affaires and criminall causes to his owne hearing. Moreouer, hauing ordained a forme of iustice that those se-

The yeere of the world 4530, after Christs birth, 69.

Dietrich of the noblest Iewes forsake the citie, as if they had bene in a ship ready to sinke.

The Damascusenes kill ten thousand Iewes in one houre.

Ioseph the son of Gorion and Ananus the high priest appointed to gouerne the Citie.

Ioseph the historiographer gouernour of both Galilees.

Ioseph maketh 70. Elders rulers in Galilee, and appointeth 7. iudges in euery City to determine the causes of lesse weight.

The year of the world, 4033, after Christs birth, 69. Ioseph fortified the convenient cities with walles.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

Ioseph instructed the Galileans in warre. Ioseph teacheth the Galileans how they should obey in the warres.

Euery one of the cities of Galilee send the halfe of their multitude into warre, the rest they kept to prouide them victuals.

Iohn a notable dissembler, and a thirfie murderor vnder hope of gaine.

uentie should follow, he tooke counsell how to worke their outward security: And being assured G that the Romans would come into Galilee, he compassed those places with strong wals that were fit for his purpose, to wit, Iotapata, Bersabea, Selamis, Pereccho, Iapha, & Sigoph, with the mountaine Itaburium, Tarichea, & Tiberias. Moreouer, he fortified the caues neere the lake Genesar, which is in the lower Galilee, and in high Galilee Petra, which is also called Achaberon & Seph, Iamnith, and Mero; in Gaulanitis also Seleucia, and Soganes, and Gamala: he onely permitted men of Sephoris to build their own wals, because he perceived them to be rich & prone to war of themselves. Likewise Iohn the sonne of Leuias at Iosephs commaund, built the wall of Giscala himselfe alone: but in all other places that were fortified, Ioseph put to his helping hand, & told how they should be done. He leuied also an army of a hundredth thousand, who were all young men, whom he armed with olde armour, which he gathered from all parts of the country: and considering that the Roman army was inuincible, for that they were all obedient vnto their rulers and expert in warre, hee could not instruct them in marriall discipline, other occasions forcing him to the contrarie: but calling to minde that the multitude of rulers made obedience, he ordained many captaines and constituted diuers sorts of soldiers, as the Romans vsed to do; making some gouernours of ten, other some ouer a hundredth, and others ouer a thousand; and appointed likewise rulers ouer them. He taught them also how to giue the signe of warre, and how to found the trumpet both to call them to combate, and to retire: how to march in length, and cast in a ring, and alwaies to succour them that were most in danger: and to be short, hee taught them whatsoeuer might either incourage them, or make them actiue: but especially he exercised them in feates of armes, imitating in particular the order of the Romans, often telling them, that they were to fight with men, who for strength of body & courage passed all nations of the world. Also he told them that hereby he should perceiue whether they would be obedient in warre, if now they abstained from such things as were vsuall to souldiers, to wit, robbing & spoiling their countenmen, and craftie and deceitfull dealing; nor thinke the spoile of those with whom they conuersed to be their owne gaine: for those warres had alwaies best successe, where the souldiers carried good consciences; and they that were bad, should not onely haue men, but God also for their enemy. And after this maner he daily exhorted them, and now he had appointed how many were to fight. For threecore thousand footmen, and two hundredth and fifty horsemen, and beside these foure thousand, and five hundredth whom he hired, were alwaies in readinesse, and six hundredth chosen men to guard his owne person. And the hirelings onely excepted, the rest of the souldiers were prouided for by the cities: for euery citie before mentioned, sent one half of their men for souldiers; and the other halfe they kept to prouide victuals for them, that one part being employed in warre, the other might doe such busines as the citie required.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Iosephs dangers and escape, and of the malice of Iohn of Giscala.

After Ioseph thus ordered the estate of Galilee, there arose a traitor borne in Giscala, the sonne of Leuias whose name was Iohn, a most subtil & deceitfull treacher, whereby L vile meanes was now become the richest man in that countrey, beeing before verie poore; whereby for a while hee was hindered from putting his villanies in practise: who could lie at his pleasure and easily giue credit vnto lies, who thought deceit to be a vertue, which he vsed euen toward his dearest friends: & a great counterfeiter of humanity: yet for the hope of gaine became a cruell murderor. Hee alwaies aimed at high matters, with an aspiring mind, & at first nourished his hope with smal villanies. For first he was a thiefe after his own manner, & liued in woods and solitarie places; at last he got him a company of audacious people like to himselfe, at first small, but afterward he greatly increased it. He had also a great care to chooe no idle persons, but such as were strong of body, valiant of mind, and skilfull in martiall affaires: of these he gathered foure hundredth, the most of them out of Tyre, and the villages thereabout: and with them he wasted all Galilee, and put many in minde of the miserable wars to come. This M man a long time before desired to be gouernour of the army, and aspired to greater matters, onely the want of money hindered him: and perceiuing that Ioseph tooke delight in his industrie, he perswaded him to suffer him to build the wals of that place where he was borne, which was now desolate; and to accomplish this, he gathered great summes of money of the richer sort. Then he deuised another shift: for hauing perswaded the Iewes that were dispersed ouer all Syria, that they

OF THE IEWES. THE II. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4033, after Christs birth, 69. Iohn tempted the people, saying, hee would buy the wals of the citie for them, if they would agree and conspire together against him, from whom they should take it; and not to offer violence vnto him who

A they should vse no oile, save onely that which was made by their owne nation, he caused diuers vessels of oile to be brought vnto the confines of Galilee, and buying foure barrels for a peece of Tyrian money (which amounted vnto foure Antique groates) he told them againe vnto the Syrian Iewes, the halfe of one barrell for as much as all foure cost him. And for that Galilee abounded with oiles, and especially at that time, hee conueied it to such places where there was great want, and none was brought but by himselfe. By this meanes hee gathered an infinite masse of money, which presently he turned to his prejudice who had given him licence so to get it. And thinking that if he could depose Ioseph, that then hee might come to be ruler ouer Galilee, hee commaunded his followers to robbe and spoile more then they did before, and to trouble the country, that he might either kill the gouernour, if hee sought to redresse it, at vnawares; or if he let all alone, to accuse him of cowardice to the people for so doing. Moreouer, he had already giuen out speeches, that Ioseph went about to betray Galilee to the Romans, and deuiled many things to this effect to worke Iosephs ouerthrow. It hapned that at that time, some of the village of Dabarita, who watched in the field, let vpon Ptolomeus, who was factor for Agrippa, and his sister Berenice, and spoiled them of all cariage, wherein was much costly apparell, and many siluer cups, and six hundredth peeces of gold. And for that they could not doe this secretly, they brought all the whole bootie to Ioseph at Tarichea: who reprobuing them for offering violence vnto the kings seruants, commaunded the things to be kept at the house of Aeneas, who was one of the richest men in the towne, who should restore them to the owner when time serued: wherein thinking to doe himselfe great good, he wrought himselfe much danger. For the theues beeing C offended that they received no part therof, & seeing that Ioseph would restore to Agrippa & his sister Berenice that which they had labored to get, they went round about the villages in the night, and spread this false report in euery place, that Ioseph was a traitor to his country, and with the same rumour filled the cities thereabout. So that early in the next morning, a hundredth thousand armed men came against Ioseph. Finally, the multitude assembled themselves together in the theater at Tarichea: the greatest part cried out in their choler and fury, that the traitor might be deposed, other some that he might be burned, and Iohn himselfe incited many, and with him one Iesus the sonne of Sapphas, who at that time was gouernour of Tiberias. All the friends of Ioseph and his guard being terrified with such a multitude, fled, foure onely excepted. But Ioseph in the mean while was asleepe: and had he slept a little longer, they had set his house on fire. Whereupon he arose, and the foure that remained with him, counsilled him to flie: but he not dismayed in that he was left alone, nor for that so great a multitude came against him, went boldly towards them with his garment all torne and ashes vpon his head, holding his hands behind him, and his sword vpon his necke. Whereat they that bare him goodwill, especially the people of Tarichea, were moued to compasion: but the country people and they whom he overlaid with taxes and tributes, cursed him, and bad him bring forth the publike treasure, and confesse his treason: for because of the attire and habite hee came in, they thought hee would not haue denied any thing whereof he was accused, and that he came so to moue them to compasion, and so to obtaine pardon for his offence. This his humility stood him in good steed, for hereby those that before were enraged against him, now began one to fall out with another in his behalfe, when he promised to E confesse the whole matter: and then obtaining licence to speake, hee said: I was neuer minded to send backe that money to Agrippa, nor to keepe it vnto my priuate vse: For (God forbid) that I should euer hold him for my friend, who is your open enemy, or that I should so seeke mine own profit, that I should thereby damnifie you all. But (O ye men of Tarichea) forasmuch as I perceived that your citie especially had greatest need to be fortified, and that you were not able to build the walles, and for that I feared the people of Tiberias, and others adjoining, who still gaped after this prey and wealth that was taken from Agrippa; I determined to get those spoiles for you to reedifie your walles. If ye mislike this, I will bring out the treasure, and giue it to be diuided amongst you: but if you like thereof, then it appeareth how you molest him who is your benefactor.

F This speech of his well pleased the people of Tarichea, and displeased them of Tiberias; so that they breathed out their earnings against him. Thus they both left Ioseph, & fought one against another. He now hauing many partakers (for the people of Tarichea were almost fortie thousand) spake more boldly vnto the multitude, and rebuked their temeritie, affirming that it was necessarie to strengthen Tarichea with that present money, and that hee would also prouide to strengthen other cities, and that they should not want money, if they would agree and conspire together against them, from whom they should take it; and not to offer violence vnto him who

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

An other stratagem of Iosephs against the Iewes.

Johns enuie and treason against Ioseph.

John persuadeth the Tiberians to revolt from Ioseph.

John sendeth certain armed men to kill Ioseph. Ioseph flies in a little boat by the lake.

John flieth into his country Giscala. The Galileans flocke to Ioseph against Iohn.

Johns treason against Ioseph.

would endeavour to get it. So the rest of the multitude being deceived, though they were angry, yet departed; and two thousand armed men offered to set vpon him: but he being already retired into his house, they stood without, threatening him. Wherefore Ioseph used another device likewise to repress these: and getting vp into the top of the house, he beckned vnto them with his hand to keep silence; and then said that hee was ignorant what they requested at his hands: for hee could not heare one for another, because their voices were confounded through the multitude, but if they would send some into the house to talke friendly with him, he would do whatsoeuer they requested. The nobles and magistrates hearing this, presently went into the house: whom, when he had led into the innermost part of the house, hauing shut the doores, hee caused to be beaten, so long til that all their bowels appeared: the doores in the meane time being made fast, the people staid before the house, thinking that the cause of their long tarrying was, to alleadge reasons to and fro; & presently Ioseph opening the doores put them forth amongst the people all bloody as they were: wherat they were so terrified, that leauing their weapons behind them they ran away. Hereat Iohn tooke occasion to encrease his enuie, and hauing ill successe in this policy, he still attempted other plots to bring Ioseph in danger: and counterfeiting himselfe sicke, he requested Ioseph to permit him to goe to Tiberias, and use the hot bathes for to recover his health. But Ioseph not hauing yet perceived his treason, wrote letters in his behalfe to the gouernour of the towne, willing him to be Iohns oast, and to let him want nothing that he needed: which he had in good sort. And two daies after his arrival there, hee went about the businesse, which he came to effect, and entised some with money, others with flatteries, to revolt from Ioseph. Silas whom Ioseph had made gouernour of the city vnderstanding this, he presently by letters gaue notice thereof vnto Ioseph: who receiuing them in the night, went to Tiberias, & was there early in the morning, and the rest of the multitude came out to meete him: but Iohn notwithstanding he iudged that he came against him, yet still he counterfeited himselfe sick in bed, and sent a man of his acquaintance to excuse his absence for not comming to meet Ioseph. Then Ioseph assembled the Tiberians together in a place to speake vnto them, concerning that which was written vnto him: and Iohn sent armed men thither with commandement to kill Ioseph. The people perceiuing them to draw their swords, cried out: and Ioseph at their cry looking about him, and perceiuing their swords euen almost at his throat, hee leapt down a little hill vpon the shore, which was six cubits high, vpon which he stood to speake vnto the people, and going into a boat with two of his guard which he found there, he went into the midst of the lake, & presently by his guard taking their weapons, assaulted the traitors. Ioseph fearing that a great conflict would ensue, & so the whole citie for a few mens fault be destroyed, sent to his souldiers, charging them only to worke their owne safety and no more, and to kill none, nor reprocue any for that wicked fact: who forthwith obeying his command, ceased from fight.

But they that inhabited about the citie, and heard of the treason, and by whom it was attempted, armed themselves and came against Iohn: but he before they came, fled into Giscala, where he was borne. In the meane while, all Galilee came and ioined with Ioseph, and there were many thousands of armed men gathered together, affirming that they came against Iohn, and to fire that citie which had receiued him. Ioseph thanked them for their good will, saying that hee had rather conquer his enemies by policy, then by fire or sword; and therefore requested them to be content. Hee also published an edict, wherein hee declared that all those that had rebelled vith Iohn, and did not forsake him within fise daies next following, should lose all their liuings, and their mansions should be sacked, and their houses & family set on fire. Hereupon three thousand presently forsooke Iohn, and came and cast downe their weapons before Iosephs feet, prostrating themselves before him: so that there onely remained with Iohn, but one thousand of fugitiue Syrians. By whom Iohn being assisted, again went secretly to work, hauing so ill successe by plain dealing: and so priuile sent messengers to Ierusalem, who tolde that Ioseph had gathered a great armie, and that except he were quickly preuented, hee would come and vsurpe the dominion ouer that mother citie. But the people vnderstanding before of Iohns hatred, did not regard it: yet diuers rich men and magistrates who enuied Ioseph, secretly sent money vnto Iohn to hire souldiers that were strangers, that hee might warre against Ioseph; and determined amongst them to displace him: & thinking that their decree was not sufficient to effect it, they sent moreover fise hundred and foure thousand armed men, and foure of their principal nobility amongst them, to wit, Iozar the lawyer, and Ananias the Sadducee, and Simon and Iudas the sonnes of Ionathas, all very eloquent & learned men, to withdraw the peoples minds from Ioseph; giuing them charge, that if hee of his owne accord came vnto them, that then they should permit him to speake

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Four cities of Galilee submit themselves to Iosephs enemies.

A speake for himselfe: but if he refused so to doe, that then they should hold him as an enemie. Iosephs friends at Ierusalem gaue him intelligence, how that an army came against him, but for what cause they knew not, for that it was kept secret. And hereupon before he could preuent it, foure Cities did revolt from him, to wit, Sepphoris, Gamala, Giscala, and Tiberias, the which hee soon after easily recovered, without any force of armes: and hauing taken the foure captaines & counsellors of his enemies, hee sent them vnto Ierusalem: against whom the people being incensed, would haue killed them, and those that brought them, had they not fled betime.

CHAP. XXVII.

Tiberias and Sepphoris were recovered by Ioseph.

NOW Iohn for feare of Ioseph, kept himselfe within the wals of Giscala: and a few daies after Tiberias revolted againe, the inhabitants calling in Agrippa, who came not at the day appointed, and yet a few Romane souldiers shewing themselves, they revolted from Ioseph. Ioseph vnderstanding this at Tarichea, hauing sent his souldiers to fetch corne, thought it not good to goe alone against the rebels, neither did he thinke it best to delay the time any longer, fearing that whilst he delayed, king Agrippa would come & possess the towne: for the next day, because it was the Sabaoth, he could do nothing. Wherefore he thought to ouercome the rebels by policie, and so he commanded the gates of Tarichea to be kept shut, that his intent might not be reuealed vnto them of Tiberias. Then taking all the boates that were in the lake, in number two hundred and thirtie, and in euery one of them foure sailers, hee hastily sailed to Tiberias: and when hee came neere the citie, yet so farre off that the inhabitants thereof could not easily descry him, he left all the boates vpon the water emptic, & taking onely seauen of his guard with him, vnarmed, he went neer vnto the citie, that they might see him. When the rebels perceived him, and thought that the boates had been full of armed men, they cast downe their weapons, and held vp their hands to him, beseeching him to spare the citie. Ioseph, after many threatening and bitter speeches, first, for that hauing vndertaken warres against the Romans, they with ciuill wars consumed their owne forces: secondly, for that they sought his life who had wrought their safety, and that they were not ashamed to shut the gates against him, who had builded the citie wals: yet (said hee) if any would come and talke with him, and confirme a league of their fidelitie vnto him, he would not refuse them. So tenne of the chiefe amongst them came vnto him, whom hee caried away in a fisher-boat farre from the citie, and sent for fise Senators, as though he requested their promise also. And deuising new causes, hee still vnder preence of agreement, sent first for one, and then for another, as he thought good, till he had loaded all the boats: which done, he commanded all the boatmen with all speed possible to go to Tarichea, and put them in prison, so that he caried away all the counsell, which were in number fise hundred & two thousand people, all whom he brought to Tarichea in boates. But they which remained in the citie, cried with one voice that one Clitus was cause of that revolt, and therefore besought Ioseph to punish him for all. Ioseph told them that he would put none of them to death, but commanded one of his guard called Lenia, to come and cut off Clitus his hands: but he fearing to trust himselfe amongst all his enemies, refused to doe execution. Clitus perceiuing that Ioseph was angry, & ready to come out of his owne boat to do it himselfe, besought him to grant him one of his hands: which Ioseph did, vpon condition, that hee should cut off the other himselfe. So Clitus drawing out his sword with his right hand, cut off his left, being afraid of Ioseph; and after this, hee returned to Tiberias to bring it againe vnder his subiection: and within a few daies after, hee tooke Giscala and Sepphoris, which were revolted, hauing giuen the spoiles thereof to his souldiers, but yet afterward he restored all that was taken away vnto the people, and so he did to the inhabitants of Tiberias and Sepphoris: and by this meanes got the good will of them all.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How the people of Ierusalem prepared themselves to warre, and of the tyrannie of Simon Giora.

NTILL this time, there were broyles in Galilee: & now ceasing from ciuill dissension, they prepared themselves against the Romans. And the potentates of Ierusalem, and Ananias the high Priest, with all speed renewed and repaired the wals, and made all sorts of instruments.

Simon the Son
of Giora com-
mitteth great
rapines and
murthers in
Acrabatena
and Idumæa.

ments for warre, arrowes and other weapons; so that all the Citie was buſied heerein, and tray-
ned their men in warlike diſcipline. All places were filled with tumults; but the grauer ſort were
verie penſiue, and many as it were foreſeeing the calamitie that after enſued, burſt out into tears:
they that deſired peace, receiued no comfort in any thing: all things were done at their beck, who
were cauſe of all this warre. And the eſtate of the Citie euen then before the Romans came, vvas
like a citie to be deſtroied. Now *Ananus* omitted that which was neceſſarie for war, and labou-
red to reconcile the ſeditious faction of them that were called *Zelous*: but how he was ouercom,
and what his end was, we will declare heerafter. Now one *Simon* the ſonne of *Giora* in the To-
parchie of *Acrabatena*, hauing gathered together a multitude of ſeditious people, robbed and
ſpoiled all; and not onely brake into rich mens houſes, but alſo did beate them grieuouſly, open-
ly exerciſing his tyrannie. But when *Ananus* and the reſt ſent an armie againſt him, hee fled vnto
his fellow thieues of *Maſſada*, and there hee ſtaied till *Ananus* and the reſt of his enemies vvere
ſlaine: and then he waſted *Idumæa* with the reſt, ſo that the gouernours of that place were ſaine
to put a garrifon in euery village: ſo great was the number of the, that were ſlaine by theſe thieues.
And thus ſtood the affaires of the Iewes.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 3. booke.

- 1 Of the coming of Vespasian generall of the Romans into Iudæa, and of the two massacres of the Iewes, and how the Sephorites yielded themſelues to Vespasian. K
- 2 The description of Galilee, Samaria, and Iudæa.
- 3 Of the helpe ſent vnto them of Sephoris, and of the military diſcipline amongſt the Romans.
- 4 How Placidus aſſaulted Iotapata.
- 5 How Vespasian inuaded Galilee, and at his onely preſence how the Galileans fled.
- 6 How Gadara was taken.
- 7 How Iotapata was beſieged, and of the ſituation and batterie thereof.
- 8 Of the ſiege of Iotapata by Vespasian, and of Iosephs diligence, and of the excursions of the Iewes againſt the Romans.
- 9 How Vespasian did beate the wals of Iotapata, with a Ramme and other warlike engines. L
- 10 How Iotapata was againe aſſaulted.
- 11 How Traian and Titus tooke Iapha.
- 12 How Cerealis ouercame the Samaritans.
- 13 How Iotapata was taken.
- 14 How Ioseph being taken ſaued his owne life.
- 15 How Ioppe was taken againe.
- 16 How Tyberias was yielded.
- 17 How Tarichea was beſieged.
- 18 Of the lake called Genesar, and the fountaines of Iordan.
- 19 How Tarichea was deliuered. M

CHAP.

Of Vespasians comming into Iudæa, and of the two massacres of the Iewes.

After that *Nero* vnderſtood of his euill ſucceſſe againſt the Iewes, hee was ſci-
zed with feare and aſtoniſhment; yet hee diſſembled it as much as neceſſitie
would permit him. In the meane while he ſer a good face on the matter, and
made as though he were of more courage, ſaying, that that which hap-
pened, was rather by the fault of his Generall, then by the valour of their ad-
uerſaries: thinking that it behoued him, who was Emperour, not to ſhew
himſelfe moued with a little bad newes; and the greatneſſe of his Empire
ſhewed hee had a mind which yielded to no miſfortune. Yet it appeared by the vexation of his
ſpirit that he was much moued, and in great care vnto whom he ſhould commit the charge of the
Eaſt, which rebelled; who both would conquer the Iewes, and chaſtiſe the inhabitants about
them, that bare the ſame mind as they did. At laſt, he found *Vespasian*, whom hee thought onelie
meet for that purpoſe; a man who from his infancie had been trained vp in warres, euen vntill he
was gray-headed, who had appealed the people of the Weſt, and helped them beeing troubled
by the Germans, and recovered it for the Romans: as alſo he did Britannie, which was vnknown
before; and for that cauſe made his father *Claudius* triumph without taking any paines for it. *Nero*
conſidered all theſe, and his prudence grounded in old age with his experience, who alſo had
ſonnes in the flower of their age to be pledges for his fidelitie, and that repreſented their fathers
wiſedom. God, as it ſhould ſeeme, euen then diſpoſing ſome thing of the whole cōmon-wealth,
Nero ſent him to gouerne the armies in Syria, greatly encouraging him with faire ſpeeches and
promiſes, as at that time need required.

BThus he departed out of *Achaia*, where he was with *Nero*: and he commaunded *Titus* his ſon
to leade the ſiſt and tenth legions from *Alexandria*, and hee himſelfe croſſing ouer to *Helleſpont*,
went after by land into Syria, where hee aſſembled all the *Romane* forces, and all the helpe of the
kings adiōnyng that were confederates. But the Iewes after *Ceſſius* vnfortunate ſucceſſe became
proud of their victorie, and could not containe themſelues, but like men toſſed at Fortunes plea-
ſure, they ſtill gaue more occaſion of warre: and gathering all their warlike forces together, they
went to *Aſcalon*, which is an old citie ſeauen hundred and twentie furlongs diſtant from *Ieruſa-
lem*, which the Iewes alwaies hated, for which cauſe alſo they firſt aſſaulted it. The Gouernours
in this expedition, were three men excellent about the reſt for ſtrength & wiſedome, to wit, *Ni-
ger* of *Peræa*, *Silas* the *Babylonian*, and *Iohn* the *Eſſean*. Now the citie of *Aſcalon* had very ſtrong
wals, but few men to defend it; for it had onely one company of footmen, and one band of horſ-
men, whom *Antonius* gouerned. The Iewes made ſuch haſte, as though they had dwelt hard
by. *Antonius* perſwading himſelfe that they would aſſault him, cauſed his horſemen to iſſue
forth of the citie: and neither fearing the multitude, nor the malice of his aduerſaries, he valiantly
aboad the firſt aſſault of the enemies, and beat them backe that attempted to aſſault the wall. So
the Iewes who were vnſkilfull, hauing to doe with them that were expert, & they beeing on foot,
fighting againſt horſemen; without order; againſt thoſe that were in good order; being lightly ar-
med, againſt their aduerſaries who were well provided, were eaſily repulled.

CFinally, they were more led by rage and wrath, then by good counſell; and they againſt whom
they fought were obedient, and would doe nothing without the commandement of their Lea-
der. For their firſt rankes beeing broken, they were forced by the horſemen to turn their backs;
and turning themſelues to their owne company, who turned toward the wall, became as it were
enemies to themſelues. So that euerie one ſeeking to auoide the horſemen, they vvere all
diſperſed about the field, vvhich vvas in euery place for the aduantage of the horſemen. This
greatly helped the Romans to kill ſo many Iewes: for they that fled were eaſily ouertaken by the
Romans, and killed; and others compaſſing diuers of the Iewes about, ſlew them with darts: ſo
that the Iewes were in as great deſperation for all their huge multitude, as if they had been alone.
The Iewes indeuouring to ouercome their miſfortunes, were aſhamed to flie, & ſo fled not haſti-
ly, hoping that fortune would change. But the Romans not wearied in that which they did vvhith
great dexteritie, continued the fight the moſt part of the day: ſo that there vvere ſlaine of the
Iewes ten thouſand, and two of their Leaders, *Iohn* and *Silas*. The reſt, many beeing wounded,
followed their Generall *Niger*, who fled into a little towne of *Idumæa*, named *Salis*: manie of
the

Nero is ama-
zed and afraid
at the valiant
acts of the
Iewes.

Nero ſendeth
Vespasian to
gouern in Sy-
ria and direct
his warres.

Vespasian and
Titus gather
great forces
againſt the
Iewes.

The Iewes be-
ſiege *Aſcalon*.

Antonie fight-
teth with the
Iewes.

The Romans
ouercome the
Iewes: & make
a great ſlough-
ter of them.

Ten thouſand
Iewes ſlaine.
the

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

Eight thousand Iewes slaine at Ascalon.

the Romans also were wounded in that fight. But the Iewes were not daunted with this misfortune, but the griefe thereof much encreased their courage: neither were they dismayed with the former losse of so many men within so short time; but rather calling to mind their great victories they had before, were drawne to vndergo yet another mishap. Shortly after, before their wounds were healed, they gathered together all their forces, and went againe to Ascalon in greater number and furie, but with the same successe and skill in warlike affaires which they had before. For *Antonius* having warning which way they meant to come, placed an ambush in the way; and the horsemen setting vpon them at vnwares, they killed about eight thousand of them, before they could prepare themselves to fight: and all the rest fled, and *Niger* with them, shewing as he fled many arguments of a valiant mind: and for that the enemies pursued them, they fled into the safest tower of a towne called Bezedel. *Antonius* knowing it to be in vaine to stay about the tower that was inuincible, yet loth to let the Generall of their aduersaries to escape, set fire on the wals; & so departing, triumphed, thinking that *Niger* had been burned. But he leapt into a deepe vault in the Castle, and so escaped: and three daies after hee shewed himselfe vnto his souldiers, who sought for him weeping, that they might burie his body, for they thought him dead: whom against all expectation seeing aliue, they were very glad, as though by Gods prouidence hee escaped to be still their Leader.

Vespasian with his whole army cometh to Ptolemais. The Sephorites do curteously entertaine the Romans.

Vespasian came to Antiochia, which is the mother citie of all Syria, and brought his army with him, which for greatnesse and happy successe, doubtlesse was the third in the whole world; and finding that king *Agrippa* did expect his coming, he halted with all his forces from thence to Ptolemais. At this place there came vnto him the citizens of Sephoris a citie of Galilee, who had no thought at all of rebellion: these both prouident for their owne safetie, and well knowing the forces of the Romans, before *Vespasian* came, submitted themselves vnto *Cestius Gallus*, and received from him a garrison of souldiers; and now also curteously entertaining *Vespasian* offered their help against their countremen. To whom *Vespasian* at their request gaue a guard of horse & foote, to great as hee thought was able to resist the force of their enemies, if the Iewes should attempt any thing against them. For he thought it would be a great helpe vnto him in his warre to come, to haue Sephoris the greatest citie of Galilee situate in a strong place on his side, which otherwise might be a safeguard to the whole nation.

CHAP. II.

The description of Galilee, Samaria, and Iudæa.

The description and situation of the higher Galilee.



Here are two places named Galilee, the one is called high Galilee, and the other lower Galilee; and they are both compassed with Phœnicia and Syria. On the west Ptolemais with the limits of his territorie doth part their borders, and the mount Carmell, which in time past belonged vnto Galilee, but now vnto the Tyrians. Vnto which adioyneth Gabaa, which signifieth the horsemens citie: so called for because king *Herod*s horsemen were sent thither to inhabite. On the South part it ioyneth to the Samaritanes and Scythopolitans vnto Iordan. On the East part it bordereth vpon Hippene, and Gadaris, and Gaulanitis, which are the borders of king *Agrippa*s his country. On the North it bordereth vpon Tyria. The length of lower Galilee reacheth from Tiberias vnto Zabulon; neere which is Ptolemais by the sea coast. In breadth it reacheth from the Village Xaloth, situate in a great field vnto Bersabe, where also beginneth the breadth of high Galilee, and reacheth vnto the village called Baca, bordering vpon the Tyrians; and the length thereof is from a village neer Iordan named Thella vnto Meroth. And beeing of such bignesse, and enuironed with so many nations, yet did they alwaies resist forraine forces: For the Galileans are from their childhood warlike, and neuer are daunted by feare or penurie: for their countrey is most fruitful, set with all manner of trees, and very fertile, notwithstanding the inhabitants take small paines in tilling the ground. All parts thereof are tilled by the inhabitants, and there is no waste part.

The fertilitie of Galilee.

The description of the country beyond the Iord.

There are manie Cities, and in euerie place there are villages populous and rich: so that the least Village there, hath in it about fifteene thousand inhabitants. And although Galilee be lesse in compass than the region beyond the riuer, yet it is more populous, fertile, and richer than the same: for it is all tilled, and all beareth fruit. But that beyond the water, though it be bigger, yet it is not all inhabited, for there are many desert and barren places, and only beareth wilde fruits. Perceiue hath a good soile & large fields, beset with diuers trees, especially oliues, vines, and palme trees; and it is abundantly watered with brookes running from the mountaines, and springs

OF THE IEWES. THE III. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4030. after Christs birth 68.

The description of the Region of Samaria.

The description of the parts of Iudæa.

The diuision of Iudæa.

- A Springs that continually come downe, when in the dog daies they are almost dry. The length of this place is from Macherunt to Pella: the breadth from Philadelphia to Iordan. This towne Pella before mentioned, lieth on the North part, and Iordan on the West, and the countrey of the Moabites bordereth on the South, and on the East Arabia, Silbonitis, Philadelphia and Gerasis. Samaria is seated between Iudæa and Galilee, beginning at a towne situate in a place called Ginara, and endeth in the Toparchy of Acrabatena, nothing differing in nature from Iudæa. For both of them are full of mountaines and fieldes, and good for tillage; full of trees abounding both with wild apples and others: for they are of their nature dry, but haue raine enough, and haue passing sweet waters, and abundance of good grasse, and great store of mitch beasts, and which is a great argument of wealth, both places are very populous. The confines of these countries is A B nath, a village otherwise called Borceos, which lieth on the North part of Iudæa. The South part of Iudæa, if you measure the length, is extended vnto the village of the Arabians, called Iaridan: the breadth reacheth from Iordan vnto Lopp: in the midst thereof is situate Ierusalem; and that some call that citie the nauell of that country. Iudæa also bordereth on the sea coast, which vnto Ptolemais. It is diuided into eleuen portions: the first is Ierusalem, head and chiefe of all, being about all the rest, as the head is about the body: & the rest are Toparchies. Gophna is the second, after that Acrabatena, then Thamna, afterward Lydda, also Ammaus, and Pella, and Iduma, and Engadda, & Herodium, and Iericho; besides these Samaria and Lopp command the places adioyning. Moreover, there is Gamala & Gaulanitis, & Batanea & Trachonitis, which are portions belonging to king *Agrippa*s his kingdom. This country beginneth at mount Libanus, & C the fountaines of Iordan, & reacheth in breadth vnto the lake neer Tiberias. And in length it reacheth from Iulias to Arphas, and the inhabitants are partly Iewes, and partly Syrians.

CHAP. III.

How aide was sent vnto the people of Sephoris: and of the militarie discipline of the Romanes.

- H**ave already spoken of Iudæa as briefly as might be, and with what countries it is enuironed. Now *Vespasian* sent help vnto the inhabitants of Sephoris, to wit, one thousand D horsemen, and sixe thousand foot, *Placidus* the Tribune being their gouernour: the horsemen diuided themselves into two companies, and lodged in a great Plaine, and the footemen were in garrison in the citie for to defend it, but the horsemen staid without. These horsemen made excursions on euery side, and greatly molested *Ioseph*, who was quietly bent, & also spoiled all that was without the cities, and alwaies repulled the inhabitants, if at any time they tooke courage to reuenge themselves. Notwithstanding, *Ioseph* assaulted the citie Sephoris, hoping to take it: which he before such time as it revolted vnto the Romanes, had compassed with so strong wals, that the Romans themselves could not haue taken it; so his hope was frustrate: for neither by force nor faire meanes would the Sephorites yeeld vnto him. Heereat the Romanes beeing angry, troubled the country more then before, who now neither night nor day ceased from destroying it, but robbed E and spoiled all they found, & all men able to beare armes they slew, and made the rest their slaues: Thus all Galilee was filled with fire and sword, and no man escaped that calamitie: onely they saued themselves, that fled into the cities that *Ioseph* had walled.

- Titus* came to Alexandria beeing winter, sooner then he was expected: and so received there the souldiers that hee was sent for, and hauing a prosperous iourney, hee quickly came to Ptolemais; and finding his father there with two of the chiefe legions, to wit, the sixth and tenth, hee also adioyned that fifteenth legion that he brought with him. And there followed them eighteen companies, five out of Cæsarea, one troupe of horsemen, and five companies of horsemen out of Syria: tenne of these companies of foot had in euerie one of them a thousand men, the rest onlie fixe hundred and thirteene; and in euery troupe of horsemen were a hundred and twentie. The kings also brought great aide: for *Antiochus*, *Agrippa* and *Sohemus*, brought each of them 2000 boawmen, and a thousand horsemen, and *Malchus* king of Arabia, brought 5000 foote, and 1000 horse, and the most of his footmen were archers; so that the whole army together with the kings aide, amounted vnto the number of thre score thousand horse and foot together; besides them that followed the campe, who were a great multitude, & not inferiour vnto the souldiers in warlike discipline: so that one may admire the Romanes, who so traine vp their seruants in time of peace, that they are verie fitte for warres. So that whosoever well beholdeth their militarie

Vespasian sendeth helpe to the Sephorites, but filleth Galilee with sword & fire.

Titus bringeth a mighty army into Iudæa.

discipline;

The year of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69. The diligence and labour of the Romanes in providing this necessity for the warres.

The industry of the Romanes. The order of the Romanes in their campe.

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discipline, he shal perceiue that they gained not this their goodly Empire by chance and fortune, G but by vertue: for they do not only then begin to vse weapons when they come to fight, but they practise militarie discipline before they need, and they are not idle in time of peace, but alwaies practise themselues therein without ceasing. Their exercises are like warre it selfe, & euery souldier is euery day exercised in euery sort of weapons, euen as though they were fighting against the enemy; so that hereby they easily indure the burthen and traiaile of warres. For their disorder doth not make them forget what to do, neither doth feare dismay the, nor continuance of fight and war wearie and tire them. So that whosoever they fight against, who are not so well provided in these affaires, as they are, they alwaies overcome them: and one may well call their practises amongst themselues, conflicts without bloudshed; and their wars indeed, conflicts with bloudshed. They are not easily overcome at vnawares, for in what enemy-countrie soeuer they come, H they fight not before they haue fortified their campe about, which they do not rashly, neither do they pitch their tents in marsh or high places, after a disordered manner, for if the place be vnequall, they make it plaine. And they proportion their campe foure square: for they haue manie Smiths, and all kind of workmen needfull, which doe still follow the armie, to accomplish such business. And in the innermost part of the campe they make tabernacles, whose outside resembleth a wall, with towers equally distant one from another, and betweene them engines of warre to cast stones, and such like, that all kind of shot may be in readinesse. They also build four gates large and wide, both for their cattell easily to come in at, and also for themselues if need require, to enter in or issue out speedily.

Within the campe, there are streets diuided into certain spaces: in the midst their rulers, and amongst them all, the Generals tent like a temple, so that it seemeth a citie, and a market full of shops made in an instant. There are also seates builded for the gouernors to iudge of controuersies, if any arise between the souldiers and others. All this place and all things belonging thereto, are made in an instant, partly by reason of the multitude, partly by the industry of the that work: and if need require they compass it with a trench foure cubits deep, & as many broad. Thus the souldiers enclosed with armes, doe liue quietly in their tents, without disorder, and all things are done with good aduice and order, whether they need water, or corne, or wood: for they must all goe to dinner at the time appointed, and all sleep at once, and a trumpet giueth notice when to watch and guard, and nothing is done that is not commanded.

The reuerence & obedience of the Roman souldiers to their capitaines

How the Romanes forsake their campe.

The armour of the Roman footmen. The furniture of the Roman horlemen.

The Romanes attempt nothing vnadvisedly or rashly.

In the morning, all the souldiers come vnto their capitaines to salute the, & the capitaines to the K tribunes, and they all to the Generall, and he giueth them a watch word, and telleth them what he thinketh good, and how they shal behaue themselues towards those that are vnder them, whereby in fight they may demean themselves, and well know when to assault, and when to retire. When they goe forth of the campe a trumpet soundeth, and no man is idle, but at the first becke taketh away his tabernacle, & makes all ready for their departure. Then the trumpet soundeth againe, warning them to be ready: & hauing laden their beasts with their baggage, they expect the sound againe, as though they were to run a race, & at their departure they burn their camp, because it is easie to build the like againe, & also least afterwards it may aduantage their enemies. Vhen the trumpet hath sounded the third time, which is a signe to sette forward, then they hasten those that are slow, least they forsake their order. And a crier standeth on the right hand of their general, asking L thrice if they be prepared to fight, and they as often answer that they are, holding vp their right hands with lofty courage: & so they march on easily, euery man keeping his rank, as though they were ready to giue battell. The footmen haue a head peece, a breast plate, and a sword on the left side, and on the right side a dagger. The footmen that guard the generall haue Iauelin & a shield: the rest are armed euery one with bucklers & pikes. Moreover, they carry a saw, a basket, a fardle, a hatchet, also a cord, a sythe, & a chain, & victuals for 3 daies, so that the footmen are much laden as their cattell. The horlemen carie at their right side a long sword, in the left hand a dart, and a long shield hanging against the horse side, and a quiver with 3 darts with broad edges, which are as big as a speare: they haue also helmets and breast-plates like the footmen. And the generals horlemen that guard his body doe nothing differ from the rest. That company alwaies leadeh, that M the lot falleth vnto. And these are the fashions of the Romanes concerning their warlike discipline. They neuer doe any thing vnadvisedly in battaile, but manage all things according to counsell; so that they either do not erre, or if they doe, their fault is easily amended. For they thinke that bad successe after deliberation is better then good fortune without it; and they thinke that therein fortune did but flatter them, to worke them some great despite, by reason they haue not deliberated: but that which is premeditated, although it haue euill successe, yet it maketh them wary against

OF THE IEWES. THE III. BOOKE.

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The Romanes grow more diligent by feare

The obedience of the Roman souldier is no small occasion of his victorie.

How farre the Roman gouernment extendeth.

A against another time. And none of them accounteth that good successe, which commeth by chance, & yet euery one is comforted in their misfortune, for that they take good aduice. By the militarie exercises they doe not only make the bodies of their souldiers strong, but their minds also more hardy: & their diligence is the greater by their feare. For their lawes are capital, not only for them that forsake their order, but also for them that commit the least enormity or negligence. The Romanes and their generals are more seuerer then their lawes: who only by rewarding the good, purchase fauour, least they seeme cruel in punishing the wicked. Moreover, they are so obedient vnto their rulers, that in peace they honour them, and in warre the whole army seemeth one body vnto together: they so keepe order, and are so ready to turne heere or there, and so attentiu to anie command, and so diligent to note signes made vnto them, & so quick to labour with their hands, B that they are alwaies apt to doe any thing, but slow to endure. Infomuch that they know no place, where they haue bene overcome, either by number or by courage, or counsell, or by the difficultie of the place, nor by fortune it selfe: For they thinke victory more certaine then Fortune. Therefore seeing that their deeds are ruled by aduice & counsell, and their commandments so well fulfilled by the Armie, what maruel is it if their Empire in the East reach vnto Euphrates, in the West vnto the Ocean, in the South vnto Affrick, in the North vnto Rhine and Danubius? seeing that one may iustly affirme the possession lesse then the possessors. Thus I haue spoken, not to praise the Romans, but to comfort the conquered, and to terrifie those that desire alteration: and perhaps it may teach them who want good discipline, and are ignorant of the maners and customes of the Romans in their militarie affaires. But I returne to my purpose.

CHAP. IIII.

How Placidus assaulted Iotapata.

IN the meane time Vespasian liuing at Ptolemais with his son Titus, prepared his army. But Placidus was already entered into Galilee & run through it, where hee slew almost all he found who were of the weaker sort of people & cowards: And seeing that those of courage alwaies fled into the cities that Ioseph had fortified, he turned his forces against Iotapata, which was the strongest of them, thinking it might easily be taken by a suddain assault, and that he thereby should get great glorie, and that by taking it, great profit might ensue, in that D the people seeing the strongest citie surprised, they would not fly to any againe. But it fel not out as hee expected; for the people of Iotapata vnderstanding of his comming, met him neere the towne, and sodainly encountering the Romans, being a great multitude and wel disposed to fight, as those that bare armes for the generall safety of the country, and for the liues of their wiues and children, they put to the Romanes to flight, wounding many, only seuen being slaine: for the Romanes in flying kept their ranks: and being armed round about, they were not daungerouslie wounded; but the Iewes being vnarmed, rather trusted to their darts and arrowes then to handie blows. There were three Iewes slaine, and a few wounded: and so Placidus when hee saw himselfe repulsd from the towne, he fled.

Placidus draweth his forces against Iotapata, & being repulsd, flieth.

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CHAP. V.

How Vespasian innuaded Galilee, and how at the very sight of him the seditious fled.

Vespasian desirous to take Galilee himself, departed from Ptolemais, making such iournies as souldiers ought to keepe, which the Romanes are wont to follow. And he commanded those that came to helpe him, and the bowmen because they were lighter armed, to go before and repress the enemies incursions, and search the wood & Forrest fit for ambushes, whereby they were to passe: after them followed part of the Roman footmen and horlemen: & after them there marched ten by ten out of euery hundredth, bearing with them their armour, and the measures of their camp. After them followed men, whose office it was to mend the waies, where they were bad, and cut downe the woods that were in the way, least with bad way the armie were tired. After them he sent his baggage and the baggage of the rulers vnder him, and withall horlemen to guard it. And after them hee himselfe followed, leading an armie of choisen footmen and horlemen, accompanied with his owne gard of horlemen, and hee had out of euery legion sixscore men for his own gard. After followed they that carried the engines to batter the wals of cities, and other instruments, and with them the Prefects & Tribunes, guarded with their choisen souldiers. After them other ensignes, and the Eagle, the which the Romans

Vespasian directeth the Romanes march.

The year of the world 4031, after Christs birth, 69. The Eagle by the Romans is held the ensigne of the Empire and a signe of victorie.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

Ioseph forsake by his friends flies to Tiberias.

Romans hold for chiefe of all, because it is the King of all birdes, and is most valiant and strong. Wherefore they thinke it a signe of dominion & victory, ouer all them against whom they beare it. After these sacred ensignes followed the trumpets sounding in warlike maner; and after them the armie marching six in a ranke; and as the custome is, a centurion went by them to keepe order: the seruants were all with the footemen and baggage. After the last company who were hired, followed armed footemen & horsemen in great number. And thus *Vespasian* with his whole army came vnto the borders of Galilee; and there pitching his Tents, he staied the souldiers who were very eager to fight: as it were boasting and shewing his army to terrifie his aduersaries, and giuing them time to repent, if any one would alter his mind before the warre began, yet did hee prepare to besiege the wals and fortresses. The onely sight of him made many rebels flee, & daunted the most of them. For *Iosephs* souldiers who had pitched his Tents a little from *Sephoris*, when they knew that warre grew on, & that they were presently to fight with the Romans, they did not onely fly before they fought: but also before they saw their enemies. *Ioseph* being left with a very few, knowing he was not able to abide the enemies: and that the Iewes were discomfited, and that if he put any trust in them, they would for the most part reuolt vnto the enemies; for that time abstained from all warre, and thought to get himselfe out of danger: and so accompanied with them that remained with him, he went to Tiberias.

CHAP. VI.

How Gadara was besieged and taken.

V*espasian* went vnto Gadara, and tooke it at the first assault: for all able men fit for warre were fled out of the citie: and entering the citie, he put all to death. For the Romans had no mercy, partly for the hatred they conceiued against the Iewes, & partly in reuenge of that which had befallen *Celsus*. And they burned the citie & all townes and villages adioining: some of them being already desolate, and the inhabitants of the rest were made slaues. *Ioseph* fled into the city which he made choise of for his safegard, & filled it with fear. For the people of Tiberias thought he would neuer haue fled, if there had been any hope of withstanding the Romans: wherein they iudged nor amisse, for he did foresee what euent those wars would haue, and that their onely safetie consisted in changing their rebellious minds. He himselfe, though he hoped to obtaine pardon of the Romans, yet had he farre more rather haue died, then to haue liued pleasantly with them against whom he was sent, and so become a traitor vnto his countrie committed to his charge. Wherefore hee determined faithfully to write all his estate, and the estate of the country vnto the nobility at Ierusalem, and not to extoll the enemies forces too much, least they should say hee was a coward; nor yet putting the in any comfort, least perhaps they now penitent for that they had done, againe by his letters should be incited to goe forward in their rebellious course: willing them presently to write an answer, whether they thought it good to enter into league with the Romans; or if they would make warre, then they should send a sufficient armie against the Romans: and hauing written to this effect, he presently sent men away to Ierusalem to beare these letters.

Ioseph is afraid of the Romans, and writeth to Ierusalem.

CHAP. VII.

Of the siege of Iotapata.

V*espasian* was very desirous to take Iotapata, for that he knew many of his enemies were fled thither, and for that this was the strongest refuge they had. So hee sent before footemen and horsemen, to plaine the waies which were full of ragged stones, so that it was hard for footemen to passe, and altogether vnpossible for horsemen: who within foure daies effected that which they were commaunded, and made a large way for the armie to passe. And the fifth day which was the one and twentieth of March, *Ioseph* before they came entered into the citie, comming thither from Tiberias to encourage the Iewes who were dismayed. A certain run-away signified vnto *Vespasian* that *Ioseph* was come thither, willing him to haste thither, for if he could take *Ioseph* he might easily take all Iudæa. Hereat *Vespasian* was very glad & took it as good fortune, that the most prudent & port of his enemies, should (God at that time so working) put himselfe as it were in hold, & so presently he sent *Placidus* before with a thousand horsemen, and with him capitaine *Ebutius*, a man both strong, valiant and prudent, and commaunded them to compassse the citie with a siege, least *Ioseph* should priuily escape from thence. The day

Ioseph cometh to Iotapata from Tiberias.

Iotapata besieged.

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A day after he himselfe followed with the whole army, and about noone came to Iotapata, and leading his army vnto the North side of the towne, he pitched his tents vpon a hill seuen stounds distant from the citie. Vpon purpose placing himselfe within the view of his enemies, that the very sight of his armie might terrifie them: which hee also did; for presently euery one was in such a feare, that none durst goe out of the citie. The Romans being wearied all that day, would not assault the city: wherefore they inuironed the town with two squadrons, and the third that consisted in horsemen, was placed without to intercept all passage, that none of the Iewes could passe any whither. Hereby the Iewes now in desperation tooke heart; for in warre nothing is more forcible then necessitie. The next day began the batterie, and euery Iew kept his quarter: and kept themselves in order, and resisted the Romans before their wals. But when *Vespasian* sent all the bowmen, and those who cast darts and other things to beate them off of the walles, and hee himselfe with footemen assaulted the walles in another place where they might easily be entered: then *Ioseph* fearing the citie, accompanied with all the people issued out of the towne, and assaulted the Romans fiercely, and did driue them from the walles, shewing courage and strength: and they themselves suffered as much harme as they did vnto their enemies. For as they were encouraged with desperation, so were the Romans with shame, who were armed with military knowledge and strength, and the Iewes onely with anger. And the fight continued all day euen vntill night; wherein many Romans were wounded, and only thirteene slaine: and of the Iewes there were six hundred wounded, and seuentene slaine. The next day also they met the Romans, and resisted them more stoutly then before, taking courage for that they the day before had resisted them, contrary to their expectation: and all the Romans fought more valiantly, ashamed as it were of themselves, in suffering the Iewes to resist them; thinking withall, that they themselves were overcome, if they did not quickly suppress their enemies. Wherefore the Romans for foue daies together ceased not to assault the towne, and the Iewes strongly rebatted them: and now neither the Iewes feared their enemies, nor the Romans were dismayed with the difficultie of taking the towne. Iotapata is almost all situated vpon a rocke, and compassed about with deep valleys, which descend straight downe like a wall: so that one can scarcely see the bottome. There is only access vnto it on the North part, where it is seated vpon a mountaine going ouerthwart; which *Ioseph* inclosed with a wall, so the end it might bee no passage for the enemies: all the rest of the citie is inuironed with high mountaines, so that it cannot be discerned by any before they be hard at it. And Iotapata was thus strengthened.

Nothing is more effectuall in war or more desperate then necessitie.

A fight betwene the Romans and the Iewes continued a whole day, and broken off by night.

The situation of Iotapata.

V*espasian* determined both to stricke against the nature of the place, and hardines of the Iewes; and therefore called all his captaines together, and consulted with them to begin a hot siege: at last they resolved to reare a mount in that place where the citie was easiest to be entered. Hee sent his whole army to prouide wood to doe it, who cut down the mountaines neere vnto the towne: and great store of wood and stone being brought, setting hurdles before them to beare off the darts and arrowes, hee began to raise a mount; so that they receiued little or no harme by darts cast from off the wals: others brought earth from places thereabout, and no man was idle. The Iewes cast continually great stones and all kinde of darts vpon that which defended them; which though they pierced not thorough, yet they made a great noise and terrified the workemen.

E Which *Vespasian* seeing, caused all engines that did cast stones and darts, which were in number a hundred and threescore, to be placed against the wals, to beate the Iewes from thence. And so they cast stones and darts, and fire, and arrowes in great abundance: so that they did not onely beate the Iewes from off the wals, but also out of the reach of their shot; for both the Arabian archers and those that vsed slings and darts, & all the engines continually plaid vpon them. For all this the Iewes rested not, but running out in companies as theewes, they took away that which defended the workemen, and then assaulted them hauing no defence: and when they had beaten them away, destroyed and fired all that the Romans had wrought for their owne defence and safegard. At last *Vespasian* perceived that these domages happened for that there was space left betwene all these works, whereby the enemies had access to doe them such harmes: wherefore hee vnited them together, and so hindered the priue excursions of the Iewes. When the mount was almost made and the towers vpon it finished, *Ioseph* afraid to doe nothing for the safegard of the towne, called all workemen necessarie together, and commanded them to make the wall there higher; but they said it was vnpossible for them to worke, for the number of shot in that place. Then *Ioseph* made this deuise to defend them: hee fixed stakes in the ground, and fastened vnto them hides of Kine & Oxen new slaine, by which they were defended from shot, and fire; so that they labouring night and daie raised the wall twentie cubits high, creating

Vespasian intendeth to begin a sharpe siege.

The Iewes break out and beat down the bulwarke.

Ioseph fixeth stakes in the ground and fastneth vnto them raw Oxen hides to raise the wall and beat off the shot.

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also vpon it many towers: and by this meanes made it a strong defence. Whereat the Romans, G who before thought themselves sure of the towne, were now greatly dismayed both by this device of Iosephs, and also by the hardiness of the Iewes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the siege of Iotapata by Vespasian, and the diligence that Ioseph used, and how the Iewes made excursions against the Romans.

THis stratageme and the carriage of the Iewes greatly moued Vespasian: for now they receiving courage in that defence, made assaults vpon the Romans of their owne accord, & H every day skirmished, running out in companies, and like theeues, taking away whatsoever they lighted vpon; and what they could not carry away, they set on fire. At last Vespasian would not permit his souldiers to fight any longer: but determined now to besiege it and take it by want of victuals, purposing either to make them come and yeeld themselves for lack of food, or if they held out, to famish them: & that it would bee more easie to take it by force, if ceasing awhile from assailing it, he afterward let vpon it, they being in anguish for the danger they were in. Wherefore he commanded all passages to be kept, that none could go out of the city. But they had great store of corne, and of all other things else, except salt and water, whereof they stood in great want, for there is neuer a fountaine in the city, and they haue little raine in sommer time, so that the inhabitants were in great distresse; for now there was hardly any water left in the citie. I Ioseph perceiving there was abundance of all things else, and that the citizens were valiant, as also the siege like to continue long, he gaue to euery one water in measure: with which they were not contented, thinking it as good to want altogether, as to haue it in that manner, & now they began to faint, as though they had suffered extreame drought. The Romans perceived this, being vpon a high hill, ouer against the place which all the Iewes came together to receiue water, and they with their shotte killed many that came thither, insomuch that Vespasian hoped that within short time their water would bee spent, and they constrained to yeeld. But Ioseph to frustrate this hope, commaunded a great many garments to be laid in water and hanged vpon the wals, so that the water might run down on euery side. When the Romanes saw this, they were much grieved & affraid, for that they wasted so much water in mockery, and before had thought K that they had wanted water to drinke. And now Vespasian scorned to win the city by siege, purposed to assault it againe by force. The Iewes were very glad of this themselves: and the citie in danger, rather wishing to bee slaine then perish through hunger or thirst, Ioseph deuised also another way to get such necessaries that he wanted out of the country: for there was a valley out of the way, & therefore not regarded by the Romans: wherefore Ioseph sent men into the countie to his friends for such things as the citie wanted, by this way; commaunding them when they came neere the watchmen, to hide and couer themselves with hairie skins, that the watchmen might thinke them to be dogs, and this he used a good space, till at last the watchmen perceived it, and so let a guard there to stop the passage. When Ioseph perceived the city could not hold out long, and fearing his own life, if still he continued there, hee treated with the chiefe of the Citie L that he might fly. But the people perceiving his intent, flocked about him, and besought him to take pitie vpon them, and not forsake them, who had no hope but in him, affirming that for his sake they were all courageous and bold to fight, & if they were taken, yet he would be a comfort vnto them, telling him that it did not become him to fly from his enemies, nor to forsake his friends, neither as it were to leape out of a ship shaken with a tempest, into the which hee came when the seas were calme, for so by this meanes he would soon ouerthrow the citie; & once gone, no man afterward could or durst resist their enemies; for in him was all their hope.

Ioseph kept it to himselfe that his purpose was to worke his owne safety, for hee told them the thing which he intended was for their good, affirming that though he staid still in the citie, yet he could doe them little good, and if the citie should chance to be taken, then hee and they were like to perish; but if hee were abroad and not besieged, hee could doe them great good: for hee M would presently assemble all the people of Galilee, and come against the Romanes, and so raise their siege; whereas now in staying with them he saw not wherein he did them any good, but rather incited the Romanes against them, making them more earnest to take the towne then they would be, onely because he was there, that they might take him; but if they knew once that hee were fled, they would not then be so earnest in the siege. Ioseph herewith could not perswade the

A people, but they flocked faster about him, and both young and old of all sorts came and prostrated themselves at his feete, weeping, and beseeching him to take such hap as should befall them, whether it were good or bad; not for that they enuied his escape, but for that they hoped they should receiue no harme if he remained with them.

He then bethought himselfe that if he staid with them, he fulfilled their request; & if he denied, he feared they would force him. Wherefore being partly moued by compassion, he determined to stay; & being now, as al the city was, desperate, he told them that now it was time to fight, seeing there was no hope of safety: & that it was a goodly matter to spend their liues renownedly, & do some noble act to leaue a remembrance vnto their posterity of their valour: and so went about it. And issuing out of the city with the most valiant amongst them, when he had killed the B watchmen, at the first encounter he came euen vnto the Romans tents, & tore the skins that their tents were made of, and fired others, and their engines: and so he did the second and third day, and for certaine daies & nights afterward neuer ceased. When Vespasian perceived the Romans greatly endamaged by such excursions & very loath to fly for shame, & not able to follow them being so laden with their armor, & that the Iewes alwaies did some exploit before they retired themselves into the city; he gaue commaundement vnto his souldiers to leaue their assault, and not to fight against men who desired to die, affirming that no men were stronger then those in desperation, & that if they found none to assaile, their courage would soon bee alaid; like vnto a flame of fire, when the matter that nourisheth it, is consumed. Moreover, the Romans must seeke victory more warily, for that they fought not for necessity, but only to increase their dominions: and C after that oftentimes they beat the Iewes by the Arabian archers, and with slings and darts, and other shot which neuer ceased, and so the Iewes by this meanes were repressed. But so soone as they were without the danger of the shot, they more furiously assailed the Romans, sparing neither bodie nor minde, but continually fought by turnes, and euery one of the citie assisted them that so laboured.

CHAP. IX.

How Vespasian did beat the walles of Iotapata with a Ramme, and other warlike Engines.

Vespasian thinking himselfe as it were besieged, both for the long time which hee had continued the siege, and also for the diuers assaults and priuie excursions of the Iewes, hauing now almost raised the Rampiers as high as the wals of the city, determined to batter them with a Ramme. A Ramme is a huge beame like the mast of a A Ramme ship, whole end is armed with a strong masiue yron, made in the forme of a Rams head: whereupon it taketh his name, because he butteth with his head. It hagerh on another beam with ropes, like the beame of a paire of ballances: the beame it hangeth on lying acrosse is held vp with two props, which being drawne backe by force of many men, and then jointly with all their forces shoomed forward, it striketh the wall with the head of yron: And there is no wall nor tower so strong, but though it abide the first strokes of the engine, yet can it not hold out long. The general of the Romanes thought good to vse this meanes to take the citie by force, for that the siege was dangerous, by reason that the Iewes neuer rested; so the Romans with all kind of shot endeououred to beat the Iewes from off the walles that made any resistance: and the archers and they who vied slings, were hard by, and when they saw that none of the Iewes durst come vpon the wals, they applied the Ramme vnto them; & couered it aloft with hurdles and skins, both for to defend themselves and the engine, and at the first assault the wals were shaken, so that the citizens cried as though the towne had beene already taken. Ioseph seeing them still beat one place, and that presently the wall would fall, deuised away to resist the force of the Ramme, and so he filled lackes with chaffe, and let them downe off the wall iust against that place, where the Ram strook ordinarily, and so brake the force of the blowes, the loosenes of the chaffe making no resistance; F and so drowning or abating the violence of the stroke. By this meanes the Romans were hindered: for whither soeuer they brought the Ramme, thither did they vpon the walles also remove the lackes of chaffe, and brake the force thereof: till at last the Romans also deuised a way to cut these lackes, taking long poles and binding Siethes vnto the ends of them, and so cut these lackes of chaffe. And the Ramme shooke the wall, and the wall newly built was not strong enough to resist. Then Ioseph and his souldiers sought to helpe themselves by fire workes, and so they fired all that was made of drie wood in thier several places; and withall the engines, and fortes, and

The year of the
world, 4031, after
Christs birth,
69. Ioseph staid in
Iotapata.

Where as
there is no
hope of help
there warre
is the last
remedie.

The audacious
courage of the
Iewes in their
extreame desperation.

The Iewes
with their
slings are repul-
led by the
Arabian archers.

A Ramme

Iosephs deuise
how to breake
the force of
the Ramme.

Vespasian
restraineth his
soldiers from
fight and
besiegeth the
citie.

Ioseph deli-
uereth his sol-
dier water by
measure.

Iosephs stra-
tagem.

Another poli-
cy of Iosephs.

The people
belieued
Ioseph that he
would not
forsake them.

Iosephs pru-
dence.

The year of the world, 4031. After Christs birth, 69. Ioseph burnt the engines, and turneth on the Romans. Eleazars strength and courage.

Netiras and Philips valour against the Romans.

Vespasian wounded in the sole of the foote by an arrow.

The warre renewed against the Iewes.

The force of the Roman darts.

mounts of the Romans, who now had much ado to defend themselves: first, because that they were terrified with the valour of the Iewes: and secondly, because euery one had worke enough to defend himself against the fire, which seising vpon dry matter with Brimstone and Pitch wonderfully encreased; so that in one houres space it consumed all the workes that the Romanes had made with so great labour. There was a Iew the sonne of *Samaus* called *Eleazar*, who deserved eternall memory: this man was born at Saab in Galilee. This *Eleazar* tooke vp a great stone, and cast it downe with such force vpon the Ramme, that he brake off the head thereof; and nothing fearing, leapt downe amongst the midst of his enemies, and brought it away into the citie: at last being vnarmed, and as it were a marke for his enemies to shoote at, hee receiued in his bodie siue arrowes; and as though he had not felt them, so soone as he had gotten vp the wall where all might see him, he boldly stood still, and so through griefe of his wounds hauing the head of the Ram in his armes fell downe. Next vnto him two brethren of Ramath in Galilee shewed themselves valiant, named *Netiras* and *Philip*, who assaulted the tenth legion of the Romans with such violence, that they brake their ranks, and put all to flight that sought to withstand them: which *Ioseph* and those that were with him perceiuing, tooke fire and burnt the engines, workes, & defences of the fift and tenth legions that were fled, and those that followed destroyed all engines, and other matter that was left. In the euening the Romanes againe erected the Ramme against that part of the citie which before they had beaten, and so began afresh to shake the wall in the same place that before they had battered: and one of the Iewes shot an arrow from the wall, & wounded *Vespasian* in the sole of the foote, yet the wound was not great, for that the force of the arrow was spent before it came to him, hauing come a great way off.

This fact greatly troubled the Romans, who seeing *Vespasian* bleed, presently spread these newes through the whole armie, and almost all of them came running to see their generall, and especially *Titus* who feared his fathers death: so that the whole army partly for the loue of their generall, and partly for the feare of *Titus* his sonne, were greatly troubled: but *Vespasian* presently freed the armie from all perturbation; and his sonne *Titus* from feare. For the grief of the wound being past, hee shewed himselfe to all that were sorrowfull for him, and incited them to fight against the Iewes more earnestly then before; and now euery one as it were to reuenge their generall, despised all danger, and assaulted the wals, one exhorting another. *Ioseph* and his associates, notwithstanding that many of them were killed with shot, darts and arrowes; yet they forooke not the wals, but with fire and sword, and stones fiercely assaulted them, that being defended with hurdles battered the walles with the Ramme, but to little purpose: for they were continually killed, being in sight of their enemies, and for that they could not see them, presently were stricken downe. For their fire did make such a light as though it had been day, so that the Romans easily perceiued whither to direct their shot: and for that their engines were not perceiued afar off, the Iewes could not defend themselves from the arrowes and stones which were shot against them, by which meanes many of them were slaine, and the tops and corners of the towers beaten downe. And there was no man so well guarded, but he was slaine by force of those stones; so that any man may know of what force that engine is, by that which hapned that night. For one that stood neere *Ioseph* vpon the wall was stricken with a stone, and his head caried from his body by violence of that blow three furlongs, as though it had been cast out of a sling: and the next day a woman great with child was stricken on the belly with one of those stones, and the child caried forth of her from the place where she was stricken three furlongs; so great was the force of this engine: Therefore the violence of the engines was more terrible, and likewise the noyse of darts, arrowes and other shot. And many were slaine on euery side, and the bodies of those that were killed, stricken against the wall made a noyse: and within the citie was heard a pitifull lamentation, and weeping among the women; and without a heavy mourning and cry of them, that were wounded to death; and all that part of the wall where the fight was, flowed with blood: so that now the multitude of dead bodies had so filled the ditch before the wall, that the Romans might easily passe ouer them into the citie, and the mountaines about did echo with the cries of the citizens: and all that night long nothing wanted, that either might by the eie or eare moue terror. And many stoutly fighting for Iotapata died most valiantly, many also were sore wounded: and notwithstanding the wall was continually battered, yet it was almost morning before it fell, being all night long beaten with the Ram. And then they of Iotapata repaired the breach with their bodies and armour, before the Romans could set bridges to enter it.

How Iotapata was againe assaulted.

IN the morning *Vespasian* brought his army to enter the breach, hauing giuen them but little rest after their whole nights labour: and desirous to make the Iewes that defended the breach to forsake their place, before such time as he entered, he tooke the most valiant of his horlemen and vnhorled them, being armed from the head vnto the foot, and placed them in three ranks, that they, being so armed, might besiege round that part of the wall that was battered, and to take long pikes in their hands, so that as soone as the bridges were set, they should first enter the breach. After them he placed the strongest of his footmen: the rest of his horlemen hee set round about the citie vpon the mountaine, to the end that none might escape thereout: after the footmen he commanded archers to follow with their arrowes ready in their hands, and them that used slings also, and other engines for shot. And he caused other to scale the wals, where they were not battered, to the intent that the townsmen busied in resisting them, might leaue the breach vnmaned; and the rest being wearied & oppressed with the thickeesse of the shot, should of force forsake their standing. But *Ioseph* perceiuing his intent, placed old men and children, and those that were already wearied, vpon those parts of the wals that were not battered: & himselfe with the stoutest in the citie went to defend the breach, and placed sixe men before them, whom hee choole out, himselfe being one of them, to sustaine the first brunt of their enemies assault: commanding them likewise to stoppe their eares, to the end that they might not be terrified with the cries of the armie. He willed them also to defend themselves with shields against the darts and arrowes, and giue back a little; till such time as the archers quiuers were emptied: and if so be that the Romans should offer to make bridges, that then they with their instruments should resist; & that euery one should now fight, not to defend his country, but as it were to recover it being in a maner already lost; & imagine that they now did see their aged me murdered with their children, and their wiues almost taken by their enemies, and now to reuenge themselves vpon those that hereafter would massacre their whole citie: and thus he appointed men in both places. The weaker multitude, women and children, seeing the citie compassed about with three ranks of horlemen, & that the Romans with their swords drawne preased against the breach, that all the mountaines about did shine and glitter with their weapons that were placed there, and certaine Arabians to serue the archers with arrowes: they cried out as though the citie were now taken, so that a man would haue iudged them already amidst their enemies swords, and not onely in danger to fall into their hands. Wherefore *Ioseph* commaunded the women to their houses, least their cries should effeminate his souldiers minds; willing them likewise to keep silence, and threatned them if they did not: and so he marched vnto the breach, which place fell vnto his lot, & gaue no heed to them that sought to scale the wals, but onely beheld afarre off the force of the arrowes.

When all the trumpets began to sound, and the ayre to be obscured with the multitude of arrowes, *Iosephs* companions remembring the charge giuen them, stopped their eares; and armed their bodies against the shot of arrowes: And so soone as the bridges were set against the wal, presently they ran; and before the Romanes could enter vpon them, they got them into their hands, and resisted them that sought to come vpon them, shewing great prowesse and strength, & themselves no way inferiour vnto the Romans, though they were in extreame danger, and the Romans in none: and did not giue one foote backe, till either they did kill or were killed. But the Iewes had not any fresh men to second them that were tired, and the Romans still as they were wearied, sent fresh supply; and ioyning together their long shields, exhorting one another; they became as it were a wall or defence inuincible; and the whole armie like one body did beare backe the Iewes, and so set foote on the wals. Then *Ioseph* in this desperate case, deuised some way to repell this present calamitie: wherefore he commanded the Iewes to fetch scalding oyle, which they had ready, and poure it vpon the Romans yet seething, who also cast the pannes vpon them. This deuise brake the ranks of the Romans, so that with great paine and griefe, they fell from the wall, and tumbled downe: for the scalding oyle easily gorte between their flesh and armour, and scorched them like fire being easily heated, and long continuing hot by reason of the farnesse; and the Romanes being laden with helmets & breast-plates could not flie, so that some leapt down off the bridge, and others for griefe died; others would haue retired themselves, but could not; because their enemies followed them so hard: But neither the Romanes wanted vertue and valour

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Vespasian lea-
deth on his ar-
mie to enter
the Citie.

Iosephs subtil
policie.

The cries of
women and
children in
the battell.

The warre of
the Romans
with the Iewes
vnto the bridge

The Iewes
poure scald-
ing oyle vpon
the Romans.

The year of the world, 4031. after Christs birth 69.

The Romans retire without obtaining their purpose.

Vespasian erected higher platfomes & towers.

The Citizens of Iotapata valiantly sustain the siege.

The taking in of Iotapata by Traiane.

The Jews shut up by the Romans, between two walls are slain.

Twelve thousand Iewes slain.

Titus with his forces cometh to Iapha.

A sharp skirmish within the town between the Galileans and the Romans.

valour in aduerser fortune, nor the Iewes prudence & good aduise. For the Romans notwithstanding they were in intolerable paine, being scalded with hot oyle, yet did they freshly assault them that hurt them, and euery one did thrust him forward that was before him, as it were desirous to shew their courage. Then the Iewes vied another deuile to make them retire: for they poured fenugreek boiled vpon the bridge, so that they slid downe: and neither they that would haue fled, nor they who did strue to assault the Iewes, could stand vpon their feet, it was so slipperie; and many falling downe vpon the bridge, were by their owne company troden to death; others did slide downe vpon the Rampier, and alwaies as they fell, the Iewes strooke them: and seeing that the Romans were retired from the place, so that now they were not forced to handy blowes, they had leisure to shoote arrowes and darts against them. When *Vespasian* saw that his men in that fight endured much misery, towards euening hee caused them to retire, many beeing slaine, and more wounded, and six men of Iotapata were slaine, and about three hundred wounded: this fight was vpon the twentieth day of Iune. But after that *Vespasian* had comforted his souldiers, for that which had happened, and perceiuing that they were angry, and desired to fight to reuenge themselves, so that they needed no exhortation; he raised the Rampier higher, and erected three towers fittie foote high, couering the aloft with iron, that so by reason of their weight they might stand stedfast, and not be consumed by fire: and these he placed vpon the rampiers, and in them Archers, and men that cast darts and such like: who not being perceiued of them that were vpon the wall because of the highnesse of the towers, and the couering thereof, easily wounded them who were placed thereon. So the Iewes when they could not auoid the arrowes, nor bee reuenged vpon them vvhom they could not see, nor yet fire the towers beeing couered with plates of iron, forsooke the wals, yet alwaies encountered with them vvhom sought to enter. And the people of Iotapata thus resisted, notwithstanding that many euery day were slaine, and that they did their enemies no harme without great danger to themselves.

CHAP. XI.

How Iapha was taken by Traianus and Titus.

T this time *Vespasian* vnderstood that Iapha a citie neer Iotapata minded to rebel, encouraged so to do, for that they vnderstood how they of Iotapata had held out contrary to all expectation: vvhether he sent thither *Traianus* gouernour of the tenth legion, and with him 2000 footmen, and a thousand horie: who perceiuing the towne able to resist, and the inhabitants prepared for to fight, and come out to meet him (for the towne beeing for the situation strong enough, it was also compassed with a double wall) seeing this, he fought with them, and after awhile put them to flight, and the Romans following them, brake in with them at the first gate: which the citizens perceiuing, shut the second gate, not suffering their owne citizens to enter in, for feare that the enemies also should rush in with them, as they had done into the first gate. Truly God gaue that victorie vnto the Romans, whose will it was that all warlike men of the citie should haue their own gates shut vpon them, and so fall into their enemies hands, who were most greedy to destroy them. For many came to the gates, and called those that kept them by their names, pittifully intreating that they might come in: which whilst they did, they were butchered like sheepe, beeing enclosed between two wals: their own citizens hauing shut one gate vpon them, and the Romans the other: and many thus enclosed perished with their fellowes swords, & an infinite number by the rage of the Romanes, hauing no courage to resist and reuenge themselves. For the treason of their owne citizens and the terror of their enemies together, vtterly discouraged them, and so they died all in number 12 thousand, not cursing the Romanes, but the Iewes their owne countremen. *Traiane*, thinking that the citie was now destitute of fighting men, or if any were within, that they durst not resist being thus terrified, referred the taking of the citie for the Generall, & sent messengers vnto him, requesting him to send his sonne *Titus* to make an end of the victory. *Vespasian* fearing that yet there would be some resistance, sent *Titus* with 500 horimen, and 1000 foot: who halting thither, placed *Traianus* on the left side of the town, & himselfe on the right, so the Romans entered vnto the wals, & the Galileans hauing awhile resisted, presently left them. Then *Titus* & his followers leaping downe presently got into the citie, & began a vehement fight with them that were assembled therein, some valiantly issuing out of the narrow streets, & assaulting them, and the women casting such things as they could get vpon the Romans from the toppes of their houses, and thus they held battell fixe houres. When their fighting men were all slaine, then the old

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A old men & children, & all the other company both in the streetes, and in their houses were soone dispatched, so that none of them were left aliue, saue only infants, who with the women were led captiues. The number of them that were slaine both in the citie and in the first conflict, amounted vnto 15000; and the number of those that were led into captiuitie, were one thousand, one hundred and thirtie: and this massacre of the Galileans happened the 25 day of Iune.

CHAP. XII.

How Carcalis conquered the Samaritanes.

B He Samaritanes also were partakers of this calamitie, who assembled themselves together in mount Garizin, which they account a sacred place. But both their assembly and their courage did portend their wars: and not warned by their neighbors harmes, nor with any aduise or iudgement considering their own infirmie and the Romanes power, began to be tumultuous. *Vespasian* foreseeing this, thought it good to prevent them: and although all the region of Samaria had garrisons in it, yet for all the great multitude assembled, it was thought that the garrisons were able to keepe them vnder. Wherefore he sent thither *Carcalis* the Tribune of the fift legion with six hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen. *Carcalis* thought it not the best way to goe vnto the mountaine; and fight with the whole multitude, because a great many of their enemies were vpon it: wherefore he commanded his souldiers to beleger the mountaine about at the foote thereof, and so keepe them there all the whole day. There happened at that time a vehement heat, and the Samaritanes wanted water, for it was then Sommer, and the people had not provided themselves of victuals, so that many in one day, one for want of drinke died of thirst, the rest preferred death before the misery they endured, and so fled vnto the Romans; of whom *Carcalis* learned that those that yet remained on the mount, were euen dismayed by the misery they endured. Wherefore hee ascended the mountaine, and compassing about the enemies with his armie, he first exhorted them to yield; willing them to saue themselves, promising them all their liues, if they would cast downe their weapons: but nothing preuailing with them, he set vpon them, and killed them all, in number eleven thousand & fixe hundred: and this was done the 27 day of Iune: & these were the miseries that befel the Samaritanes.

CHAP. XIII.

How Iotapata was taken.

F He Citizens of Iotapata endured this hard siege contrary to all expectation, and in the seauen and fortieth day the Romans mounts were raised higher then their walls: on the same day, one of the citie fled vnto *Vespasian*, and told him in what case the citie stood, and how few citizens were left, and that with daily watchings and fighting they were farre spent, whereby they were not able to resist any more, and that they might be taken by policie if they were followed: for in the last part of the night, beeing wearie, they ceased from their labour, and slept vntill the morning: wherefore hee perswaded *Vespasian* to assault them at that time. But *Vespasian* knowing how faithfull the Iewes were one vnto another, and how they contemned all punishment, gaue little credit vnto this run-away: for a litle before one of Iotapata being taken, could not by any torments be compelled to confesse, or disclose the estate of the citie, whom the fire nothing moued, & so at last he was crucified, laughing, & scorning death: yet a probable coniecture which he had, perswaded him to giue credit somewhat vnto this traitors words: and for that he knew no great harm could befall him, if he so assaulted the citie, as the traitor willed, he commanded the man to be kept, and made all his army in readinesse to assault the towne. So at the hower appointed, he made towards the wals with silence; *Titus* being the first, accompanied with one *Domitius Sabinus* a tribune, and a few of the 15 legion: who killing the watchmen, entered into the citie, & after them *Sextus Carenis* and *Placidus* with their companies; so the castle was taken, and the enemies were in the midst of the towne, and it was faire day light, and yet the townes-men knew nothing, beeing now fast asleepe after their great labours and watchings: and they that did watch could see nothing, there was so thick a mist by chance that morning, & the rest neuer wakened till death was at their dore; and that they perceiued their calamitie and destruction. The Romans mindfull of all that had befallen them in the time of the siege, did neither

ther spare nor pitie any one: but driuing the people out of the higher part of the citie into the lower part thereof, they massacred them all, where they that would could not fight for the narrownesse of the place: so being cumbered for want of roome, and sliding downe the banks for haste, their enemies still pursuing them, they were easily slaine. Many of *Iosephs* guard seeing this that they could not fight, gathered themselves together in a corner of the citie, and slew themselves, that the Romans might not kill them. But some of the watchmen, who first perceiued the citie to be taken, fledde into a tower, and resisted awhile (this tower was situate on the North side of the citie) and at last being enuironed with their enemies, towards euening yielded, & offered themselves to be slaine. And the Romans might haue boasted that that victory had bin without bloodshed on their part, had not *Antonius* a Centurion been slaine treacherously. For one of them who fled into the caues (as many did) requested *Antonius* to giue him his hand, in token that he might come out safe & without danger: which he doing vnadvisedly, straightway the Jew with a speare smore him in the flanke, whereof he presently died. The Romans that day slew all the people that they found, and the daies following they searched all the secret places, and drew those out of the caues and denues that had fled thither, and slew all but women and infants: so that they tooke away a thousand and two hundred captiues: and the number of them who were slaine during the siege, and at such time as the citie was taken, amounted vnto fortie thousand. And *Vespasian* commanded the citie to be destroyed, and the castles to be burned, and so Iotapata was taken the 13 yecre of *Aero* his raigne, on the first of Iuly.

CHAP. XIII.

How Ioseph was taken, and how he redeemed his life with deedes and wordes.

BVt especially about all others, the Romans made diligent search for *Ioseph*, both for the hatred they bare him, & also because *Vespasian* greatly desired to get him, for that hee being taken, the greatest part of the warres were then ended; so they sought him amongst the dead, and amongst those that were hid; but hee (fortune fauouring him) when the citie was taken, escaped from the midst of his enemies, and leapt into a deep Well, which had a large caue on the one side, the which they about could not perceiue; where he found fortie principall men who had prouision for many daies. The enemies being in euery place, he in the day time lay hid, and in the night he went forth to see if he could escape; and perceiuing that all places about were diligently watcht for to take him, hee returned againe into the caue, and lay there two daies: the third day a certaine woman that had bin with them in the caue was taken, and so he was descried. Then *Vespasian* sent two Tribunes to him to promise him safety, and bring him before him; the Tribunes names were *Paulinus* and *Gallicanus*: But *Ioseph* would not accept their offer, fearing that because he had bene the author of all the evils that the Romans had indured, that therefore they sought him out to punish him: till *Vespasian* sent vnto *Ioseph*, *Nicanor*, the third Tribune, one of *Iosephs* acquaintance. *Nicanor* recounted vnto him how milde the Romans were towards them whom they had conquered, and that the Romane captiues rather admired him for his vertue, then hated him. Moreover, that his Generall intended not to punish him (which if he pleased he might doe whether he yeelded himselfe or no) but to saue him, who was so valiant a man: adding also, that if *Vespasian* meant ill, hee would neuer haue employed his friend in such a message, to vse friendship (so noble a vertue) to so euill a purpose, as to worke treason: and that hee, though *Vespasian* had bene so minded, would neuer haue consented to haue betrayed his friend. *Ioseph*, after *Nicanors* words beganne to studie, as doubtfull what was best to doe. Whereat the souldiers being angry, beganne to cast fire into the caue: but *Vespasian* hindered them, being desirous to take *Ioseph* aliue. *Nicanor* ceased not to intreat him: and hee perceiuing how his enemies beganne to waxe angry, and calling to mind the dreames he had in the night, vvherein God foretold him of all the Jewes calamities, & what should betide the Romane princes (for hee could interpret dreames, and whatsoever God obscurely shewed, being instructed in the holy bookes of the Prophets, and himselfe a priest as his parents were.) So at that time being as it were filled with the spirit of GOD, and recording the dreames and horrible visions which hee saw in his sleepe, hee prayed secretly to GOD, after this manner: O Creator (quoth hee) seeing that it pleaseth thee to ruinate the nation of the Jewes, and that all good fortune is gone vnto the Romans, and that thou hast chosen my soule to foretell future euents, I yield vnto the Romans to saue my life, protesting that I meane not to goe to them to play the traytour vnto my countrey,

A but as thy minister; and hauing thus spoken, he yielded himselfe vnto *Nicanor*. But they, who fled into the caue where *Ioseph* was, perceiuing that *Ioseph* yeelded vnto the Romans, stocked al about i. m, and cried out. How are our countrey lawes violated? VVhere are those promises of GOD made vnto the Jewes? where are those gallant minds that contemne and despise death? Art thou *Ioseph* desirous to liue, and see thy selfe to become a vile bond slaue? How loone hast thou forgotten thy selfe? How many hast thou perswaded to embrace death for their libertie sake? Truly thou hast but a shadow of valour and prudence in thee, if thou doost hope that they will saue thy life, against whom thou hast so behaved thy selfe: or if they would saue thee, to desire life at their hands. But seeing the Romans offer hath made thee forget thy selfe; yet wee, to preserve the honour and credit of our countrey, will lend thee our armes and swords, and so if thou beest willing to die, die like the Generall of the Jewes: which if thou refuse to doe; thou shalt whether thou wilt or no die like a traytour vnto thy countrey. When they had thus said, they all threatned to kill him with their swords, if he did yeeld vnto the Romans. *Ioseph* feared their violence, & perswaded himselfe, if hee died before hee had put them in mind of Gods commandements, that then he should die a traytour vnto God: wherefore hee beganne to make a Philosophicall discourse vnto them concerning this present estate, what was to be done.

Wherefore (O my friends, quoth he) are wee become murderers of our selues? VVherefore do we make warre between things so vnited, as are the soule and the body? Will any man say that my mind is changed? VVhy, the Romans know that it is a thing most honourable to die in wars, nor any way, but according to the law of armes, to wit by the conquerers hand. If I intreat the Romans to spare my life, then am I worthy to perish with mine owne sword & hand: but if they think good to spare their enemies, should not we thinke it good likewise to spare our owne selues? Truly it is meer folly to do that vnto our owne selues, for the which we fight against the. I confesse it is a commendable thing to die for ones libertie; but yet to die in fight, and by their hands who rooke away that libertie: but now neither do they war against vs nor kill vs. He is not onely to be iudged a coward who refuseth to die when need requirerh, but also he who will die when no need vrgerh. Moreover, what with-holdeth vs from offering our selues vnto the Romans? truly feare of death. Shall we therefore make that certaine our selues, which we feare at the Romans hands? But some will say, How if not, then wee are made captiues: consider what libertie wee now haue. You will say it is the part of him that is valiant to kill himselfe: nay truly, it is the part of a verie coward. For I thinke him to be a timorous seaman, who perceiuing a tempest comming, before it fall, sinketh the ship wherein he is. Moreover, it is against the law of Nature, and the nature of all creatures to kill themselves, and thereby we should commit a hainous crime against God. There is no liuing creature that of his owne seeking would willingly die: for euery one seeketh in himselfe the strong & forcible law of Nature, whereby they desire to liue: and for this cause we iudge them for our enemies, that seeke to take it from vs; and punish them that do take it indeed. And doe you thinke it is not a great contempt of God for a man to despise his gift? For wee of him receiued our first being, and from him let vs expect our ending. The bodie is mortall, framed of corruptible matter; but our soules are immortall, and there is a little part of GOD placed in our bodies. If any one abuse that which another man putteth him in trust with, presently we thinke him a perfidious & wicked man: and shall wee think that if wee cast away out of our bodies that which God hath put vs in trust withall, and placed in the same, that he shall not know of it, whom we haue so abused? VVe hold those slaues woorthy to be punished that runne away from bad masters: and shall not wee then be held for impious, who flie from so good a master as God is? Doe ye not know that they, who according to the law of Nature depart out of this life, & render that to God which they receiued of him, when hee who gaue it requirerh it, shall leaue behind them a perpetual name to their posteritie and family? And that vnto those soules who are obedient vnto their Creator when he calleth them, he giueth a holy & sacred mansion in heauen, & from thence after a reuolution of the heauens, departing; are againe commanded to dwell in chaste bodies? And that they who haue wrought their own death, goe vnto darke hell: and that God punisherh this their offence vpon all their posteritie? Hence it is that God is displeased there-with, and it is forbidden by our most wise Lawmaker. For if any amongst vs kill themselves, it is decreed that till the sunne goe downe they shall be vnburied, yet we hold it lawfull to burie our enemies. Other nations cause their right hands to be cut off, who haue killed themselves: iudging that as the soule thereby was made a stranger to the bodie, euen so by that fact vvas the hand made a stranger vnto it. VVherefore, O companions, thinke on that which is decent, and not to add to our humane miserie impietie against God who created vs. If we desire to bee saued, let vs saue our selues,

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selues: for it is no disgrace to receiue our liues at their hands, who are witnesses of so many valiant deeds of ours. If wee desire to die, let vs die by their hands that haue ouercome vs. I will not goe into my enemies campe to be a traitor against my selfe. For I beare not their mind who forsake their own company to flie vnto their enemies: for they flie vnto them to saue their liues, but I goe vnto them to worke mine owne death, euen the death of my selfe. And I would to GOD that the Romans would breake promise with me; for if they kill me after they haue promised to saue my life, I shall willingly die, and with great courage, hauing their breach of promise and perurie for a comfort of the last victorie.

Ioseph is in great danger to be slaine.

Another policie of Ioseph.

Iosephs selues die by lots, & Ioseph and another are rescued.

Ioseph reforeseth to Vespasian with Nicenor.

An example of Titus grace & mercie towards Ioseph.

Ioseph hath private conference with Vespasian. Ioseph telleth Vespasian of his future honours.

Iosephs truth in all things.

Ioseph spake much to this effect to dissuade his companions from killing themselves. But they stopping their eares with desperation, where-with they had armed themselves to die, came furiously towards him with their swords drawne, vpbraiding him, that he was a coward, and euerie one was ready to strike him. Then Ioseph calling one by his name, & looking vpon another with a countenance like a gouernor, holding anothers hand, and intreating the rest (distracted in such danger) at last escaped from being killed at that instant: for still as one came neere him to strike him, he turned his face vpon him like some cruell beast; and some of them who remembered how he had been their capitaine in their extremitie, with reuerence of his personage trembled, so that their swords fell out of their hands: and many lifting vp their armes to strike him, of their owne accord let their weapons fall. Ioseph, notwithstanding his desperate estate, yet was he not void of counsell, but assisted by Gods providence, hee hazarded his life, and spake vnto them as followeth. Seeing (quoth he) that yee are all determined to die, let vs cast lots who shall kill one another, and he vnto whom the lot falleth, shall be killed by him who next ensueth, and so the lots shall be cast vpon euery one of vs, so that none of vs shall be forced to kill our selues. For it were iniustice that when some of vs be slaine, the rest should repent themselves, and so escape. They all liked well of this, and alwaies he vpon whom the lot fell, was slain by him that followed, as though they were now to die with their capitaine: for death was more acceptable, because they thought Ioseph should die with them. Now it happened by the providence of God, that Ioseph remained aliuie onely with one other, and then perswaded him who was left aliuie, to liue & not seek death, for feare the lot should fall vpon himselfe: and for that if he suruiued, he should be polluted with the murder and slaughter of his own nation. Thus Ioseph, deliuered both from the warres of the Romans, and also of his owne nation, went with Nicenor vnto Vespasian.

All the Romanes came about him to see him, and pressing about their Generall they made a great noise, some reioicing that he was taken, others crying out to punish him, others struing to come neere to behold him better, and they who were a farr off cried to kill their enemy: but those who were neere him & beheld him, remembering his prowess, were astonished to see that change. And there was no Capitaine nor Ruler, but although before they were all moued against him, yet now beholding him, they all beganne to pittie him: and especially Titus, who being of a gentle disposition, admired Iosephs valour, his constancie in aduersitie, and his age, and thereby was moued to take compassion vpon him, remembering vvhata manner of man he had bene during the warres, & what he now was being fallen into his enemies hands: calling also to mind the force and power of Fortune, and how small a stay the chaunce of warres had, and that no humane affaires had any stay or hold in them; wherefore hee drew many mens minds to pittie him, so that Titus was the chiefe author of Iosephs life: yet Vespasian caused him to be carefully kept, as though he meant to send him to Caesar. Which Ioseph hearing, requested that he might speake a word or two with him alone. Then all but his son Titus departing & two of his friends, Thus O Vespasian (quoth he) thinkest onely that thou hast Ioseph for thy captiue, but I am a messenger vnto thee of great matters from God, otherwise I knew my country lawes, and how it behoued the Generals of our nation to die, and not to be taken aliuie by their enemies. VVilt thou send mee to Nero? Wherefore? As though Nero should still liue and thou not succeed him? Thou O Vespasian art Caesar and the Emperour of Rome, and Titus also thy sonne, and keepe me in bonds with thee, for thou art not onely my Lord, but Lord of all the world, and sea, and land, and all mankind. And if I now faime these things in this state that I am, of my owne mind against God, let me be referred vnto a greater punishment. After he had thus spoken, Vespasian gaue small credit vnto his words, and onely thought that Ioseph feined these things of himselfe to saue his life: yet by little and little he beganne to giue credit vnto him, because God put it in his mind to hope for the Empire: and foretelling his reigne by many signes and tokens, hee also found Ioseph to tell the truth in other matters. For one of Vespasians friends answered, that it was maruaile that hee knowing that, could not prophetic the cucnt of the warres against Iotapata, and what was like

The years of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

A to befall himselfe, that so he might haue auoided those euils. Ioseph answered, that he foretold the citizens of Iotapata, that after Ieuon and fortie daies they should be destroyed, and that the Romans should keepe him aliuie in holde. Vespasian secretly enquired of these matters, and finding by the relation of the captiues that it was true, hee began to giue more credit vnto that which Ioseph had told him concerning himselfe. So he commanded Ioseph to be kept prisoner, yet did he giue him apparell and diuers other things in most kind manner: & Titus did greatly honour him. The fourth day of Iuly Vespasian returned vnto Ptolemais, and from thence he came into the Sea coast vnto Caesarea, which is the greatest Citie of Iudæa, whose inhabitants are for the most part Greekes: so the inhabitants receiued the armie and the General with all friendship possible, both for that they loued the Romanes, as especially alfo for that they hated them, who were destroyed; so that many intreated Vespasian to put Ioseph to death. But Vespasian, iudging this a rash petition, would make no answer vnto it: and hee left two legions to winter at Caesarea, because he saw it was a fit place, and sent the tenth and fift vnto Scythopolis, because he would not ouercharge Caesarea with the whole armie. This place is warme in winter, and exceeding hot in summer, by reason it is situate on a Plaine by the sea coast.

CHAP. XV.

How Ioppe was taken againe.

IN the meane time a great multitude being gathered together, who either were seditionous persons, or theeuers, or such as had escaped out of the ruined cities, began to reedifie Ioppe for their refuge, which Cestius before time had destroyed: and seeing that they could not robbe nor spoile the country which was already wasted, and left desolate by warres, they purposed to become pirates, and so building ships for that purpose, they robbed the Phoenicians, Syrians and Egyptians, not suffering any to passe those seas without danger. Vespasian vnderstanding their intent, sent horsemen and footemen thither: who finding the citie not guarded, got into it in the night time: which the inhabitants perceiuing were so afraid, that they durst not make any resistance to expell the Romanes, but they all retired themselves vnto their ships, and there staid all night, a flight shor from the shore. Ioppe is naturally no road for ships (for it is situated vpon a turbulent shore) and on either side hath very high and eminent rocks, which trouble the seas, and make huge waues: in this place (if we may beleue the fable) one may see the signes of Andromedæ chained. When the north wind blowes, it striketh the waues against the rocks, and so causeth a dangerous sea, that it were far more safe to be in the midst of the seas, then at that shore when the same wind bloweth. The inhabitants of Ioppe rode there all night, & by breake of day the North wind began to blow fiercely, and draue some of the ships one against another, and others against the rocks: and many struing against winde and weather, and seeking to get into the midst of the Sea for feare of the rockie shore, and their enemies there, were drowned; and they that escaped, neither had any place of refuge, nor hope of safetie; for the tempest did driue them from the Sea, and the Romanes from the Citie, so that the ayre was filled with cries of the people expecting to be drowned, and with the noyse & sound of the ships beaten one against another. So some of the inhabitants of Ioppe were swallowed by the waues, others suffered shipwracke, some killed themselves rather then to be drowned: many with the waues were stricken against the rockes, so that the sea was bloody, and all the shore was couered with dead bodies: and whosoever escaped the sea and got to shore, the Roman souldiers there readie standing killed them. There were foure thousand and two hundred dead bodies cast vpon the shore. So the Romans hauing without any fight taken the citie, they destroyed it: and thus was Ioppe taken, & twice destroyed by the Romans in a short time. Vespasian builded there a castle, and placed in it some few horsemen and footemen, to the ende that none of the Iewes should come thither againe to play the Pyrates, and that the footemen might keep the Castle, and in the meane time the horsemen might goe forth, and spoile all the townes and villages, and territories belonging to Ioppe: which also they did. When the newes of the destruction of Iotapata was brought vnto Ierusalem, many gaue small credit vnto it, partly for the greatnes of that calamity, partly for that no one man could say, that he had seen the destruction of the citie: for none escaped that massacre to bring newes, but onely report thereof was declared the spread abroad; but at last it was verified to be true by those that dwelt neere vnto that place, and then they beleued it. Many things also which were false, were reported as true. It was likewise bruited, that Ioseph was slaine in the destruction of the citie, for whose death all Ierusalem sorrowed

Ioppe the retreat of the seditionous and theeuers.

Of Andromeda, read iib. 4. Ouid Metamorph.

A huge tempest drowned those of Ioppe in the Sea.

Foure thousand and two hundred bodies cast out.

Vespasian taketh Ioppe and encampeth in the Castle.

Fame it selfe destruction of Iotapata.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69. Joseph is said to be slaine in Ierusalem.

The hatred, malice and wrath in Ierusalem against Ioseph.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

rowed, and every one mourned for their lost kinred; all bewailed the supposed death of the generall, and some of their sons, others of their brethren and kinsfolke, and others of their acquaintance. They all mourned for Ioseph thirty daies, and hired many musicians to sing funeral songs for him. At last truth discovered it selfe, and the true newes of the destruction of Iotapata with the accidents there: also how Ioseph was not slaine, but liued with the Romans, and that the Romans honoured him with more then a captiue could expect. Then the Iewes began as much to hate him now liuing, as before they mourned for him when they supposed him dead. And some said he was a coward, others that he was a traitor vnto his country, and the whole city breathed out reprochfull speeches against him. These heauy tidings encreased their rage, & this their aduersitie (which vnto wise men had beene a warning to prouide least the like befell them) made them more outrageous; so that alwaies the ende of one mischiefe was the beginning of another. H To be short, now they were more incensed against the Romans then before, as it were that they might also be reuenged of Ioseph. And this was the estate of the citizens of Ierusalem.

CHAP. XVI.

How Tiberias was yeilded.

Vespasian commeth vnto Agrippas kin, dome and recreateth himselfe there, and seateth twenty daies.

Vespasian was desirous to see the kingdome of Agrippa (for the King had intreated him to goe thither, partly to feast him and his whole army, partly to repress some troubles arising in his kingdome, in the time of his absence) and so departed from Cæsarea vpon the Sea coast, and went vnto Cæsarea Philippi, where he staid, and refreshed his souldiers twenty daies; and himselfe also feasted, giuing God thanks for his prosperous successe in the warres. This done, he had intelligence that Tiberias and Tarichea were revolted (both which cities belonged vnto Agrippa his kingdome) and fully determining vtterly to destroy the Iewes which inhabited thereabouts, hee thought it good to lead his armie against these two places, especially that hee might reward Agrippa for his good entertainment, by surrendering these cities vnto him. Wherefore he sent his sonne Titus to Cæsarea to bring the souldiers there vnto Scythopolis, which was the greatest of all the ten Cities, which also is neere vnto Tiberias; whither himselfe being come he expected his sonnes coming: and departing from thence with three legions, he pitched his tent in a place called Enabris, where the seditious people of Tiberias might behold his armie; this place was thirty furlongs from Tiberias: from thence hee sent Valerianus the Decadarch to entreat a peace with them, and sent fifty horsemen to accompany him: for hee vnderstood that the people desired peace, and against their will were forced to warre, by some of the seditious amongst them. Valerianus coming neere vnto the citie wals, lighted from his horse, commanding all his companie to doe the like, that they of Tiberias might not thinke that they came to fight, but in peaceable maner: but before he spake any one word, the boldest and strongest of the seditious persons came out armed against him, hauing one Iesus the sonne of Tobias, who had beene a Captaine of theues, for their gouernour and leader. Valerianus not presuming to fight without authoritie from his generall, although hee had beene certaine of the victorie; againe considering that it was great daunger for so few to fight against a whole multitude, and whichall terrified with the boldnesse of the Iewes, contrary to his expectation; hee fled on foote accompanied only with five other, leauing his horse and the rest behind him, whome Iesus & his followers strooke, and brought into the citie: reioicing as though they had taken them in fight and not by treason. But the Senators & chiefe of the citie, fearing what might ensue of this fact, went vnto the Romans, and together with king Agrippa came vnto Vespasian, & prostrated themselves at his feet, beseeching him not to despise them, and not to thinke that the whole citie were partakers with those few wicked persons, that so had merited his displeasure; requesting him to spare the people who alwaies had honoured the Romans, but rather that he should punish the authors of that revolt and misdemeanour: who also had withheld the whole Citie, euen vntill now, to yeeld it selfe vnto the Romans. Vespasian moued by their entreaties, pardoned the citie, though he was incited against them all for taking of Valerianus his horse; in that hee perceived Agrippa was sorrowfull, for feare that the citie should be destroyed, and so by them Vespasian promised the townes men pardon. Then Iesus & his associates thinking it not safe for them to abide there, fled vnto Tarichea. The next day, Vespasian sent before him Traianus with certaine horsemen into the Castle, to see if all the multitude desired peace: and finding the people to beare peaceable minds, he with his whole armie came vnto the citie. And the inhabitants opening the gates of their

Valerianus peaceably speaks to the townes-men.

The seditious fall out and put the Romans to flight.

The citizens of Tiberias prostrate themselves before Vespasian and obtain pardon.

OF THE IEWES. THE III. BOOKE.

The yeere of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69. The Tiberians entertaine Vespasian with acclamations.

A their citie, went to meete him with great ioy, all crying out that he was the author of their welfare and benefactor, and wishing him all prosperitie and felicitie. The gates of the citie were narrow, so that the armie could not quickly enter in: wherefore Vespasian commanded a part of the wall on the south side to be pulled downe, and so entred in: yet did he not sacke the citie, nor ruine the wals, for Agrippas sake, who promised that from thenceforth the citizens would be quiet. And so he pacified that citie greatly troubled with sedition.

CHAP. XVII.

How Tarichea was besieged.

Vespasian departed from Tiberias, and pitched his Tents betwixt it and Tarichea, and encamped himselfe, foreseeing that there hee should haue some trouble and long abode: for all rebels that desired warres came thither, trusting both to the strength of the citie, and the lake adjoining vnto it called Genesar. For this citie was situate like Tiberias, vnder the mountaines: & Ioseph had enclosed it with a wall on euery side, where it was not compassed by the lake. But the wall though it were strong, yet was it not so strong as that of Tiberias: for Ioseph builded that in the beginning of the rebellion, hauing men and mony at will; but that of Tarichea was build only by the remainder of his liberality. The Taricheans had great store of ships in the lake adjoining, to the end that if they were overcome by land, they might fly by water: & therefore they had prepared their ships for battell by water if need should be. Whilest the Romans entrenched themselves, Iesus and his followers not dismaide either with the multitude or military discipline of his enemies, issued out of the citie, and slew the workemen, and destroyed a part of the worke: and perceiuing the Romans armed and assembled together against him, hee fled againe vnto his company without any losse or harme receiued. But the Romans pursued them so fast, that they forced them to take their ships: and so being gone as far from the shoare, as that yet they might easily reach them with the shot of an arrow, they cast anchor and disposed their ships in warlike manner, and fought against the Romans vwho were on shoare. Vespasian vnderstood that a great multitude of them were gathered together in a place neere vnto the citie: wherefore hee sent his sonne Titus against them with sixe hundred horsemen, who finding the number of his enemies to be infinite, certified his father, that hee needed more forces: and perceiuing many of those horsemen of good courage, before any more aide came, and yet that some of them were afraid of the Iewes; he stood in a high place where all might heare him and said, O yee Romans, I will first put you in minde who you are and of what nation, that so you considering what your selues are, may also consider who they are with whom we are to fight; neuer yet was there any enemy in any part of the world that could escape our hands. The Iewes themselves though already overcome, yet doe they indure and manfully beare out their miserie: if therefore they constantly indure warres, and fight valiantly being in aduersitie; what should wee doe who are in prosperitie? I reioice to see you shew good countenance, yet I feare least so huge a multitude of our enemies discourage some of you: let euery one therefore once againe consider, who himselfe is, and with whom he is to fight: and that although the Iewes be bold and valiant enough, yet they obserue no warlike order, and are vnarmed, and so are more fitly tearmed a multitude then an army. I need not speake of your knowledge & skill in wars: nay for this only cause are we trained vp in warlike discipline in the time of peace, to the end that our number should answere to the number of our enemies when we are to ioinie battell: for what fruit shall we shew of this our perpetuall warlike order and discipline, if we dare only fight with a rude multitude that are no more in number then our selues? Thinke that you being armed are to fight with vnarmed, and being horsemen are to fight with footmen, and being guided by the aduise of a captaine, with them who haue no head nor ruler: and that these things considered do supply in vs the want of more men, and the contrary in our enemies doth as it were much diminish their number. Victory doth not only consist in the multitude of men be they neuer so valiant, but also in a few, if they be valiant: for as they are few, so are they easily guided, and may easily come to helpe one another, not being pestered; whereas huge multitudes doe more hinder one another then doe good, and doe themselves more harme then their enemies. So the Iewes are ledd with desperation, rage and fury, which in deed in prosperous successe are of some force, but in a desperate fortune they are quickly daunted: but we are led by vertue and obedience and fortitude, which both are of force in prosperitie; and also are good in aduersitie. Moreover, we

Vespasian besiegeth Tarichea.

The Romans drive the Iews to their ships.

Titus Orator to his terrified souldiers. Iewes are not to be feared.

Victory consisteth not in the multitude, but in the courage of a few that fight valiantly.

The year of the world, 4031, after Christs birth, 69. The Romans haue greater cause of warre then the Iewes:

It becometh souldiers to obey their captaine.

Vespasian sendeth new supplies to Titus.

The Iewes flee into the citie.

A bitter dissension and sedition in the citie.

Titus Oration to the Roman souldiers.

Iesus with his followers flee into the fields.

Titus certifieth his father of his exploits and victory.

haue greater occasion to fight then the Iewes haue: for they fight onely for their country and libertie, but we fight for renoume and empire; that wee hauing already gained the empire of the whole world, it might not be thought that our enemies the Iews were aduersaries able to march vs. Consider moreover that yee need not feare any great danger, for wee haue many to helpe vs and that hard by: let vs therefore archieue the victory before any more succour come vnto vs; so shall our credit bee greater, & our victory more famous. I verily thinke that now triall is made of me, my father, and you; to discerne if he be my father, I his sonne, and you my souldiers: for hee is wont to be victorious, and shall I returne vnto him being conquered? and are you not ashamed to be dismaied, seeing that I your captaine will offer my selfe and vndergoe the greatest perils? My selfe will beare the brunt of the enemies, and first encounter with them, and let none of you depatt from me: perswade your selues that God will assise my force, and boldly presume that we can doe much more beeing in the midst of our enemies, then if wee should onely fight without and not be amongst them.

Titus hauing thus spoken, as it were by Gods prouidence, all his souldiers took heart & courage, so that now they were fory to see Traianus come with foure hundredth horsemen more before the fight was begun, as though their victory should be lesse renowned, because he came to helpe them. Vespasian also sent Antonius and Silo with two thousand archers, to take the mountaine that was iust opposite vnto the towne, and to beate them that defended the citie off from the wals, and they did as they were commanded. Then Titus with all force possible, first rushed with his horse upon the enemies: and all followed him with a huge crie, scattering themselves in such order as they occupied as much ground as the Iewes, and so appeared more then they were. The Iewes though terrified by their discipline, yet they withstoode the first assault: but in the end dismaied, and put out of order with their lances, and killed with the horsemen, euerie one fled as fast as hee could into the Citie. And Titus killed some as they fled, others as hee met them, and those hee ouertooke, and many one for haste tumbling vpon another; and he preuented all that fled vnto the walles, and draue them backe againe into the field, till at last the multitude preuailed, and so they got into the Citie. Now at their returne into the Citie their befella great dissension: for the inhabitants considering their owne estate, and the euent of all former warres, and especially of this last fight, misliked of war and desired peace: but the strangers that had fled from other places thither, and were in great multitude, would needs contend therein; and so one part began a mutinie against the other, as though they would presently one haue taken armes against another. Titus being not farre from the wall, heard these tumults within the citie, and cried out vnto the Romans; This is the hower (fellow soldiers) wherein God hath giuen the Iewes into our hands: why doe we deferre the time any longer? why doe we not take the victory offered? doe you not heare the cries within? they who escaped our hands are at variance amongst themselves: the citie is ours if we make haste, & making haste take courage: for nothing worth renoume can be archieued without danger: and let vs not only preuent our enemies concord which necessity will soone effect, but also our owne forces before any fresh aide come vnto vs, that beside the victory we haue, being so fewe ouer so huge a multitude, wee may also diuide the spoile of the citie amongst vs. No sooner had hee thus spoken, but presently he mounted vpon his horse, and rode into the lake, and so passed into the Citie, and all the souldiers followed him. They that defended the walles were amazed at this his boldnes, so that none made resistance against him as hee came: but Iesus with his followers leauing his quarter, which was his to defend, fled into the fields, others flying towards the lake fell into their enemies hands, who came that way against them, and so were massacred euen as they were getting into their ships, other some were slaine as they did swimme to ouertake the ships that were new launcht from the shoare: and there was a great slaughter of men all ouer the citie. For the strangers that fled not, made resistance, and the townes-men did not offer to defend themselves; for they abstained from fight, hoping for pardon in that they were not against those proceedings: till at last Titus hauing slaine the wicked, rooke compassion vpon the townes-men and saued their liues, and caused the slaughter to cease. They who fled into the lake seeing the Citie euen taken, ranne away as farre as they could from their enemies. Titus sent horsemen to let his father vnderstand what hee had done. Whereof hee hauing intelligence, beeing verie glad for his sonnes valour and magnanimitie, and for the archieuing of such a victory, whereby a great part of those warres was ended, hee commaunded presently the Citie to bee guarded round about, to the intent that none might escape away aliue. And the next day hee came downe vnto the lake, and commaunded shippes to bee built to pursue those that had escaped by it: and hauing many

A many workemen and great store of matter to build them withall, his commaund was presently effected.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the lake of Genezar, and the fountaine of Iordan.

The lake of Genezar taketh his name from the country adioining vnto it, the breadth thereof is forty furlongs, the length a hundredth. The water of this lake is sweet and good to drinke, and is more subtile then ordinarily pure waters of marish places are, and it is very cleere neere the shore, and more temperate to drinke, then either that of the riuer or fountaine, but it is alwaies more cold then one would iudge such a lake to bee of that largenes: for the water being set in the sunne, doth not lose his coldnes, which the inhabitants haue vsed to doe in sommer eueninges to allay the naturall coldnes thereof. There are here many sorts of fishes nothing like to fishes of other places, either in shape or taste. The riuer Iordan passeth through the midst of it. It is thought that Panium is the head & fountain of Iordan, but in truth it hath his originall from Phiala, and from thence passeth vnder the ground: this place is a hundredth & twenty furlongs from Caesarea towards that way which leadeth vnto Trachon on the right hand. This water is called Phiala, by reason of his roundnes, for it is as round as a wheele, and the water still keepeth within the brinke of Phiala, neuer encreasing or diminishing; and no man knew that this was the head of Iordan, till Philip the Tetrarch of Trachon found it to bee so: for hee casting straws into Phiala, found the afterward caried vnto Panium, which before that time was thoght to be the fountaine of Iordan. Panium, though it be naturally beautified, yet by Agrippa his cost and charges it was much more adorned. Iordan beginneth with a deeper riuer out of this denne, and passeth along the marish places, and durty lake of Semechonitis, and from thence a hundredth & twenty furlongs vnto the city of Iulia, and in the way diuideth the lake Genezar, and passing a great way further into the wilderness, at last it endeth in the lake called Asphaltites. Vpon the lake Genezar there bordereth a country of the same name, naturally beautifull and admirable: for there is no kind of plant which groweth nor there, and the inhabitants haue replenished it with plants and trees of all sorts, and the temperature of the ayre well agreeth with so diuers trees, for there are an infinite company of Nut-trees, which of all trees especially require a cold soile: there are also abundance of palmes, which desire great heate: likewise great store of figges and oliues, which require a temperate ayre: so that one may iustly say, that through the bounty of nature, so different and opposite qualities are here in one vnited; and at one time, as it were, all difference of seasons of the yeere conioined for good purpose. And it doth not onely nourish these fruites, but also conserueth them for ten whole moneths: there grow figs & grapes, which two one may wel call the kings of fruits, all other fruits continue all the yeere long. For beside the temperature of the ayre, it is also watered by a fertile fountaine called Capernaum, many thinke it to bee an arme of Nilus, because it hath fishes like a Corbe bred in a lake neere Alexandria. The length of this country along the lake bearing the same name, is thirty furlongs, and the breadth twenty. And this is the nature of the lake Genezar, and the country about it.

The fountain of Iordan.

The description of Genezar. The fertilitye of Genezar.

The length and breadth of Genezar.

CHAP. XIX.

How the Taricheans were destroyed.

Vespasian hauing finished his ships, and furnished them with as many men as hee thought sufficed against them whom he was to pursue, he embarked vpon the lake, & himselfe also went against them. The Taricheans could not possibly make any escape by land, although they would, & they were not able to fight hand to hand with the Romans, for their small pyrate boates were not able to withstand their enemies great vessels; and beside that, they were not sufficiently manned, so that they feared to encounter with the Romans who pressed altogether vpon them: yet notwithstanding sometime they came about the Roman ships, & cast stones at the Romans afar off, & sometime also came neere, & skirmished with them: yet they themselves alwaies had more harm then the Romans; for their stones which they cast did only rattle against the Romans armour, but hurt them not, and they were killed by the Romans arrowes: and if at any time they were so bold as to come neere the Romans, they were slaine before that they could doe them any harme, or else drowned with their boats. And as many as attempted to wound the Romans, were slaine with lauelins, and other with swords, the Romans leaping into their boats;

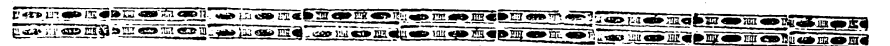
A fight by sea against the Taricheans.

The year of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

Vespasian victory in the lake of Geneser against the Taricheans. The end of the battell by sea, in which there died six thousand and five hundred men.

The destruction and sale of the Iewes.

boats; and many were taken with their boats, the ships meeting one another. They that were in the water and did lift vp their heads to swim were preuented with arrowes, or ouertaken with Roman boats: and if in desperation they came swimming towards their enemies, their hands or heads were presently cut off. And thus some perished one way, and some other, till at last they fled and arriued vpon the shore, their ships being compassed round about. So the Romans killed many vpon the lake, and many vpon the land, and one might then haue seen all the lake stained with blood full of dead bodies, for not one escaped aliue. A few daies after in that countrey there was a very odious stinck, and a horrible spectacle: for the shores were all full of boats that had suffered shipwracke, and dead bodies swollon in the water: and those dead bodies taking heat did putrifie and so corrupt the ayre all about, that not onely the whole countrey and inhabitants thought it a miserable affliction, but also the Romans who were the authors thereof. And this was the end of that warre by water. And the number of them that were slaine here in the citie was fixe thousand and five hundred. The fight being ended, *Vespasian* sat in a tribunall seat, & separated the strangers from the inhabitants, for that they seemed to be the authors of that warre: but they tolde him that their liues might endamage him; for said they, if thou send those men away & let them liue, they cannot liue peaceably because they want abiding places; and are able to disturbe and disquiet those to whom they shall fly. *Vespasian* for this cause iudged them vnworthy to liue, assuredly knowing that if they were let goe, they would fight against them who pardoned their liues, yet he deliberated what death to put them to. But he thought with himselfe the inhabitants would not patiently abide so many to be massacred, who had fled vnto them for succour: wherefore he sought to vse no violence vnto them, because hee had fled vnto them for succour: wherefore he was overcome by the perswasion of his friends, who told him, that all things against the Iewes were lawfull, and that profit was to be preferred before honesty, seeing both could not be had: so licence being granted vnto them to depart, they suspecting nothing, were commaunded to take onely that way that leadeth vnto Tiberias: & they fearing nothing, willingly obeyed that which was commanded them, not misdoubting the safetie of their goods or money: but the Romans had placed themselves on euery side the way euen vnto Tiberias, to the intent that none might escape, and so shut them all in the citie. Presently after came *Vespasian* and inclosed them all in an Amphitheater, & so killed one thousand & two hundred of them, who were all old men or yong, and vnable for seruice: of the rest that were all strong yong men, he sent six thousand vnto *Nero* King at Isthmos neere Corinth. The rest of the multitude he sold, in number thirty thousand & foure hundred, beside others that he gaue vnto *Agrippa*: for he permitted him to do what he would with those sort that were of his kingdome: But *Agrippa* sold also those who were giuen him. The rest of them were fugitiues and seditious persons of Trachon, Gaulanitis, and Hippenis, and many of Gadara, whose contempt of peaciously procured these warres. They were taken the first of the Ides of September.



THE FOVRTH BOOKE

OF THE VVARRES OF THE

IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS

IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 4. booke.

- 1 How Gamala was besieged.
- 2 How Placidus tooke Itaburium.
- 3 How Gamala was destroyed.
- 4 How Titus tooke Giscala.
- 5 Of the beginning of the destruction of Ierusalem.
- 6 Of the comming of the Idumians vnto Ierusalem, and of their deeds.
- 7 Of the Massacre of the Iewes by the Idumians.

CHAP.

A

CHAP. I.

How Gamala was besieged.



B

C

D

E

After that Tarichea was conquered, all those that from the time that Iotapata vnite themselves vnto them: so that the Romanes had now gotten into their hands, all Castles & townes, Giscala onely excepted, & Itaburium, a mountaine so called. With these two rebelled Gamala, a towne ouer against Tarichea, and situated vpon the lake, belonging to the kingdom of *Agrippa*, and also Sogane and Seleucia: and these two last were both belonging vnto Gaulanitis, and Sogane appertained to the higher part called Gaulana, and Gamala vnto the lower, Seleucia vnto the lake Semechonitis, which is thirtie furlongs in breadth, and threecore large, whose marishes reach euen vnto Daphne, which country is very pleasant of it selfe, and famous for that it entertaineth the streame called little Iordan, and at the foote of the golden mountaine doth deriue it into the great Iordan. *Agrippa* in the beginning of the rebellion, vnited Sogane and Seleucia vnto himselfe: but Gamala by reason of the situation apt to resist, did not yeeld vnto him, for it is farre stronger then Iotapata. For from an exceeding high mountaine, there descendeth a hill very difficult for any to passe, rising high in the midst, and then descendeth lower and lower both before and behind, so that it representeth the figure of a Camell, which the Hebrewes call Gamal, and so thereof it tooke the name, though the Inhabitants do not keep that exact signification. Before it, and on either side there are deepe vallies, into the which a man can hardly descend, onely it may be taken and assaulted on that side, where it ioyneth vnto the mountaine, which also the Inhabitants haue made inaccessible, by cutting out there a deep ditch. In that place the Citie was very well inhabited on the descent of the hill, and towards the South part it stood on so steepe a hill, that it seemed as though it would haue fallen euery houre, and the South hill serued the inhabitants in steed of a Castle, being vnwalled: for it was an exceeding high rock, and reached downe euen vnto the bottom of the valley in the towne, and at the wals therof there was a fountaine. Although this citie were of his owne nature inuincible, yet *Ioseph* compassing it with a wal, & with ditches & mines, made it more strong. Wherefore the inhabitants of this place, put farre more confidence in their wals, then they of Iotapata did; yet were they fewer in number, and not so warlike people as they; but for the situation of the Citie, they esteemed themselves more then their enemies: for the citie was full of men that fledde thither by reason of the strength of the place: so that for seauen moneths they resisted them that were sent by *Agrippa* to besiege them. *Vespasian* departed from Ammaus, and pitched his Tents before Tiberias, and so went vnto Gamala, (Ammaus is interpreted hot waters, for there is a fountaine of hot water which cureth many diseases) and the citie was so situate, that he could not besiege it round about: wherefore he placed men to keepe watch in such places as it was possible, & obtained the highest mountaine, where his souldiers pitching their tents, lastly intrenched themselves. On the East-part of the citie in the most eminent place there was a Castle, where the fifteenth and fift legions laboured against the towne, and the tenth legion filled vp the ditches and vallies. King *Agrippa* went vnto the wals and spake vnto them that defended them, willing them to yeeld vnto the Romans: but one of them with a sling strooke him on the right arme and hurt him, and his familiar friends came about him to defend him. Then the Romans for anger that the king was hurt, and for feare of such mischances to themselves, now became earnest to assault the towne, perswading themselves that they would vse strangers & their enemies hardly, if it lay in their lot, seeing they had so euill entreated one of their owne nation, for perswading them vnto that was profitable for them.

Having quickly intrenched themselves by reason of the multitude that laboured in that business, and by reason that they were accustomed vnto such like worke, they began to place the engines against the towne wals. *Chares* and *Ioseph* were two of the most potent men in the towne: they therefore animated and armed their Citizens, and brought them vnto the wals, who trembled for feare. And although they well perceiued that the Citie could not long hold out, seeing they wanted water, and manie other things necessarie to withstand a siege; yet notwithstanding, they exhorted the townesmen to be valiant, & so brought them vnto the wals, and a while they resisted notwithstanding the shotte: but at last they were therewith so terrified, that leauing the wals, they fled into the citie. Then the Romans did batter the wals with Ramms in three severall

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The year of the world, 4031. after Christs birth, 69.

The victory of the Romanes against the Iewes.

Semechonitis a lake. The fountaine of Iordan. The situation of Gamala.

The Citie of Gamala inaccessible and strong.

Vespasian besieged Gamala.

One with a sling wounded Agrippa.

The Romans besieged Gamala and assaulted the same.

all places, and where the wall fell, there they issued in with trumpets and a great noise, and cries, G and fought with the townsmen, who in the first conflict so valiantly resisted them, that they permitted them not to enter any further into the towne; at last being overcome both in strength and number, they all fled into the highest part of the citie, and from thence they turned again vpon the Romans, who pursued them, and draue them downe into the vallies and killed many, and diuers in that straight passage were troden to death by their fellows. The Romanes, seeing that they neither could flie, nor resist their enemies about their heads, fledde into their houses, which adioyned vnto the Plaine, and so filled them, that being overcharged, they fell down, and lighted vpon other houses beneath them, which did beare them downe also, and they likewise others situated beneath them. Many of the Romans this way perished; for being amazed, & not knowing what to doe, they fled into their houses, notwithstanding they did see them shake and totter: H and many seeking to escape, were maimed by some part of the ruines that fell vpon their bodies, and many were choaked in the dust. The citizens of Gamala reioyced thereat, thinking that this ayde was sent from God: and not regarding their priuate comodities, they ceased not to compell the Romans into their houses; and if any were in the narrow streets, them they slew with darts from above out of the high places. Thus the ruines afforded them stones enow, and their flaine enemies swords and armour, which they tooke from them, being now halfe dead, and vsed them against themselves: manie died, who cast themselves headlong from off the houses being readie to fall, and those that sought to flie, could not easilie escape; for being ignorant of the waies, and there being such a dust that one could not see another, one of them killed another: And so with much adoe finding passage, they went out of the citie.

Vespasian, who was alwaies amongst the midst of these hurly burlies, was greatly moued to see the buildings fall vpon his souldiers: and forgetting his owne safetie, hee secretly retired himselfe with onely a few into the higher part of the Citie, where he was left in great danger, hauing very few about him (for *Titus* his sonne was not there, being before this time sent vnto *Mutianus* in Syria) and now he could not flie safely, nor yet had it bin for his honor if he could. Wherefore remembering all that he had done euen from his child-hood, and his own vertue, hee encouraged his men, and with them ioyned armes, and couered themselves with their shields, and so as it were moued with some diuine motion, defended themselves from all darts, arrowes, & stones, which were cast from aloft vpon them, and so remained there not terrified either by the number or might of his enemies, till at last, they wondring at his diuine vertue & courage, aswaged their furie. And now perceiuing his enemies to assault him but faintly, he retired back, till at such time as he got without the citie wals.

Many Romanes perished in that fight, and amongst the rest *Ebutius* a Decadarch, vwho not onely in that fight shewed himselfe valiant, but also in many warres before, & had done the Iewes much harme. Also in that fight a certaine Centurion named *Gallus*, accompanied with ten souldiers, hid himselfe in a house, and at supper time he heard the people of that house talke, what the Citizens of Gamala were purposed to do against the Romans (this *Gallus* & they with him were Syrians) and in the night time he slew them all, and after escaped safe vnto the Romans. *Vespasian* perceiued all his armie sorowfull for that mishance, and so much the more, for that they neuer as yet had so bad a breakfast, and especially for that they had forsaken their Generall, and left him in danger and distresse: wherefore he thought it good to comfort them, nothing speaking concerning himselfe, least hee should seeme to find fault with some in the beginning of his speech.

Wherefore he told them, that it behooued them patiently to abide that which was common to all men, affirming that there was no victorie without bloodshed, and that fortune was mutable: and that he had already slaine many thousand Iewes, and now had paid a small bribe for his happy successe vnto aduersie fortune. And that as it did not become any but vaine-glorious people to boast in their prosperitie, so it behooued none but cowards to feare and tremble in aduersitie: For, said he, fortune is very mutable both to the good and bad, and he is a valiant man that is not moued by aduersitie: for hee hauing all his wits about him, can euen in the midst of his troubles see where any fault is, and amend it. Yet (quoth he) this hath not befallen vs through the weakness of our courage, or the valour and prowesse of the Iewes, but the difficultie of the place was the cause that they should overcome vs, and wee bee overcome. Wherefore one may well reprehend the too much rashnesse of your spirits: for vwhen you saw your enemies flie into the higher places, you should then haue held your hands, and not to haue pursued them with so manifest danger to your selues, as euery one might foresee in this pursuite; so you hauing gained the lower part of the Citie, you might in time haue dravne them to a sure and safe conflict: but

A but you being eager of the victorie, you did not respect your own safetie. It is not the manner of the Romans rashly and vnadvisedly to fight, who are wont to do all things orderly and aduisedly: for the other is fit for barbarous people, and as you see proper to the Iewes. Wherefore, let vs call our owne vertues to mind, and rather be angry for this that hath happened (and so incite our selues to reuenge) then sorowfull. And let euery valiant souldier with his own hand comfort himselfe; so shall wee both reuenge the death of our friends, and be reuenged of them by whom they were slaine: and I my selfe (as also now I did) will expose my selfe to all dangers with you, & goe first to fight, & come last from fight. With these & such like speeches he comforted his souldiers.

The people of Gamala were of great courage, and much emboldened with their prosperous successe, which notwithstanding did not happen through their valour: but presently perceiuing that now all hope of pardon was taken away, and that there was no way to escape, they were very sorowfull, and their hearts relented (for now victuals failed them) yet they omitted not to provide for their owne safetie, wherein they could; for the most valiant amongst them kept the breach: and the rest, other strong places about the walls which were yet vn battered. The Romans againe builded mounts, and attempted to assault the citie, and many of the citizens fledde by the vallies where no guard was, and by secret vaults vnderneath the ground; & they who for feare least they should be taken remained in the citie, perished for hunger: for all the victuals were reserved for them that fought. And they still continued in this calamitie.

CHAP. II:

How Placidus tooke the mountaine Itaburium.

DVring this siege, *Vespasian* made another expedition against them, who kept the mountaine Itaburium, situate between the great field and Scythopolis, which is thirty furlongs high, & inaccessible on the North side. In the very top of this mountaine there is a Plaine 20 furlongs ouer, enclosed with a wal, all which wall being of so huge a compasse, *Ioseph* had built in 40 daies: they receiued all necessarie prouision from beneath, for they had onely raine water. Vnto this place a huge multitude were gathered, and *Vespasian* sent *Placidus* against them with 600 horsemen, who could no waies gette vpon the mountaine: wherefore hee exhorted many of them to peace, putting them in hope of pardon: likewise diuers of the Iewes came downe vnto him, as it were to entrap him, and assault him at vnawares. *Placidus* for the nonce gaue them faire speeches, hoping to get them downe into the Plaine: so they, as though they would haue obeyed him, followed him thither, meaning when they came there, suddainly to assault him: yet *Placidus* his deuisie tooke place. For when the Iewes assaulted him, hee fained himselfe to flie, and the Iewes hauing pursued him a great way from the mountaine, hee turned againe vpon them, and wounded many on the backs as they fled, and killed some, and hindred the rest of the multitude from ascending the mountaine: so the rest left Itaburium, and fled vnto Ierusalem, and the inhabitants (now water failing them) yielded vnto *Placidus*, and deliuered the mountaine vnto him.

CHAP. III.

How Gamala was destroyed.

Now the most presumptuous amongst the Gamalians fled & hid themselves, and the weaker sort did perish through famine: yet the most courageous that were left amongst them, defended the wall till the 27 day of October. Vpon which day, three souldiers of the fifteenth legion, towards breake of the day, vndermined the highest tower in their quarter, and entred into it; those that kept it, neither perceiuing them when they came in, nor when they went out (for it was in the night time.) These souldiers being wary least any noise should be made, remoued siue of the greatest stones, and presently leapt away, and incontinently the tower fell with a hideous noise, and with the fall killed those that kept it, and many that kept watch in other quarters fled, being sore afraid: & they who sought to escape to the Romans, were killed, amongst whom one *Ioseph* was strooken with a dart from a part of the wall that was fallen down, and there died. They who were within the Citie, were terrified with the noise heretofore, and ranne vp and downe as though all the enemies were already entred into it. And *Charles Iosephs* companion being sicke, yielded vp the ghost, feare increasing his disease, and helping to shorten

The yeere of the world, 4031, after Christs birth 69.

Titus with two hundred horse besides chosen footmen, entered Gamala.

The top of the Castle of Gamala stonie & hard to be climed.

The Romans victorie by Gods prouidence.

Ninethousand Iewes slaine in Gamala, and onely two women escape.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

shorten his life. The Romanes, remembering the bad successe at the last assault, did not enter the Citie till the three and twentieth day of the foresaid moneth.

Then *Titus* as it were vexed at the misfortune of the Romanes in his absence, accompanied with two hundred horsemen, and certaine chosen footmen, entered the Citie, no man resisting him: and hee being passed into the same, the watchmen then first perceiving it, cried to armes. Those within the citie fearing that *Titus* was entred, some tooke their children, some their wives, and fled into the castle with pittifull cries and weeping: others met *Titus*, and were all put to the sword: and they that could not get into the castle, not knowing what to doe, fell amongst the Roman watchmen: then the skies were filled with the cries of men dying, and the lower places of the citie flowed with blood. *Vespasian* led his whole army against those that were fled into the castle, which was of a huge height, and scarcely to be come vnto, being all of stone, & full of ditches and deepe dennes, and compassed with steeple rocks: so the Iewes did driue downe the Romans that offered to come vp vnto the, partly with stones, partly with darts, which they rouled down vpon them; and they were so high, that the Romans arrowes could not reach them. But at last, as it were by Gods prouidence who would haue it so, a whirlewind arose, which caried the Romans arrowes amongst them into the castle, and the Iewes arrowes from the Romanes, and the vvind was so violent, that it was not possible for them to stand vpon those high places, and so not being able to stand, nor to see those that came against them, the Romans ascended and tooke the castle, some resisting for their defence, others yielding themselves. The Romanes now called to mind their fellowes, who perished in the first assault, & so became more cruell. Many despairing of their liues, cast their wives, their children, and themselves, headlong downe those high places, into the deep vallies vnderneath. So that the crueltie that the Romanes shewed against the people of Gamala, was not so great as that which they vsed against themselves: for there were onely four thousand that perished by the Romans sword, and the number of them who so cast themselves down, was found to be 5000: and not one escaped, but two women that were sisters, and daughters vnto *Philip*, who was son vnto *Iochimus*, a worthy man, and gouernour ouer all *Agrippas* army vnder him; and these two were slaine onely, because at such time as the citie was taken, they hid themselves: for they spared not infants, but many tooke them & cast them down from the castle. And thus was Gamala destroyed the 23 day of October, which began to rebell the 21 day of September.

CHAP. IIII.

How Titus tooke Giscala.

NOW all the cities and strong places of Galilee were taken, Giscala onely excepted: the inhabitants whereof desired peace, for that they were husbandmen, and their riches consisted in the fruits of the earth; but there were many thieues in the citie: to which vice also many of the citizens were addicted. These people were incited to rebel by one *Iohn* a witch, and a deceitful person, son vnto one *Leuias*; who was of strange manners and bold to presume any thing, and wonderfully achieving all he rooke in hand, and he was knowne vnto all men for one that desired war to make himselfe mighty. This man was ringleader of the seditions persons in Giscala: and for feare of them, the people who perhaps otherwise would haue sent Legates to the Romanes to request peace, were hindered and forced to stay, till the Romanes came to warre against them. Against these people *Vespasian* sent *Titus*, and with him a thousand horsemen, and the tenth legion towards Scythopolis: and hee with the rest went to Caesarea to refresh them after their great labour, at the charge of the townes adioynning; iudging it necessarie to comfort their bodies, and encourage their minds to sustaine manfully the warres that were to ensue: for he foresaw that he should haue much adoe to win Ierusalem, both for that it was wont to be the kings seat, and also because it was the chiefe and head Citie of all the nation. And his care in this point was so much the more increased, for that he perceived that many out of all parts fled thither; and that it was naturallie strong, and also compassed with almost inuincible walls: and beside this, the boldnesse and desperate courage of the inhabitants, who although that they had no walls at all, yet had been scarcely to be conquered: and therefore he thought it necessarie to comfort his souldiers before the fight, like champions who ought to enter the field and fight courageously.

Titus (comming on horseback vnto Giscala) perceived that it might easily be taken: yet knowing that if it were taken by force, all the people should be destroyed by the Romanes (and now hee was wearie of bloodshed) hee compassionating the well disposed people which were otherwise like

The yeere of the world, 4032, after Christs Natinitie, 70.

Iohn a poisoner and a deceitfull man, inciteth the Citizens of Giscala to rebell.

Vespasian foreseeeth his small trouble in the siege of Ierusalem.

Titus his compassion towards those of Giscala.

OF THE IEWES. THE IIII. BOOKE.

The yeere of the world, 4033, after Christs birth, 70. Titus his mercifull oration to those of Giscala.

- A** to perish together with the wicked, attempted to take it by condition. Wherefore the wals being full of people, amongst whom were many of the seditious, he told them that he maruailed what helpe they had or expected, or by whose aduise all other cities being now taken, they alone would abide the last brunt of the Roman forces, especially when as they had already scene many townes far stronger then theirs, ouerthrowne at the first assault: and contrariwise, those who had yielded themselves vnto the Romanes liued in peace, & peaceably enioyed all that was theirs. VVhich offer (said he) I now also make vnto you, and am not yet incensed against you, because that which you doe is for your libertie: but if (quoth he) you doe still perseuere in this impoissible course, my displeasure shall be kindled against you. And if so be that they refused this kind offer, they should presently perceiue the Roman sword to be sharpened for their destruction, and incontinentlie should
- B** find that their wals were but a mockerie, and no waies able to resist the Roman engines: where contrariwise, if they yielded themselves, and trusted vnto the fidelitie of the Romanes, they should be the most happy people of all Galilee. None of the townsmen were admitted to make any answer, nor to come vnto the wals: for the thieues were masters of them; and a guard was placed at euerie gate, least any one should go forth to submit themselves, or any horsemen should be received into the citie. Then *Iohn* made answer, that he liked well of the conditions offered, and that he would either perswade or compell the inhabitants to accept of the; yet he requested, that that day might be granted vnto the Iewes: for it was the seauenth day, wherein it was not lawful for them to intreat of peace, nor make warre. For as the Romanes knew, the Iewes euery seauenth day ceased from all work: & which if they profaned, they who caused it to be so abused, though it were *Titus* himselfe, were as great offenders, as they who were forced to it. Morouer, so short time could not preiudice the Romanes, to wit, one nights space: for nothing hee could effect in that time to endamage them, except onely by flying out of the citie (which *Titus* might preuent, by placing a strong guard and watch in euery place thereabout) & that he thought it a great priuledge to be suffered to keepe the custome of his countrey; and that it was his part who offered peace and safetie to them that expected it, also to keep their lawes whose safetie he granted. VVith these and such like speeches *Iohn* sought to delude *Titus*, being not so religious about the keeping of the Sabbath, as careful for his own safetie: for hee feared that the citie would presently be taken, & he left alone, and so he determined in that night to flee, as the onely way to saue his life. Truly God would haue it so, that *Iohn* should then escape to see the ouerthrow of Ierusalem, and that
- D** *Titus* should not onely grant him the time he requested to deliberate, but also that night should pitch his tents neere Cydæssa, by the higher part of the towne, which is the strongest village of all that are in the heart of the Tyrian ioile, which the Galileans alwaies hated. In the night time *Iohn* perceiuing no Romans to keepe watch about the towne, hauing now opportunitee, fled not onely with the armed men about him, but also with many of the chiefe of the citie, and whole families, whom he promised to conduct vnto Ierusalem. But *Iohn* fearing captiuitie, and carefull for his owne safetie, hauing caried them twenty furlongs out of the citie, forooke them: who being so left desolate, began grievously to lament. For euery one thought himselfe as neere his enemies, as he was far from the citie and his friends: and still euerie steppe, they thought their enemies at hand ready to take them, and euery they looked back, as though their enemies heard the noise they made as they went, and so came against them; insomuch that many rushed forward on heapes, & many were killed in the way with the prease of them that followed; so that women and infants did perish miserably: or if they spake any thing, only it was entreating their parents or their kinsfolke to stay for them.
- But *Iohns* exhortation tooke effect, wherein hee cried vnto them to saue themselves, and hasten vnto such a place, where they might be safe and reuenge themselves of the Romanes, for the outrages vvhich they that remained behind were like to endure: and so the multitude that fled, euery one as he was able dispersed themselves. *Titus* early in the morning came vnto the walls to know whether they accepted of his offer. Then the people set open the gates, and with their wives and children came to meet him, all crying that hee was their safetie, and worker of their welfare, and that hee had deliuered their citie out of captiuitie: also they certified him how *Iohn* was fled, and besought him to pardon them, and execute iustice vpon those malefactors that remained in the citie. And at their request, he sent certaine horsemen to pursue *Iohn*, but they could not take him, for before they came he had gotten into Ierusalem: yet they slew almost two thousand of them that fledde with him, and brought backe againe three thousand women and children. *Titus* was angry that he suffered *Iohns* deceit to escape unpunished: yet his anger was something appeased, for that hee perceiued *Iohns* purpose preuented; in that so manie of his companie were slaine, and

Iohns answer to *Titus* exhortation.

Iohn refused by Gods prouidence to be at the siege of Ierusalem.

The feare of those Iewes that fled with *Iohn*.

The citizens of Giscala entertaine *Titus* with all obedience.

The years of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70.

Titus mercy to his enemies It is better to leaue an enemy in suspence thorow feare, then with the guilty to confound the innocent.

and so many brought backe for captiues. Thus hee peaceably entred the citie, commanding the G souldiers to break down a litle peece of the wall, as it were to take possession of it, & so punished the seditious rather with threats, then torments. For hee thought that many were accused onelie for priuate hatred, and so were in danger to suffer being innocent: and hee thought it better to let the wicked liue in feare, then with them to destroy the guiltlesse. Thinking moreouer, that heereafter they wold be more quiet, either for feare of punishment, or for shame of their former offence, for the which they were pardoned: and that if any man suffered vnworthily, hee could not afterward complain. Then he placed there a garrison, both to repress the seditious, & also to confirm them that desired peace. And thus was Galilee conquered after it had much toiled the Romans.

CHAP. V.

Of the beginning of the destruction of Ierusalem.

SO soone as Iohn was entered into Ierusalem, all the people flocked about him and those that came with him, enquiring what calamitie had befallen them without the city. Some of them being yet out of breath, and not able to speak, by signes discovered their need: Titus yet amidst these their miseries, they boasted that it was not the Romane power that forced them to flee, but that they of their own accord fled thither to warre against the Romans in a safer place, then that from whence they fled was; for none but vnadvised and rash-headed men would fight for such a citie as Giscala and other places that were not able to resist, seeing that it behoued them all to reserve their vigour and strength to defend the Metropolitane citie. They also signified vnto them how Giscala was taken by the Romanes, and that they departed in good sort away, though some reported that they fled. The people of Ierusalem, hearing what these men reported, and how manie were captiues vnto the Romanes, they fell into a great feare, as though that which they told did portend their ruine. But Iohn, nothing ashamed in that he had so shamefully forsaken them of Giscala who fled with him, went first to one and then to another, enciting them all to war vnder a vaine hope, alleading the weaknesse of the Romanes, and extolling their own puissance, deceiuing the simple people, & perswading them that though the Romans sought to reuenge, yet could they neuer enter the wals of Ierusalem, who had so much adoe, and endured such affliction in entering the litle burges and villages of Galilee, against whose wals they had broken all their engines. These words of his incited many young men to sedition, but all the wiser sort foresaw what was like to ensue, and euen now mourned their lost citie. And in this case were they K of Ierusalem: yet before this sedition in the citie, the country people beganne to be at discord amongst themselves. For Titus departed from Giscala vnto Cæsarea, & Vespasian went from Cæsarea to Iamnia & Azotus, & tooke them both: & leauing there garrisons, hee returned to Cæsarea, bringing with him a huge company of them who had yielded vnto him. All cities were at ciuill wars amongst themselves; so that when the Romans did not war vpon them, one part of the Iews in euery citie fought against the other, and there was a great dissension between those that desired peace, & the seditious people: and at first this discord began only in priuate houses; but in the end, euery one ioyning with them that were of their mind, they now began in companies to rebell openly. Thus euery place was troubled with ciuill discord, and euery wherewith young men, who desired wars, preuailed against wise and graue old men, who foreseeing the calamitie like to ensue, desired peace. At first, the inhabitants one by one robbed and spoiled what they could, but at last in whole troupes they ioyned together, and robbed openly, and wasted all the country about: & they in their robberies shewed such crueltie, that the harme and iniurie they did vnto their owne countrymen, was altogether equall to the miseries which beset them by means of the Romanes; and they who by these miscreants were spoiled, wished rather to haue fallen into the Romanes hands. But they who kept the citie, either because they were loth to wearie themselves, or else for that they hated the citizens or people, did nothing or very little succour them that fell into these thieues hands. At last the thieues assembled themselves together from all places, & ioyning companies, they brake into Ierusalem. This citie had no gouernor, & according to the custome of that country, receiued all that came thither that were their countrymen; and so much more willinglie M at that time, because they thought that they that came thither, came of good will to helpe them: which only was afterward the cause that the citie was destroyed; setting aside the ciuill dissension. For a great multitude of people vnapt for fight being there, consumed the victuals that wold haue sufficed for the fighting men: & beside the wars, they brought all vpon it famine & ciuill dissension. Then other thieues came out of the fields thereabout, & ioyning themselves with those that were within the citie, omitted no kind villanie; for not content to robbe and spoile, they also attempted

The courage of Iohn and those that fled with him, stirred vvp the Iews to make warre against the Romanes.

Intestate discord in Iudie.

The Iews turn their weapons against themselves.

The thieues troupes together in Ierusalem spoile the country.

The years of the world, 4032. after Christs birth, 70. Rapines and spoiles committed by day time.

The nobilitie of the Citie are taken and slaine by the theues.

The theues at their pleasure make a high Priest.

A high Priest chosen by the contrarie to the ancient custome.

Phanes a countie clowne made a high Priest.

The best Citizens exhort the people to reuenge.

Atted to commit murders, not onely priuily, or in the night vpon meane men, but euen on the day time they publickly set vpon the chiefeest of the nobilitie. For first of all they took Antipasse, who was borne of the bloud royall, a man so eminent amongst them, that the publike treasure was committed to his charge and custodie, and put him in prison: and after him they tooke Sepha a worthy man, and sonne to Raguel and Leuia, both of them of the kings household, and after them all that seemed to beare any sway, or were in authoritie amongst the people. Great feare fell vpon the Inhabitants, and euery one provided to saue himselfe, as though the Citie were euen now surprised by the enemies. But these people were not content thus to haue imprisoned those potentates, neither did they thinke it safetie for themselves any longer to detain such men aliue: for many came dayly vnto them to visit them, and vnto their houses, who were able to reuenge their iniuries: and moreouer they feared that the people would make a head against them, being moued with their iniquitie. Wherefore they determined to kill them, and to effect their purpose they sent one Iohn a cruell murderer, who was the son of Dorcas: he accompanied with ten more, all having swords went vnto the prison, and slew as many as they found there. To excuse this cruell fact of theirs, they alleaged this, to wit, that all they who were slaine in prison, had conference with the Romanes concerning the betraying of the Citie into their hands, and that for this cause they had slaine them, being traytors to their Countie: they also boasted that this fact of theirs had preserued the Citie, and that therefore they had well deserued of it. The people was brought vnto such slauerie and terror, that the chusing of the high Priest was in their hands to elect whom they pleased: so much was their insolence increased. Thus they not respecting the families, out of which it was onely lawfull to chuse the high Priest, they now elected strangers C and base persons to that sacred dignitie, and such as would be partakers of their villanies and impieties: for they who not deseruing it, attained to such dignitie, were as it were obliged vnto their will in all things, by whom they were so exalted. They also deuiled many lies, to make those that were in authoritie one at variance with another, thereby as it were to hold them occupied, who were able to resist their enterpises, till that being now satisfied with the bloud of the Citizens, they began to commit impietie against God himselfe, and with prophane and vnpure secte to enter into the sanctuarie. Then the people was incited against them by Ananus his meanes, who was one of the priests, and the most ancient and wisest of them all, who perhaps had saued the Citie, had he escaped the hands of these miscreants. But they vsed the Temple as a Castle and defence for themselves against the people, and made the Sanctuarie a place for them to exercise tyrannie in. And that which increased the sorrow of the citizens, was, that amidst these calamities, their religion was also contumeliously abused: for these theues to trie of what strength and courage the people were, and their owne forces, did elect by lot a high Priest contrarie to their law: which as we haue already said, requireth that the high Priest shall be chosen by succession. This deed of theirs they coloured with an ancient custome, alleading that in time past the high Priest was chosen by lot. But indeede this their fact was an abrogation of the most firme custome that was amongst the people, and was onely a deuise to get all gouernment into their hands by establishing magistrats at their pleasure.

EThen calling one of the holy tribes named Eniachim, they cast lots, & it so fell out that the lot fell vpon one, whereby their iniquitie was discovered. This man whose lot it was to be high Priest was named Phanes, who was the sonne of Samuel, a man not onely vnworthy of that dignitie, but who had been so rudely brought vp, that he neuer knew what the high Priest meant, this Phanes was borne in a village called Aphthasis. Him, against his will they fetcht out of the field, and as it had beene in a stage-play, they graced him with another mans person, and presently gaue him instructions how hee should beaue himselfe, putting vpon him the sacred attire of the high Priest, as though that so great impietie had beene but a sport. The rest of the priests beholding a far off the holy lawes to be scorned, scarcely contained themselves from tears, and euen groaned for sorrow, that their sacred dignities were so abused. The people could no longer endure this F their tyranny, but now euery one addressed himselfe to depose these tyrants. And those that were most earnest herein, were Gorion Iosephs sonne, and Simeon the sonne of Gamaliel, who went about the Citie to euery one in priuate, and then in a publicke assembly exhorted the people to be reuenged vpon those tyrants, who tooke from them their libertie; and to address themselves to purge the holy Temple from such vile and vnclane persons. Likewise the best disposed amongst the priests, to wit, Iesus the sonne of Gamala, and Ananus the sonne of Ananus, often in publicke Sermons reprehended the people, and vpbayed them with their slouth, in that they made no more haste to destroy those Zelous people (for so those wretches termed themselves, as

Rre

thought

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs birth 70.
The Zelous the most wretche of all of the levies.
Ananus thirye inuictur a gainst the Zelous.

Ananus twiteth the Jewes with their fear.

The crueltye of the thecues.

The Temple the strongest fortress of the Citie.

Warres are intended for libertie.

The comparisō of the Romā and Jewes and their properties

though they had beene deuout followers of goodnesse and not impious malefactors.) The people being all assembled together, euerie man grieued to see the holy place to kept for a denne of thecues, and of their robberies and murders which they committed; yet did they not goe about to reuenge, thinking themselves too weake to deale with these Zelous, as in deed they were. Then Ananus stood vp amongst the midst of them: and hauing often turned his eyes to the Temple, and beholden it till the teares ran downe his cheekes, Oh sayd hee, how farr better were it for me to die, then to liue, to see the house of God thus filled with impietie, and the Sanctuarie wherein none should come but the high Priest, prophaned with the wicked feet of impious persons, being clothed in Priests apparell, and beare the name of the most authoritie amongst all names: and doe I yet liue, and doe I saue my life, and to bee gray-headed, abstaine from dying a glorious death? Nay, rather I alone will goe against these murderers, and as though I were in a wilderness where there were no man beside my selfe, I alone will goe and offer my soule for Gods sake. For what doth it auail mee to liue amongst a people, that hath no feeling of their owne calamitie, and which seeketh not to redresse their own present miseries? for you being robbed and spoyled beare all patiently, and being beaten you hold your peace, and there is none amongst you that dare openly mourne for them that are most cruelly murdered. Tyrannous gouernment! But why should I exclaime against the tyrants? Did not you your selues make them great, and nourish their power and authoritie by your patience? did not you by despising those who before were in authoritie being but a few, make all these, who are many in number, tyrants ouer your selues? haue not you keeping your selues quiet, they being armed, turned their swords vpon their owne heads: and as then it behooued you to resist their enterprises, when first they injured your kintred; you by suffering haue made them thecues, because at first you made no account, when they destroyed houses and whole families. And this was the cause that at last, the rulers and potentates themselves were set vpon, and none would succour them when they were drawne through the midst of the Citie, and these murderers butchered them in prison whom you thus betrayed. I will not recount what men they were, and of what birth: but I say they being neither accused nor condemned, hauing no man to heare them, they were most cruelly murdered, as wee haue seene any: for they were before our faces led to bee slaine, as the attack amongst the whole herd of beasts, all we beholding this: and yet no man opening his mouth nor lifting vp his hand. And will you also endure? will you suffer the holy Sanctuarie to bee prophaned before your eyes? and will you, hauing so emboldened these miscreants as yee see now, your selues stand in feare of them? Assure your selues, they would, if they could deuise how, commit greater impietie then this is. They keepe against you the strongest place in the whole Citie called a Temple, but now in deed it is a fortress or Castle of defence. What doe yee now thinke, such a tyranny being established ouer you; and your enemies being euen vpon you, what doe you deliberate to doe? Doe you expect the Romans to come and helpe you, to saue the Temple and sacred mysteries? Our Citie is now at that stay, and we haue so behaued our selues, that our verie enemies pittie vs. O yee wretches! will you not arise, and as the verie bruit beasts doe, will you not reuenge your selues vpon them that haue thus wounded you? Will not euerie one of you call to minde the massacre of his friends, and what calamitie he himselfe hath suffered, and so encourage your selues to be reuenged? For ought I can see, you haue all lost that sacred and sweet and naturall desire of libertie, and now we imbrace bondage, as though wee had learned to bee bounden euen from our aunccestors. But they endured many and hard warres to liue in libertie, and yeelded neither to the power of the Egyptians, nor Medes, because they would not bee at their commaund. What neede is it to recount vnto you the warres of our predecessors? To what end doe wee enterprile this warre against the Romans (bee it commodious for vs, or to our disadvantage)? If not to obtaine our libertie? And wee who cannot indure to bee subiect vnto the Lords of the whole world, abide our owne nation to tyrannize ouer vs? Some may account it aduerser fortune to be once ouercome by strangers: but to be slaues vnto the basest of our owne nation, it is a greater miserie. I will not sticke to declare vnto you that which now cometh to my mind, to wit, that if we be taken by them (which God forbid) yet shall wee suffer no greater miserie at their hands, then now we do vnder these base tyrants. And how can you abstaine from teares, beholding this Temple, enriched by the gift of the Romans, robbed and spoyled by them of our owne nation, this being our mother Citie? and to see those men murdered, whome the Romans (although they had conquered vs) would not haue touched? The Romans neuer durst presume to passe beyond the limites of prophane places; nor euer violat

The yeere of the world, 4033. after Christs birth 70.

An answer to their equitie who obiect the number and boldesse of the enemies.

The Epilogue of Ananus Oration to the people.

Ananus disposeth his souldiers against the Zelous.

The sight of the Citizens and Zelous in the temple.

lated they our sacred lawes and customes, but alwaies reuerenced the sanctuarie, beholding it onely as farre off: yet now some borne and brought vp amongst vs who are called Jewes, tremble not to walke in the sanctuarie, hauing their hands bathed in the blood of their countmen and brethren. Who will now feare forraine wars, seeing these ciuill broyles are such? Much better were it for vs to fall into our enemies hand: yea, if you will call euerie thing by such a name as it deserueth, wee shall finde that the Romans haue not violated our lawes, but haue beene the confirmers thereof; and they within our wals are our enemies. True it is, that those that haue thus tyrannized ouer vs, deserue death, and that no punishment can be deuised great enough for their offence: and all of you were so perswaded before I spake of it, and you were incited against them by that which you haue endured at their hands: but yet you feare the multitude of them & their courage; and moreover that they are in a higher place then you: yet as all this came by your negligence and suffering, so by your delaying they will grow stronger. For their number is dayly encreased, and euerie wicked person flieth vnto his like; and they are so much the more emboldened, for that as yet no man did once offer to resist their enterprises: and be sure that if they haue time they will make vse of the higher place, and that to your damage. But (beleeue mee) if you would but once offer to go against them, their verie consciences would abate their hautie minds, and the remembrance of their misdeeds would put them to farr out of tune, that they will not make any benefit of the higher place. Perhaps God in his vengeance will turne their owne darts against them for their impietie, and consume them therewith. Let vs but onely shew our selues, and we shall dismay them; yet it is an honour for vs if need bee, to sacrifice our liues for the defence of the holy temple. My selfe will assist you with hand and aduite, and you shall see that you shall neither want counsell, nor that I will spare my owne body to defend you from their treacheries.

Ananus thus exhorted the people against the Zelous, yet he knew well that it was great difficultie to ouercome them, being lustie young men, manie in number, of great courage, & the more desperate for the remorte of conscience of the horrible crimes, & execrable deeds which they had committed, for they despaird of all hope of pardon for their misdeeds. Yet Ananus thought it altogether intolerable, that the common wealth should be so ouerruled. After this exhortation the people cried out that they were readie to go against the thecues, and to doe as they were requested. Whilest that Ananus selected out the most able men for warre, and set them in order, the Zelous came and issued out vpon him, and hauing intelligence of all his intents and proceedings by certaine spies which they had appointed vpon purpose; being enraged sallied out, and in companies, sometime all at once; other times in ambushes, sparing none that they met with. Ananus quickly gathered together the people, who were more in number then the thecues, yet were they not so well armed as they; but what they wanted in armes their courage did supply. For the Citizens were armed with furie, stronger then armor; and they which were gone out of the temple, with a more desperate boldnesse, then all the multitude how great so euer it was. For the Citizens thought it no abiding for them in the Citie except they could driue away the Zelous; and the Zelous thought that they could not escape torments and death if selfe, except that they were victors. So at last they ioyned battell each vnder their capitaines and leaders, and first of all both parties cast stones one against another: and if any part fled, then the conquerors pursued them with drawne swords, and many were wounded and slaine on both parts. Those townsmen that were wounded, were by their friends carried into their houses; but the Zelous that were hurt went into the temple, and polluted the sacred pauements with their blood: so that their religion was prophaned by their blood. Alwaies the thecues in making excursions got the vpper hand. Hereat the Citizens being angrie, seeing their number euerie day encreased, reprooued the cowards: so that if any of their company offered to flie from the Zelous, they made him stand & resist whether he would or no, not permitting him to passe away: And thus they bent all their forces against their enemies. At last the thecues not able to make any longer resistance, by little & little retired themselves into the temple, and Ananus with his company entred the temple by force with them, and brake the ranke of his enemies. Then they in the viter temple were in great feare and fled into the inner temple, and shut the gates with all speed. Ananus would not offer violence to the sacred gates, & beside that the enemies cast darts from aloft: for hee thought it a great offence against God, although he might haue got the victorie, to introduce the people not being purified. Wherefore he elected six thousand of the chiefe of all his men well armed, and appointed them to keepe the porches, and others to succeed in their places while they tooke rest. And many of the better sort of the Citizens being by the chiefe of the Citie placed to keep

The yeere of the
world, 4123. Af-
ter Christs birth
70.
John full of
deceit, and a
betrayer of the
citizens.

John sweareth
to be faithfull
to the people.

John contrary
to his oath re-
uileth their
secrets, to the
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CHAP. VI.

How the Idumæans came vnto Ierusalem, and what they did there.

Mongst the Zelous there were two principall, *Eleazar* the sonne of *Simon*, who about all the rest was thought most fit to giue counsell, and to execute that which was consul- ted vpon: and *Zacharias* the sonne of *Amphicalus*, who both descended from the line of the priests. These two vnderstanding, that beside the generall threatnings their deaths were especially vowed, and that the faction of *Ananus* to get him into authoritie, had sent to call the Romans (for this, *John* had fained) deliberated with themselves what to doe, hauing so short time

OF THE IEWES. THE IIII. BOOKE.

A time to prouide. For they supposed that presently the people would assault them, and they be- thought themselves that now it was too late to seek for forraine helpe: for they might endure all calamities, before they could giue notice hereof vnto any that would helpe them. Yet at last they determined to call the Idumæans to aide them, and so they wrote a brieue Epistle vnto them, let- ting them vnderstand how *Ananus*, hauing seduced the people, meant to betray the mother Citie of their nation vnto the Romans, and that they fighting for their libertie, were by him be- sieged in the Temple: that the time wherein they expected safetie was verie short: and that if they did not presently send succour, they were like to fall into *Ananus* and their enemies hands, and the Citie to bee brought in subiection vnder the Romans: and also committed man- nie things to be spoken by word of mouth vnto the rulers of Idumæa. For which purpose were B chosen two principall men eloquent and apt to perswade, and that, which was in this case requir- ed, swift of foote: for it was certaine that the Idumæans would presently aide them, it being a clownish rude nation, and prone to sedition and alteration, much reioycing therein; and by flatterie easily entreated to warres, making as much haste to them as if they went to some fes- tiuall solemnitie: so that there onely was required two speedie messengers. Which two were readie and quicke men for such an exploite, and were both called by the name of *Ananias*. These presently came vnto the gouernours of Idumæa: & they reading the Epistle, and hearing that which the messengers were to say vnto them, like mad men assembled all the people toge- ther in post haste, and proclaimed war; so the people in an instant gathered themselves together, and were all armed to fight for the libertie of their mother citie: and twentie thousand being as- C bled together vnder the gouernment of foure captains, came with all speed to Ierusalem: the names of them were these, *John* and *James*, sonnes of *Sofa*, and *Simon* the sonne of *Carthla*, and *Phineas* the sonne of *Clusoth*. *Ananus* and his watchmen knewe not of the going of these two messengers, nor of the watches in the citie, but they vnderstood of the Idumæans coming, & so that the gates and placed watchmen vpon the wals: yet they thought it not good to go out and fight with the, but first with peaceable words to perswade them to concord & peace. Wherefore *Iesus* the eldest of the priests next after *Ananus* stood in a tower opposite against them, & spake in this manner.

Though many and diuers tumults and troubles haue molested this citie, yet did I neuer so much admire any of them, as to come with such furie and readines to help these wicked people, against all expectation: for (said he) you are come against vs to helpe most vile persons, and that D so rashly, as it behooued not you to haue done, if your Metropolitan citie had requested your helpe against barbarous people. If I should perceiue your manners like vnto theirs that haue requested your helpe, I would then thinke you had some reason to come, for nothing causeth firmer friend- ship then agreemēt or sympathie in manners. But they if they were narrowlie fought into, haue e- uerie one deserued a thousand deaths. For they, are the basest & the verie outcast of all the coun- trie people, who hauing spent their patrimony riotously, and played the thecues in all places, and cities about them, now at last haue got into this holy citie, most religious of all cities, & haue E prophaned the holy place by their impietie: they tremble not to be drunke euen in the holy tem- ple, and there they consume in banquetting the spoyle they haue gotten from them, whom they haue massacred. And you come to helpe these men with as great an armie & prouision, as though that this your mother citie had by publike consent requested your helpe against forraine enemies. Is not this the iniurie of fortune, that your whole nation hath conspired & bent all their forces a- gainst vs to help these miscreants? Til now I knew not what moued you so quickly & so suddenly to arme your selues to assist thecues against your natie coutrimē. What haue you bin informed of the Romans coming, & of the betraying of the citie? For euen now I heard some of you mutter, that you came to deliuer your mother city. Is it not a wōder to see this deuise & inuention of these malefactōrs? But they could deuise no other way to incite other against vs (who euen naturally desire libertie & are ready for the same to spend our dearest blood in cōflict with the enemy) but to F feign vs to be destroyers of libertie: But it behooueth you to consider who are these calūniators, & a- gainst who these calūniations are deuised, & then to gather the veritie of the matter, not to forged tales, fained at mens pleasures, but frō the thing it self. What shuld moue vs now to yeeld vnto the Romans, hauing indured as yet nothing to cōstrain vs therunto? when if we had liked to liue vnder their obedience, neither needed we at first to haue rebelled; & beside that, if we had repented our selues we might haue again submittid our selues, & obtained their fauour before this time that all the countie round about vs is destroyed. Nay if now we would yeeld, it is not easie for vs: for the spoyle of Galilee, which they hauing already conquered, hath made them proud, and that we in humbling our selues vnto them, being accēse vnto vs, should incur an infamie worse then death.

Ret 3

The name of the
world, 4123. Af-
ter Christs birth
70.
The Zelous
require helpe
from the Idumæans.

The nature
and manners
of the Idumæans.

Twentie thou-
sand Idumæans
come to Ieru-
salem.

Iesus exhorteth
and exhorted
to the Idumæans.

The disposition
of the Zelous
faction, who
intended the
ouerthrow of
the citie, and
obeyed the
betraying
thereof.

The year of the world, 4032. after Christs birth 70. John full of deceit, and a betrayer of the citizens.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

John sweareth to be faithfull to the people.

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alch their secrets to the Zelous.

John stirreth vp the Zelous against the Citizens.

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time

OF THE IEWES. THE IIII. BOOKE.

A time to provide. For they supposed that presently the people would assault them, and they be-
thought themselves that now it was too late to seek for forraine helpe: for they might endure all
calamitie, before they could giue notice hereof vnto any that would helpe them. Yet at last they
determined to call the Idumæans to aide them, and so they wrote a brieue Epistle vnto them, let-
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These presently came vnto the gouernours of Idumæa: & they reading the Epistle, and hearing
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trie people, who hauing spent their patrimonies riotously, and played the theeuës in all places
and cities about them, now at last haue got into this holy citie, most religious of all cities, & haue
prophaned the holy place by their impietie: they tremble not to be drunke euen in the holy tem-
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The year of the world, 4032. after Christs birth 70. The Zealues require helpe from the Idumæans.

The nature and manners of the Idumæans.

Twentie thousand Idumæans come to Ierusalem.

Iesus oration and exhortatiō to the Idumæans.

The disproofe of the Zealous helion, who intended the ouerthrow of the citie, and objected the betraying thereof.

The scene of the world, 403a. after Christ's birth 70. Peace is better then death.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

it selfe. True it is, I thinke peace better then wars, yet being once provoked to wars, & the fight G being begun, I had rather die a glorious death then to live in captiuitie. Doe they enforme you that we haue secretly sent the chiefe of our citie to the Romans, or that by common consent of all the people we haue done it? If they say that we did it secretly: let them then tel what friends of ours we sent, or what seruants of ours were ministers to effect this treason. Did they take any messenger of ours, and find letters about him? How can that be hid from all our citizens, with whom we do euerie houre conuerse? And is it possible that a few, shut vp in the temple, who could not come out into the citie, should know our secrets, all the whole citie knowing nothing? or doe they now first know it when they are like to be punished for their impietie? neuer suspecting any of vs to be traytors, so long as they were in no feare. If they say that it was done by common consent of all the people, why then all men were there when the speech was made vnto the people, to exhort them thereunto, and request their good wils, and so the newes thereof would quickly haue come vnto your eares: Or what need had we to send Embassadors, if we had been now already certaineto come to composition with the Romans? Let them tell you who was appointed for that Embassyage. These are but deuises and excuses of them, who feare to haue a death according to their deserts, and a shite to escape punishment.

If fate had so decreed that our citie should be betrayed vnto the enemy, assure your selues that they, who doe thus accuse vs, would haue betrayed it themselves; who haue committed already all sort of impieties, treason onely excepted. It is your parte, seeing you are come hither in armes, first (as reason and iustice requireth) to assist your mother Citie against them who tyrannize ouer vs, and violate our lawes: who treading downe our lawes make I all that iustice, which they can effect with their sword. And first of all they tooke noble men and cast them in prison, drawing them from amidst the publike assemblie; and being neuer accused nor condemned, nothing respecting their intreaties, put them to death. If it please you to come in peaceable and not hostile manner into our citie, your selues shall plainly behold euident tokens of this that I speake vnto you: to wit, houses ruinated and made desolate by their robberies, the wiues and families of them that are slaine in mourning apparell, and howling and crying in euerie part of the Citie: For there is no one amongst vs that hath not tasted the persecution of these wretched men, who are gone so far that not content to make this citie their refuge (which is the chief & a spectacle to all others for sanctitie) after they had robbed and spoyle all the country & villages, and cities here about, now lastly they haue made the sacred temple a refuge and place to K carrie all their spoyle, which they haue impiously gotten in this Citie, vnto. This temple they doe make their bulwarke to issue out, and to retire vnto; and from thence they make incursions vpon the citizens: and this is the place where they practise all their villanies against vs. And this sacred place, which all the world, euen the most barbarous & sauage people thereof do reuerence, is now defiled by the horrible robberies which one born amongst vs committed. And now being in desperation, they reioyce to see nation against nation, & citie against citie, & people against people, and our own countymen to turn themselves against their own bowels: when contrariwise, (as I haue already said) it had bene your parts and duties to ioyne with vs, and helpe vs to exterminate these malefactors; and be reuenged of them for this lie, in that they presumed to call you to help them whom they had iust reason to feare as reuengers of their impieties: yet if you make L account of these mens praiers, vouchsafe (laying your weapons aside) to come into our citie like friends, and be your selues iudges betweene vs and them whom you came to helpe. And consider what saueur we shew them, who permit them to plead their owne causes before you, they being guiltie of so hainous crimes, and hauing put to death persons of such account, neuer accused nor permitted to speake for themselves: yet this commoditie wee will grant them for your sake. But if you continue in your anger against vs, and refuse this offer to bee our iudges: then let vs intreat you that leaving both parts, you would neither imbrue your hands in our blood, nor led your aide vnto these miscreants against your mother citie. And if you suspect any of vs to be confederates with the Romans, you may keepe all passages; and then seek to defend your Metropolis, when you haue proofe of any such matter as is alledged against vs; and punish the authors M of that treason when you haue convicted them. The enemies cannot prevent you being already planted so neere the Citie. If you like of none of these, maruell not that we shut our gates against you, comming in armed and hostile manner. *Iesus* spake thus vnto them. But the Idumæans being angry, were not moued hereby, and so much the more for that entrance into the citie was denied them, and their generals were exceedingly wroth, thinking it slauerie to lay downe their armes, especially at the command of another.

Iesus requirith the Idumæans to iudge the difference betweene the Zealous and them.

The end of Iesus oration to the Idumæans.

OF THE IEWES. THE IIII. BOOKE.

The heare of the world, 403a. after Christ's birth, 70. Simons answer to Iesus oratio.

A Then one of the captaines named *Simon* the sonne of *Cathla*, hauing with much adoe gotten his souldiers to be silent, hee stood in a place where the priests might heare him, and said, That he now did not wonder that those who maintained libertie, were enclosed and besieged in the Temple, seeing that they of the Citie now shut their gates against his followers, the citie being common and free for all men; and that perhaps they were readie to open the Citie gates for to receiue the Romans. And he spake vnto the Idumæans from a tower, and commanded them to cast down their armes, which they took onely for the libertie of the citie, when they durst not trust their own nation to keep the same; yet would haue them iudges of the discord; & that accusing others for killing some not convicted, they themselves doe condemne all the whole nation of ignominie; and that they had now shut the Citie gates against their own Countymen, which was common for all strangers to come vnto for religion sake. Did we make hast towards you, to fight B against our owne nation, which came onely to preferue your libertie? But this is as true as that they whom you thus besiege haue wronged you, and as the accusation you forge against them. And you keeping in hold those that are the defenders of the Commonwealth, doe then shut the Citie gates against men of your owne blood: lastly, you impose vpon vs contumelious commands, and say that they do tyrannize ouer you, ouer whom indeed you do. Who can any longer endure this your mockerie, that perceiueth how vnpossible your allegations are? For who can iustly accuse those that yee keep shut vp in the Temple, because that they presumed to punish traytors, whom you grace with the title of noble & innocent, because they were your confederats? Onely in this they are blame worthe, that they did not begin with you, but left a liue such members of that conspiracie. Except also you will say that the Idumæans shut you out of your Citie, C you your selues not permitting vs to come & offer sacrifices. But though they were too merciful, yet we Idumæans will consecrate the house of God, and will fight for the common good of our Countrey, and will bee reuenged both of the enemies that are without the Citie, and the traytors within. And here will we remaine before the Citie, till either the Romans come and deliuer you, or till you change your minds and bethinke your selues what a fewell it is to haue libertie.

The Idumæans are displeased because the Citie gates were locked against them.

The reproches the Idumæans obiect against the high priests and Citizens.

CHAP. VII.

Of the massacre of the Iewes by the Idumæans.

D **A**Ll the whole multitude agreed with a lowd crie vnto these speeches of *Simon*. And *Iesus* departed sorrowfull seeing that the Idumæans would agree to no reason, & that thereby their Citie should suffer double warres. For the Idumæans wrath was not yet asswaged, whoooke the matter in great disdain that they were not permitted to enter into the Citie, and also for that they thought the Zealous verie strong, and they themselves were ashamed that they could not come to helpe them, so that manie repented that they were come thither. Yet would they not for shame retume, nothing being done by them: and so rashly E placing their Tabernacles neere vnto the Citie walles, they determined to stay there. But that night there fell a most huge tempest: for there was a great stormie wind and an exceeding great raine, mixt with fearefull thunder and horrible lightning, and the Earthquake with strange noises: whereupon all men thought that this motion of the earth, did signifie the death of mankind; and portend some great matter. The Idumæans and townes-men were both of one mind: for they thought that God was angry with them, for bearing armes against their Metropolis, and perswaded themselves that they could not escape death if they continued in their purpose. *Ananus* and his followers perswaded themselves that they had now overcome them without warre, and that God had fought for them against the Idumæans. But they were false Prophets, and what they iudged was to befall their enemies, that fel vpon themselves. In the mean while the Idumæans lay as close together as they could, and covered their heads with their shields, so that by this means the raine did them not so much harme. The Zealous were pensue for the Idumæans more then for themselves, and deuised which way they might succour them. Then the boldest amongst them aduised the rest by force to oppresse the watchmen, and so to goe into the Citie, and open the gates to the Idumæans that came to helpe them, for it was easie to surpriue the watchmen, by reason that many of them were vnarmed, and vnfit for warre, and the Citizens could not easily be assembled together, for euerie man because of this tempest kept his house. And suppose that there were danger, yet were it better to endure all mischiefs that might ensue, then to permit

The Idumæans pitch their tabernacles neere the wals.

A huge storme.

The Zealous consule to break open the gates to assaile the watch, and let in the Idumæans.

mit such an army shamefully to perish, who came at their request to helpe them. But the wiser sort G dissuaded the rest from this, seeing both a stronger watch placed to keepe them in, and the Citie wals diligently guarded because of the Idumæans: and moreover, perswading themselves that *Ananus* ceased not but went vp and downe, first from one watch, and then to another; yet that night hee did not so, nor for slouthfulnesse, but because that the destinies had so decreed that thereby both hee and the watchmen should perish. For about midnight the storm increasing, the watchmen fell into a sound sleepe.

The watch-
men are op-
pressed with
sleepe.

The Idumæans
by the meanes
of the Zealous
enter by night.

The Idumæans
ioync them-
selves with the
Zealous in the
Temple.

The immunity
of the Idumæ-
ans and Zealous
against the Ci-
tizens of Ieru-
salem.

Ananus and
Jesus the high
Priests execu-
ted.

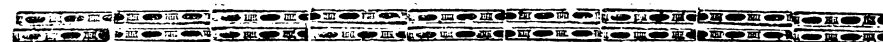
Ananus death
the first cause
of the destru-
tion of the city.
The priest of
Ananus is the
impet.

Then the Zealous determined to file the barres and bolts of the gates in sunder, to effect this, they took the instruments which were consecrated to the temple, & this attempt was much fur- thered by the huge wind and thunder, which made such a noyse that they could not bee heard: so issuing out of the Temple, they went priuily to the walles, and opened that gate neere vnto H which the Idumæans lay: and suspecting that *Ananus* would make some resistance, they first of all drew their swords, & then together with the Idumæans came in: and if at that time they had assaulted the Citie, they had without any let or hinderance destroyed all the people therein: so great was their rage at that time. But first of all they hastned to assist their fellows, whom they left besieged, and requested the Idumæans not to leaue them in danger, for whose succour they were come, nor permit them to incurre greater damage: for having first surprised the watchmen, it would be more easie for them to assault the Citie: which if they did not, but first set vpon the Citizens, they would presently assemble together, and oppose themselves against them, and not permit them to ascend vp vnto the Temple. The Idumæans consented vnto this, and so they passed thorough the Citie into the Temple. And the Zealous remaining in the Temple, carefully I expected their coming: at whose arriual they tooke courage, and ioyning with the Idumæans, came out of the inner Temple, and set vpon the watch: and some being slaine who were fast a- sleepe, the rest were awaked by the cries of others, and so betooke themselves to their armes to defend themselves, being yet amazed. And at first, thinking that they were only the Zealous that gave the assault, hoped onely by their multitude to suppress them; but seeing others without the Temple also assailing them, they perceiued that the Idumæans were broken in: so the greater part of them being dismaide, laide downe their weapons and cried; and onely a few of them, young men well armed, and of good courage encountred with the Idumæans, and for a good space de- fended their idle fellows: others went and aduertised the Inhabitants what was done, yet none durst come to helpe them, because they now knewe that the Idumæans were got in, but euery K one lamented their hard fortune: and the women made great lamentation, when any of the watchmen fell into danger. The Zealous also answered their cries with the like, and then the tem- pest and thunder made all more dreadful. The Idumæans spared none, because that they were naturally cruell and fierce to shed blood: and angrie that they were so beaten with the tempest, they vsed them most cruelly, by whose meanes they were shut out of the Citie, sparing neither those who requested fauour, nor them who made resistance, for they slew many euen as they were intreating them to remember that they were of their owne blood, and requesting them to spare them for reuerence of their Temple. There was no way to fly, nor any hope of escape: being driuen vp into a narrow roome, they hurt themselves more then the enemies did, by crowding and treading vpon one another, for there was no place to flie, nor their enemies ceased not to kill L them. Being in this desperate estate; not knowing how to doe, they cast themselves head-long downe into the Citie, and so died a more miserable death (in my mind) then they that died by the enemies sword. The next day there was found slaine eight thousand and five hundred, and all the viter Temple flowed with blood. Yet this massacre sufficed not the Idumæans rage, but tur- ning themselves against the Citie, they robbed and spoyled all houses, and killed all they met, making no account of the death of the rest of the multitude. They made diligent search for the Priests, and many laide violent hands vpon them, and killed them: and standing vpon their dead corpses, sometime they vbrayded *Ananus* with the peoples fauour towards him, sometime *Jesus* with the words hee spake vpon the wall vnto them, and were so impious as that they cast awaie their dead bodies vnburied, notwithstanding that the Iewes in this point are so religious, that M after sunne set they take downe the dead bodies of malefactors, who by sentence haue bene ad- judged vnto the crosse, and burie them.

I thinke I doe not greatly misse the mark, if I affirme *Ananus* his death to haue bene the destruction of the Citie, and from that time forth the walles of Ierusalem to haue bene ouer- throwne, and the common wealth of the Iewes to haue perished in that day when they behelde their priest and Gouernour slaine, euen in the midst of the Citie. He was a man that led a lau- dable

A dable and most iust life: and being in great dignitie, honour, and reputation; yet would hee not exalt himselfe about any one, were he neuer so base. He was a man who thirsted after libertie, and bare the rule and gouernment of the common wealth. He continually preferred the pub- like commoditie before his owne priuate gaine, being alwaies desirous of peace; for he foresaw that the Romans could not be withstood; & that, if the Iewes did not quickly accord with them, their ruine was at hand: briefly I say, that had *Ananus* liued, they had yeilded with him vnto the Romans. For he was an eloquent Orator and could perswade admirably: wherby hee had now gained vnto his side those that hindred him, and caused the warres; whome if they had had for their captaine against the Romans, it had not bene so easie for the Romans to haue conquered them. With him was ioyned *Jesus* inferiour to *Ananus*, yet excelling all the rest. So that I B thinke Almighty God hauing decreed the totall ruine of the Citie, being now violated and fil- led with iniquitie, and meaning by fire as it were to purifie the holy temple which was now de- filed and prophaned, he first tooke away the defenders thereof, and those that loued them most deere. So they who a little before were clothed in sacred apparell, and reuerenced of all those that from the furthest parts of the world came to Ierusalem, now lay murthered and na- ked in the open streetes, left as it were a pray to be torne in peeces with dogges or wilde beastes, who earst were the authors of pietie and religion. I thinke that Vertue it selfe wept to see wic- kednesse so preuaile.

C



THE FIFT BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 5. booke.

- 1 Of another massacre, and of the returne of the Idumæans, and the crueltie of the Zealous.
- 2 Of the ciuill discord amongst the Iewes.
- 3 Of the yeelding of Gadara, and the massacre there.
- E 4 How certaine townes were taken, and the description of Iericho.
- 5 Of the lake called Asphaltites.
- 6 How Gerasa was destroyed, and of the death of Nero, and of Galba and Otho.
- 7 Of Simon of Gerasa Prince of a new conspiracy.
- 8 Of Galba, Otho, Vitellius and Vespasian.
- 9 Of Simons actes against the Zealous.
- 10 How Vespasian was chosen Emperour.
- 11 The description of Aegypt and Pharus.
- 12 How Vespasian redeemed Ioseph from captiuitie.
- 13 Of Vitellius his death and manners.
- F 14 How Titus was sent against the Iewes by his father.

CHAP.

Of another massacre, and of the return of the Idumæans, and the crueltie of the Zelous;



The crueltie of
the Idumæans
& the Zelous.

Twelue thou-
sand of the
nobilitie exe-
cuted.

Zacharie con-
demned to
death by the
Zelous.

Seuentie iud-
ges absolue
and acquite
Zacharie.

Zacharie fling
in the midst of
the temple.

One of the Ze-
lous discou-
ereth their cru-
eltie & barba-
rous dealing to
the Idumæans.

Such was the ende of *Ananus* and *Iesus*. After whose death the Idumæans and the Zelous massacred the people, as though they had beene a flocke of pernicious beasts, and euerie one was slaine whereloeuer hee was found: and taking the nobilitie and younger sort of men, they kept them bound in prison, hoping that by deferring their deaths, some of them would become partakers with them. Yet none was thereby moued, but euerie one desired to die rather then impiouly to conspire against their owne country: yet were they most cruelly whipped before they were put to death, their whole bodie being all as it were one fore place by whipping and stripes: and so when they could not indure these torments any longer, then were they killed. And whoso was taken on the day time was in the night carried to prison, and those that died in prison and torments, they then cast their dead bodies out, that they might haue place to imprison others in their roome. And the people were so terrified, that none durst weepe openly for his friend, nor burie the dead body of his kinsman; yea those that were in prison durst not openly weepe, but secretly, looking about them, least any of their enemies should espie them. For whosoever mourned for any that was afflicted, was presently himselfe vsed in the same manner as he had been for whom he lamented; & sometime some in the night scraped vp a little earth with their hands, and therewithall couered the dead body of their friend; and some boldere then therest, did the like in the day time. And in this generall slaughter were twelue thousand young noble men slaine by this means: and thus being hated for these massacres, they mocked and flouted the magistrates, and made no account of their iudgements. So that when they determined to put out *Zacharie* the sonne of *Baruch* to death, a noble man and one of the chiefe of the citie (for they perceiued that he was an enemy to their wickednes, & loued the vertuous, and one that was rich, by whose death they hoped not onely to haue the spoyle of his goods, but also to bee rid of such a one who might be able to resist their bad purposes) they called seuentie of the best amongst the common people together as it were in iudgment, yet they hauing no authoritie; and before them they accused *Zacharie*, that hee had betrayed the common wealth vnto the Romans, and that for that intent he had sent vnto *Vespasian*: but neither shewed any euidence nor prooue thereof, but onely they affirmed it to be so; and therefore would haue credit giuen vnto their words. When *Zacharie* perceiued that vnder pretence of being called vnto iudgement, hee was deceitfully brought into prison; and hauing no hope of life, yet he spared not to speake liberally his minde: but began to scorne the rage and pretence of his enemies, and purged himselfe of the crimes whereof he was accused; and conuerting his speech against his accusers, hee laid open all their iniquities, and much lamented the miseries and troubles of the Citie.

In the meane while the Zelous gnashed their teeth, and could scarcely containe themselves from drawing their swords, and were desirous that their pretended accusation and iudgement might be ended. Hee also requested them, who by these misereants were appointed his iudges, to remember iustice, notwithstanding those dangerous times. The seuentie iudges all pronounced that hee was to be absolued and freed as vnguiltie; and rather chose to die, then to cause his death who was innocent. This sentence being pronounced, the Zelous began to shoute and crie with a loud voice, & they all were angrie at the iudges, who did not vnderstand to what end that counterfeite authoritie was giuen them. Then two of the boldest amongst themselves vpon *Zacharie*, and killed him in the midst of the temple, & mocked him saying, Thou hast now our sentence and absolution, farre more certaine then the other was, and presently they cast him downe from the temple into the valley vnderneath: and then contumeliously with the hilts of their swords they did beat the iudges out of the temple; yet they did not kill them, to the end that being disperfed through the whole citie, they might tel the people as messengers from them, of their miserable captiuitie. The Idumæans were now sorrowfull for their comming: for they misliked these proceedings: who being assembled altogether, one of the Zelous secretly told the all that their faction had done from their beginning; and that the Idumæans had taken armes, because they were enformed, how that the Metropolitane citie was by the priests betrayed vnto the Romans; but as they might perceiue there was no prooue nor signe of anie such matter: and that

in

A In desce the Zelous who pretended themselves conseruers of the citie, were meere enemies; and exercised tyranny ouer the Citizens euen from their beginning. And although they had assisted themselves with such wicked persons, and made themselves partakers of such and so many murders, yet thought now to cease from such wickednes, & not assist men so impious to destroye their countrie lawes and religion. For although they took it in bad part that the citie gates were shut vpon them; yet now they were sufficiently reuenged of those that were the cause thereof. Now was *Ananus* himselfe slaine, and almost all the people in one night: wherof manie of them ere long would repent, and that they might now themselves perceiue the crueltie of them, who requested their aide, to be more then barbarous: so that they binth not to commit their villainies openly in the sight of them who had saved their liues; and their misdeameour and impietie would be imputed vnto the Idumæans, because they neither hindered their mischieuous practices, nor forsooke their societie. And that therefore it was their parts (seeing that it was now euident that the report of treason was onely calumnation, and that no assault by the Romans was to be feared, likewise that an inuincible force was established against the citie) for to depart home, and by forsaking the societie of the impious acquite themselves of their impietie, as being by the deceiued, & so against their wills made partakers thereof. The Idumæans were hereby perswaded, & first of all they loosed them that were in prison, in number two thousand of the vulgar, & presently leaving the citie, they went vnto *Simon*; of whom we will speake hereafter, & so they departed home.

The Idumæans
depart out of
Ierusalem.

Their departure was against the expectation of both parts: for the people not knowing that the Idumæans were penitent for that they had done, reioyced as now deliuered from their enemies: and the Zelous grew more insolent and proud, as though they neuer had needed helpe, but now were deliuered from them, in reuerence of whom they abstaied from villanies. So now they vsed no delay to effect their impietie: for they spent not much time in taking aduise, but whatsoeuer seemed best vnto them, presently without any delay they put it in practice. But chieflie they murdered those men that were strong & valiant: for they enuid the nobilitie for their vertue: And they thought it a principall point first to bee effected, not to leaue any one man of account aliue. Wherfore they slew amongst the rest *Gorion* a noble man of great birth and dignitie, one who loued the people, and was verie bountifull and a louer of libertie: so that there was none amongst the Iewes like him, who for desire of libertie and his other vertues was put to death. But neither could *Niger Peraita* escape their hands, a man who in warres against the Romans had shewed himselfe valiant: who although hee often cried out and shewed the tears of his wounds receiued in defence of his country; yet they ceased not for all this most shamefully to drag him through the citie: and being led out of the citie, despairing of life, he entreated that he might be buried. But the barbarous people denying his request slew him. Who at his death besought God that the Romans might come and reuenge it vpon them, and that plague & famine and ciuill discord might light vpon their Citie. Whose prayers God heard, sending all vpon them which he did iustly require, and first of all they were plagued with ciuill warres amongst themselves. *Niger* being thus slaine, they were freed from the feare that they had of him, how that hee would resist their wickednes. There was no part of the common people, who were not by some forged tale or other put to death. For some were slaine, for that long since they had borne armes against their owne citizens, and they who were innocent in all points were put to death, for some occasion deuised in the time of peace: and they who did not conuerse with them were murdered, as such that contened them: and they that did freely & friendly conuerse with them were slaine, as men that sought to betraie them: and the greatest offenders, and the least offenders were all punished alike, to wit, with death: for no man escaped except he was either poore or of verie base condition.

Gorions death
and *Niger*
Peraita.

Nigers prayers
tooke effect as
the end testi-
fied.

CHAP. II.

The ciuill discord amongst the Iewes.

F

IN the meane while the Romans addressed all their courage against the Citie of Ierusalem; and seeing them at great variance amongst themselves, thought this to be for their great aduantage. Vpon this they incited *Vespasian* their generall, affirming that it was Gods providence (who fought for them) that the Iewes should be at ciuill wars amongst themselves, and that therefore he should not ouerslip so good an opportunitie: for the Iewes would quickly be friends againe one with another, either by the wearines of ciuill wars, or else repenting themselves

The souldiers
incite *Vespasian*
an to resort to
Ierusalem.

The yeere of the world, 4033, after Christs birth, 70. Vespasian expecteth victory by the ciuill diffension of his enemies.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

themselves of that which they had done. To whom *Vespasian* answered, that they were ignorant what was to be done, being rather desirous as it were in a theater to shew their forces & strength, then with him to consider what was profitable and expedient. For (said hee) if wee presently assault them, our comming will make concord amongst our enemies, and so wee shall bring vpon our selues their forces yet firme and strong: but by expecting a little while they should haue lesse adoe to conquer them, their chiefe forces being destroyed by their owne ciuill wars; And that God was more their friend then they were aware of, who without their labour and paine deliuered the Iewes into their hands, and will giue vs the victorie without indaungering of our army: And that therefore it was rather their parts to bee as it were beholders of that tragedie, then to fight against men desirous of death, and troubled with the greatest euill that possible could be, to wit, domesticall sedition, and ciuill wars. And if anie thinke that the victorie is not famous being gotten without fight, let him know and consider the vncertain euents of wars: and that it is better, if it be possible, to get a victorie without bloodshed, then therewith to hazard the victorie. For they who by counsell and aduice do any worthy act, deserue no lesse praise then they, who by force of armes archiue a victorie. Moreouer, in the meane time that the enemye one destroyed another, his soldiers might take rest, and so be stronger and better able to fight when need should require. Beside that, it seemed not that there was so much haste required to get the victorie: for the Iewes neither prepared armes or engines of warre, nor leuied any forces, nor sought for aide, and so by delay no damage could insue: but that they would plague one another more by ciuill wars, then his armie would by taking them and their citie. And therefore whether they considered it best to abstaine from assaulting them (who fought with one another) for securitie sake, or else for vaine glorie thought the honour of the victorie diminished thereby: yet hee held it not meet to fight against them, who were at ciuill wars amongst themselves; for so it would be iustly said, the victorie was not to be imputed to vs but to their discord.

Many citizens, who were the Zealots, were delighted at *Vespasian*.

The Zealots tyrannize both ouer the liuing and the dead.

The captaines all consented, and thought this aduise of *Vespasians* best: And presently it appeared how profitable his counsell was. For euery day many fled vnto him to escape the hands of the Zealots: yet it was hard & dangerous to flee, because all the waies were garded with watchmen. And if anie man vpon any occasion whatsoever were taken vpon the way, hee was presently killed, as one who intended to haue fled vnto the Romans: yet he that see'd the watchmen with mony, escaped away safely; and hee that did not, was counted as a traitor: so that onely rich men could escape, & the poore were left to the slaughter. The multitude of dead bodies that lay on heapes together was innumerable, & many of them who had fled vnto the Romans, returned againe into the citie, chusing rather to die there: for the hope they had to be buried in their native soyle, made death there seeme more tolerable. But they became so cruell, that they neither permitted them who were slaine within, nor them without the citie, to bee buried. But like men that had now determined together, with their countrey lawes, to abolish the law of nature, yea & by their impietie to pollute the sacred diuinity with iniustice, let the dead bodies rot about the ground: and whosoever attempted to burie any one of them that were slaine, whether hee were friend or kinsman, were presently put to death, and left vnburied as men forsaking their citie, and flying to the enemye. To be breefe, nothing so much increased their calamities as mercie: for the wicked people were herewith, as it were, prouoked to wrath, whose displeasure and crueltie was extended from the liuing vnto the dead, and from the dead vnto the liuing. And such feare fell vpon the whole citie, that those that were left aliue, deemed them happie, that being dead, were at rest, and free from those miseries: and they that were in prison in respect of the torments they endured, thought themselves vnhappy then they who lay vnburied. All humane iustice was by them peruerced, and they scorned and mocked at all diuine and holy things, and proudly derided the oracles of the prophets, esteeming them as fables and iests. But hauing now condemned all lawes established by their forefathers for the punishment of vice, & increasing of vertue: at last they found that true, which by them was foretold, concerning the destruction of themselves and their countrey. For there was an olde propheticke, that when sedition reigned amongst them, and their owne hands had first violated the temple of God and holy things; that then their citie should be destroyed by warre, and their holy places should be burned with fire, according to the vse and custome of warre. And the Zealots giuing credite vnto this propheticke made themselves the ministers of this action.

CHAP.

OF THE IEWES. THE V. BOOKE.

A

CHAP. III.

How Gadara was yielded: and of the massacre there.

But *John*, who long agoe desired to bee in chiefe authoritie, as tyrant ouer all the rest, thought it not sufficient to be in as great reputation as his fellows; wherefore by little and little ioining vnto himselfe the most impious of all the Zelous, hee diuided himselfe from their vnion and fellowship: So that now euery one perceiued (in that he alwaies neglected what others commanded, and imperiously commanded what himselfe thought good) that hee affected principallitie; and many ioined to him for feare, some for fauour (for hee had a smooth tongue, able to perfwade them vnto what he would) many also followed him; thinking it better that all the impietie before committed were laid to one mans charge in particular, then vnto all men in generall. Moreouer, being a valiant man of his hands, and one able to giue politike counsell, hee wanted not followers, notwithstanding that many of the contrarie faction left him, enuying that he, who before was their equall, should now be their Lord and commander. Feare also terrified them from liuing vnder the gouernment of one onely man; for they thought that if he once preuailed, he could not easily be overcome: and againe, if hee were deposed, that hee would picke quarrels against them in the end, because that they resisted him in the beginning. So euery man determined rather to suffer all miserie in war, then to submit himselfe, and perish like a slave. Thus the sedition was diuided, and *John* was chiefe of the faction against the Zelous, so betwene them they appointed garrisons in euery place; and if by chance they combatted together, they did little or nothing hurt one another, but their chief contention was who should bear most sway amongst the people: and they did strue on both parts who should haue the greatest part of the spoile. Thus the Citie at one time was vexed with three intolerable mischiefs and euils, to wit, warre, tyrannie, and sedition: and yet warre seemed a lesse euill then the rest vnto the communitie. In brieffe, many leauing their native soyle, fled vnto straungers for succour, and found amongst the Romans safety, who with their owne nation liued in continuall danger. There was also then begun the fourth euill, which wrought the ruine of the whole nation. Not farre from the Citie there was a Castle called *Massada*, builded by the auncient kings of *Ierusalem*, very strong to lay their treasure in, and their munition for warre, and to retire themselves thereunto in time of neede, for the safety of their persons. This Castle was taken and kept by that sort of theues that were called *Sicarii*, who for feare durst robbe no more. These theues seeing the Roman armie now idle, and the Iewes in *Ierusalem* at ciuill warres and sedition amongst themselves, they tooke courage, and againe fell to their villanies. And so vpon that day which is the feast of vnleavened bread (which the Iewes doe keepe holy, in memorie of their deliuerance out of the Egyptian captiuitie) deceiuing the watchmen, they seized vpon a Fort, called *Engaddi*: and before the townes-men could arme and vnite themselves together, they were by these persons driuen out of the town, who also killed them that could not flee, to wit, women and children, to the number of more then seuen hundred; and so sacking the houses, and taking the fruits that were now ripe, they carried all vnto *Massada*: and so they wasted all the villages and whole countrey round about them, many wicked persons daily flocking vnto them and ioining with them: and by their example other theues that awhile had been quiet, now robbed againe, and spoiled in euery part of *Iudaea*. And as in a body, if the principall member thereof bee sicke, all other parts of it are afflicted: so *Ierusalem* being filled with tumults and discord, those that were without the Citie found licence to robbe and spoile: and all they that had their rownes destroyed where they were wont to inhabite, went into the wilderness. Then they assembling and vniting themselves together, not so many as an armie, yet more then a companie of theues, they brake into the townes and temples; and as in warre it cometh to passe, they purposed to assault them, by whom they had suffered such iniury: but they were preuented, for the theues vnderstanding of their comming, fled with the spoile they had gotten. And there was no part of *Iudaea* that did not perish together with *Ierusalem* their mother citie. Those that fled vnto the Romans certified *Vespasian* hereof: for although the seditious persons did keep & obserue all passages, and kill them that offered to flee, yet many secretly stole away from them, and sought *Vespasian* both to helpe the oppressed citie, & to take compassion vpon the reliques of their nation: affirming that many had been butchered for wishing well to the Romans, and many being yet aliue, were yet in great danger. And *Vespasian* moued to compassionate their calamities

Johns pride and ambition.

The greater part of the contrarie faction fall from *John*.

The tempest of three miseries assailed *Ierusalem* at once.

Of those desperate rebels that kept the Castle of *Massada*.

Slaughter and desolation throw Iury. A similitude.

The fugitives beseech *Vespasian* to assist the Citie and rescue the rest of the people.

Sff

came

The yeere of the world, 4032, after Christs birth, 70.

came with his army neerer Ierusalem, as though he would haue besieged it: but indeed his intent was to deliuer it from the siege, hoping in the meane time to conquer that part of the countrie that was yet vntoucht, and so to leaue nothing to hinder him when hee should beginne the siege. Wherefore comming vnto Gadara, the strongest place and mother Citie of all the countrie beyond the riuer, he entered into it the fourth day of March: for the chiefe of the citie, vnknewne vnto the seditious people, had sent Embassadors to him, partly desiring peace, partly to saue their goods and liues, and promised him to yeld the towne into his hands: for there were many rich men dwelling in Gadara: and their enemy knew not of their Ambassage, till they saw *Vespasian* at the citie gates. And so despairing that they were able to keep the citie, by reason they had in the towne many enemies, more in number and stronger then themselves; and moreover seeing *Vespasian* euen now almost at the citie: and thinking it a shame to fly and not be reuenged of their enemies; they tooke *Dolus* (who was both a noble man and chiefe of the citie, and also the author of that Ambassage) and killed him, and for anger beating him after he was dead, they fled out of the Citie. Now the Romans army approching neere vnto the citie, the people of Gadara went forth and receiued *Vespasian* ioifully; who also confirmed a league betwixt them and him, and left them a company of horse and footemen to defend them against the incursions of the fugitiues their enemies: for they themselves before the Romanes requested it destroyed the citie wals, that so they might shew themselves to desire peace, in that destroying their wals if after they desired to rebell they could not.

The Gadarens entertain *Vespasian* with ioy and acclamations.

Placidus consiſt with the fugitiues.

Placidus taketh and burneth Bethenabris.

Placidus victory over the fugitiues.

Vespasian then sent *Placidus* with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footemen to pursue those, that were fled out of Gadara, and he with the rest of his armie returned to Caesarea. But the fugitiues perceiuing themselves to bee pursued by *Placidus*, before hee could ouertake them, got into a towne called Bethenabris: and finding there many young men, partly for that they were willing, partly by force they compelled them to arme themselves, and so rashly they came against *Placidus*. *Placidus* and his army seemed a little to giue backe, to the intent to drawe them further from the wall: and then hauing compassed them about in a fit place, they wounded them afar off with darts and arrowes. Then the Iewes seeking to flie, were prevented by the horsemen: and they who offered to fight, were by the Roman footemen all put to the sword, neuer shewing any signe of valour. For the Iewes assaulting the Romans being all inuironed and quite couered with their shields as with a wall, & not being able to breake into their battell, they were slain by the Romans darts: but their darts could do the Romans no harme, and so like fierce and savage beasts they wilfully ran vpon their enemies sword, and so were slaine, some hauing all their face cut with swords, some killed by the horsemen. For *Placidus* was carefull to intercept their passage vnto the towne, and to hinder their recourse vnto it, and brought those back againe that fled towards it, vsing his darts, and killing those that were next him; and those who fled afar off for feare, he caused to returne; till at last the strongest amongst them brake away, and got vnto the towne wals: And those that were within the citie knew not what to doe, for they would not shut the fugitiues of Gadara out of the citie, because they desired to let their owne Citizens in; and againe they perceived that if they let them in, they thereby should worke the overthrow of the citie, as it fell out indeed they did. For the gates being set open for them to come in, the Roman horsemen almost brake into the towne with them, yet the gates were shut before they could get in. Then *Placidus* with all his souldiers assaulted the towne, and fighting a sore fight which continued euen vntill the Euening, at last he got the wals, and the towne, & slew the weaker sort: for the stronger fled: so the souldiers sacked the houses and then fired the towne. They who escaped thence incited the whole countrie to flie with them, reporting their calamities with the most and affirming that all the Roman armie was at hand: and so they put all the inhabitants there in great feare; and hauing assembled a great multitude, they fled vnto Iericho, which place they put their confidence in, for that it was strong and populous. *Placidus* hauing horsemen, and being encouraged with his former victory pursued them vnto Iordan, and whom so euer he ouertooke he slew, and at the riuer he fought with all the multitude there gathered together; and slaying, because that the riuer being waxed deeper by abundance of raine, that had lately fallen, they could not passe ouer it.

Wherefore necessity forced them to fight because they could not fly: and placing themselves along the banks of the riuer, they there receiued the horsemen, and warded their darts; yet manie for feare fell into the riuer; so the Romanes slew there thirteene thousand, and the rest not able to resist, cast themselves into the riuer; which were an infinite number: also the Romanes took two thousand and two hundred men aliue, and a huge boorie of Sheepe, Assees, Camels, and

The yeere of the world, 4032, after Christs birth, 70. *Placidus* maketh vie of his good fortune against the Iewes.

A and oxen. This massacre though it was no greater then the former, yet it seemed to the Iewes far greater, because that many all ouer the country flying were killed, and Iordan was so filled with dead carcasses, that none could passe ouer it: & also the lake Asphaltites was full of dead bodies, brought thither out of diuers riuers. *Placidus* hauing so good successe, went into the townes and villages adjoining, and tooke Abila, Iulias, Besemoth, and all the townes euen vnto the lake Asphaltites, and placed in them garrisons of them that fled vnto him: & afterward preparing ships and furnishing them with soldiers, he pursued them that were fled by water, & ouercame them: and so all the country beyond Iordan yelded vnto the Romanes, and euen vnto Machæron all places were by them conquered.

B

CHAP. IIII.

How certaine townes were taken, and the description of Iericho.



T this time came newes of the troubles in Gallia, & how that *Vindex* together with the nobilitie of that country had revolted from *Nero*, whereof we haue made mention in another place. This newes caused *Vespasian* to be more earnest to end the warres of the Iewes: for euen then hee foresaw the ciuill warres that ensued, and the danger of the whole Empire: and he thought that if he could before the beginning of those troubles end the warres in the East part of the world, that then Italy was not in so much danger. But winter hindring him, he in the meane time placed garrisons in all townes and villages about the whole country, and placed decurions in euery citie, and repaired many places which he had before destroyed. And first of all he with his whole army that was at Caesarea, went to Antipatris; and there hauing settled the estate of that citie, after his abode there two daies, the third day he departed, spoiling and burning all the country: as also all the country about Thamnias the Toparchy, and so went into Lydda and Iamnia. But seeing that those two places submitted themselves vnto him, leauing there such inhabitants as he thought good, he went thence vnto Ammaus, and placing himselfe in the way to their Metropolitan Citie hee there entrenched his army, & the leauing the fifth legion there, he with the rest went into the Toparchy of Bethlepton, firing it and all places thereabout; as also the borders of Idumæa: but he reserved there certaine Castles in fit places, and fortified them. And hauing taken two townes in the midst of Idumæa, to wit, Begabri and Caphartopha, he slew there about tenne thousand men, and tooke almost a thousand; and driuing out the rest of the inhabitants, hee left a great part of his armie there, who made incursions and wasted all the high places thereabout: and hee with the rest returned to Iamnia, and from thence by Samaria and Neapolis, called by the inhabitants Mabortha, the second day of Iune hee came into Corea: and pitching his tents there, the next day hee came to Iericho, where one of his capitaines named *Traian* met him with the soldiers he brought from beyond Iordan, which place hee had conquered. But the multitude before the Romanes came, fled from Iericho into the high country ouer against Ierusalem, and many that staid behinde were there slain. So he found the citie desolate, being situate in a Plaine vnder a great mountaine that is barren, which is of a huge length: for it reacheth on the North side vnto the borders of Scythopolis, and on the South vnto the borders of Sodome and the lake of Asphaltites. It is all rockie and not inhabited, because it beareth no fruit. Over against this neere Iordan is situate a huge mountaine, beginning on the North side at Iulias, and reaching vnto Bacra on the South, which is the limits of Petra a citie of Arabia. In this place is that that is called the mountaine of Iron, reaching vnto the country of the Moabites.

Troubles in France.

Vespasian visiteth all Iudea.

Vespasian cometh to Iericho.

The great field

Two lakes Asphaltite and the Tiberian lake.

A large fountain neere Iericho.

The country betwene these two mountaines is called the great field, reaching from the village Gennabara vnto the lake Asphaltites, being in length two hundred and thirty furlongs, and in breadth a hundred and twenty, and in the midst it is diuided by the riuer Iordan. There are also two lakes of contrary natures, Asphaltites and Tiberias; for one of them is salt and barren, but that of Tiberias sweet and fertile. This Plaine in sommer time is burned with the heat of the sun, and the aire is infected in all places thereabouts, suue onely about those which adioine to Iordan: and this is the cause that the palme trees that grow about the riuer side doe flourish most, and are more fertile then the rest. Neere vnto Iericho there is a large great fountain, which plentifully watereth the fields thereabout, & runneth with a great stream out of the ground neere vnto the old citie: which *Iosue* the sonne of *Nun* generall of the Hebrews tooke by war, the first of all that hee tooke in the land of Canaan: It is reported that in the beginning the waters of this

The yeere of the world, 4032. After Christs Nativity, 70. A miracle wrought by Helizæus.

Fruitfull and pleasant gardens about Iericho.

The cause why the ground about Iericho is fruitfull.

The ayre temperate and warme.

An admirable propertie of the Asphaltite lake.

The land of Sodome is near vnto the lake Asphaltite.

fountain did destroy all fruits of the earth, and also made women be deliuered before their time; and to infect all places with diseases, and the plague; and afterward by *Helizæus* the successor of *Helias* was made sweet and fertile. Who, being once courteously entertained by the inhabitants of Iericho, did so reward them and all the country for that their kindnes: and going vnto the fountain he cast a pitcher full of salt into the water; and hard by lifting vp his hands to heauen, and tempering with the fountaine water certain sweet waters, he praised God to qualifie the rage thereof, to make it flow with more sweet streames: and besought God to giue a better aire vnto the fountaine, which both might cause plenty of fruits and also of children vnto the inhabitants: and that the water might haue the vertue to make women fertile, so long as they persist in pietie. After these priers, with his hands he altered the fountaine according to the knowledge he had: and from that time this fountaine which before was the cause of famine and sterilitie, was now the cause of plenty & fertilitie. And it so watereth the ground, that where a little of it commeth, it doth more good then all the other waters which lie long vpon it: and so they that water their grounds but a little with it receiue much fruits; and they that water their grounds with it much, doe not receiue them in that measure: yet it watereth a greater compasse of ground then other fountaines: and in length it runneth thorow a Plaine seuentie furlongs long, and twenty broad. There are most pleasant & goodly Orchards, and many sorts of palme trees growing by brooks sides, which are diuers in the taste of their fruits; the fattest whercof being pressed, doeyelde a iucelike hony, nothing inferiour to other hony: yet there is great store of hony in that country, and the iuice of balme, which is more precious then all fruits growing. There grow also Cypres trees and myrobalans: so that one may iustly call that part of the earth diuine, where what fruit soeuer is most deere and precious is in most abundance. Also in all other fruits it surpasseth all countries in the world: for it multiplieth and increaseth all things sooner there. The cause hereof I iudge to be the pleasant waters and warme nourishing aire, which as it were inuitereth all things to spring vp, and then encreaseth them: and the moisture causeth all things to take firme roote; and also defendeth them from drought in sommer time, when that country is vexed with such intolerable heates, that all things are as it were scorched, so that nothing then will grow; yet if they be watered with water drawn before sunne rise, by the blowing of a milde and temperate winde they are refreshed, and it receiues a contrary nature: in winter time it is as it were lukewarme and temperate to them that goe into it. The aire of that place is so temperate, that when it sheweth in other parts of Iudæa, and is extreame cold, the inhabitants in this place doe onely weare a linnen garment. This country is distant from Ierusalem a hundredth and fifty furlongs, and threescore from Iordan, and all the ground betweene it and Ierusalem is desert and stonie and so likewise between it and Iordan and Asphaltites, though it be lower ground then the other. Thus we haue sufficiently declared the fertilitie of Iericho.

CHAP. V.

The description of the lake Asphaltites.

IT is worth the labour to describe the lake Asphaltites, which is salt & sterile; yet what soeuer is cast into it how weighty soeuer it bee, it swimmerh about the water: so that one though he would vpon purpose, cannot scarcely sinke vnto the bottome. *Vespasian* comming thither to see it, caused some to be raken who could not swim, & their hands to be bound behind them, and cast into the midst thereof, and all of them did swim aloft, being as it were borne vp by the power of some spirit. Moreouer it is admirable, how this lake thrice in euery day changeth colour, and shineth diuersly, according as the beames of the sunne doe sundry waies fall vpon it. And in many places it casteth vp pieces of blacke bitumen, in greatnes and shap like a bull without a head, and these floate about the water. They that get their liuing vpon this water, finding this bitumen that is thus gathered together, draw it to their boates, and it is so tough and clammy, that hauing filled their boates herewith, it is not easie for them to get them away, but their boate is as it were fastned: so it hangeth vpon the rest of that masse of bituminous matter, till it bee separated from it by the termes or vrine of a woman. This bituminous matter is good for to close the rifts of shippes, and also to cure many diseases. This lake is five hundredth and eightie furlongs long, being extended vnto Zoar which is in Arabia, and it is a hundredth and fiftie furlongs broad. Neere vnto this lake is the land of Sodome and Gomorrah, sometime both fertile and rich: now all burnt, being (as it is reported) for the impiety of the inhabitants

The yeere of the world, 4032. After Christs birth, 70. Tertul. in Apoc. legat. cap. 20.

A inhabitants consumed with lightning & thunder. To be short, one may here behold as it were the signe and reliques of that fire, that by Gods appointment destroyed the place: for one may yet see as it were the fashion & tokens of five cities, and trees & fruits springing vp in the ashes: which fruit to the eye seemeth like vnto other fruits; but if you handle the they fall into ashes & smoake. And so the report of the land of Sodome is knownen to be true to them that behold it.

CHAP. VI.

How *Gerasa* was destroyed: of *Neros* death, and of *Galba* and *Otho*.

V*espasian* desirous to besiege Ierusalem on euery side, builded castles at Iericho and Adida, and left there both the soldiers that came to assist him, and also Romans with them. And he sent *L. Annius* to *Gerasa*, giuing him many footemen, and part of his horsemenn; who at the first assault tooke the citie, and slew a thousand yong men, who thought to haue fled, & lead whole families captiue giuing the soldiers the spoile of their goods: and to firing their houses, he went to other places adjoining. They who were able fled, and the weaker sort who could not fly were slaine; and whatsoeuer came in their way they consumed it with fire. Thus all places both mountaines and Plaines being wasted and oppressed with warres, the inhabitants liuing at Ierusalem had not whither to goe, when they desired to fly from the Zealous by whome they were kept in. And they who were against the Romanes, were kept in themselves, the citie being on euery side inclosed and compassed with the armie.

After that *Vespasian* was returned vnto *Cæsarea*, and with all his armie purposing to go to Ierusalem, newes was brought him that *Nero* was slaine, hauing reigned thirteene yeeres and eight daies. Touching whom I will not recount how he did dishonour the Empire, committing the whole sway of all the commonwealth vnto two most wicked men, to wit *Nymphidius* and *Tigellinus*, and of least worth amongst all the Libertines: and how hee being taken by the treachery of these two men, was forsaken of all his Senators; and so fled onely with foure trustie Libertines into the suburbs and there killed himselfe: and how that long time after, they that deposed him were punished for that offence: and how the warres ended in Gallia, and that *Galba* being created Emperour, returned to Rome out of Spaine: and how hee was accused by the souldiers, and by them killed in the market place, as one of base condition: and how *Otho* was declared Emperour, and led his souldiers against *Vitellius* his armie: also *Vitellius* his broiles and his fight before the Capitoll: and how *Antonius Primus*, and *Mutianus* slewe *Vitellius*, and so appealed the Germane troupes and ciuill warres: Of all these I haue refused to speake, because I hope that both the Greekes and Romans haue written these things at large, yet I haue briefly recapitulated all to continue my Historie.

After *Vespasian* heard these newes of *Nero*, he deferred the siege of Ierusalem, expecting what should be created Emperour after him. And when he was certified that *Galba* reigned, he determined to doe nothing; but lie quiet till such time as he also should write vnto him his mind, whether he would haue him proceed in those warres against the Iewes. And he sent vnto him his son *Titus* both to salute him, and also to know his pleasure concerning the Iewes. Likewise King *Agrippa* went with *Titus* for the same cause vnto *Galba*. But as they were passing by Achaia with long ships in winter time, as the custome is, newes was brought that *Galba* was slaine, hauing reigned leuen moneths and seuen daies. After whom succeeded *Otho*, who gouerned the Empire three moneths. *Agrippa* not terrified with this alteration, still kept on his journey to Rome. But *Titus* (as God would haue it) returned from Achaia vnto Syria, and so to *Cæsarea* vnto his father. They both were as it were in suspence what would ensue, and who should be Emperour, the Empire being so full of troubles: and so they neglected the warres against the Iewes, fearing their owne country, and therefore thinking it an vnfit time to assault strangers.

IN all this the war at Ierusalem was increased. For there was one *Simon* the sonne of *Giara* borne in Gerasa, yong in yeeres, and inferiour to *Iohn*, who now already had gotten the dominion ouer the citie; yet was he in strength & boldnes more excellent then *Iohn*. This *Simon* being for this cause also driuen out of the countrey of Acrabarena, where he was gouernour by the meanes of *Ananus* the high priest, he came to the theues that seized vpon *Massada*. This *Simon* at his first comming, was so suspected to the theues, that they only permitted him and the women that came with him to dwell in the lower part of the castle, and they themselves kept the higher part: yet afterwards his maners and behaviour were such, that they put confidence in him: for he was their capitaine alwaies when they went to spoile, and rob any part of the countrey about *Massada*. So hee feared not to perswade them to attempt greater matters: for being desirous of rule. after hee heard that *Ananus* was dead, hee departed into the high places of the countrey, and with the voice of a crier proclaimed, that all bondslaves that would follow him should haue their liberty, and all other should be richly rewarded; and so he gathered together all the wicked and desperate people in the countrey. And hauing now a large armie, he robbed and spoiled all the townes and villages thereabout; and his number daily encreasing, he also now presumed to come into the plaine countries: so that now cities stood in awe of him, and many potentates now feared him for his strength and prosperous successe. And his army did not onely consist in theues and slaues, but now many people of the countrey came vnto him, reuerencing him as their Prince and king. So they made excursions into the Toparchie of Acrabarena, and into the greater Idumæa. For hee had fortified a towne called *Nain* walled about, which he vted for his defence like a castle. And in the valley called *Pharan* he made many caues, and found many already made, and in these caues he kept his treasure, and the booties he got: also all fruits of the earth that he robbed and stole, there he laid vp in store; as also munition for diuers companies. And now no man doubted, but that being thus furnished with men and munition, he would go to Ierusalem. The Zealous fearing this, and desirous to preuent him whom they every day did see encrease his number, and to grow more potent against them: they armed many of their company, and went out to meet him. *Simon* was not daunted at this, but boldly incountried them, and gaue them so sharpe a battaile, that he slew many of them in fight; and forced the rest to retire themselves into the towne: yet hauing men sufficient hee would not besiege the towne; but first of all he purposed to subdue Idumæa, & so accompanied with twenty thousand armed men, he hasted towards the borders thereof.

The princes of Idumæa understanding this, presently assembled fise and twenty thousand armed men: and leauing at home sufficient garrisons to defend their countrey against the incursion of the Sicarii, which held the fortreffe of *Massada*, they accompanied with this train, went out & expected *Simons* comming into the borders of their countrey, where hauing met him they joined battel, and fought a whole day, yet neither party got the victory. Then *Simon* returned to *Nain*, and the Idumæans home. Not long after *Simon* with a greater army then before, assaulted the borders of their countrey, and pitching his tents in a village called *Thecue*, hee sent one of his companions named *Elezar*, to them that kept the castle *Herodium* not farre from that place, to sollicite them to yeelde it vnto him. The garrison there presently receiued him into the castle not knowing the cause of his comming. But so soone as he began to perswade them to treason, they all pursued him with their drawne swords, and he not hauing any place to flie vnto, cast himselfe from off the castle wall into the valley vnderneath, and so presently he died. The Idumæans something fearing *Simons* forces, before they would offer him battell, thought it best to espy what number of men he had: to effect which busines one *Jacob* a ruler amongst them offered himselfe, meaning indeed to betray his country to *Simon*. So departing frō *Olurus* where the Idumæans forces were assembled, he went vnto *Simon*, & first of all promised him to betray his country vnto him, receiuing of him an oath, that for reward of this deed hee should alwaies be next in dignitie vnto *Simon* himselfe, and so hee presently promised to helpe to subdue all Idumæa. For this cause he was welcom to *Simon* and feasted liberally, and had great promises if he performed that which hee offered: and then returned vnto the Idumæans, and fained that *Simons* army was far greater then indeede it was. And so at last terrifying the gouernours of his countrey, and the people, he by little and little perswaded them to receiue *Simon*, & without any more fight yeeld vnto

Simon of Gerasa resorteth to the theues

Simon assembled all robbers in the mountainous places.

The fight betwene Simon & the Zealous

Elezar Simons fellow casteth himselfe headlong into the trench and presently dieth. James of Idumæa the betrayer of his country.

A vnto him the whole souerainty ouer them. *Jacob* studying to bring this his purpose to passe, prouident messengers to *Simon*, willing him to come with his forces, and promising him to subdue the Idumæans for him, which also he did. For when the army of *Simon* drew neere, hee first of all got vpon his horse, and together with his associates that were partakers of his treason, he fled vnto the enemy. Then feare fell vpon the Idumæans, and euery one without any more adoe departed home. Thus *Simon* against his owne expectation, entered Idumæa without bloodshed: and first of all assaulting a little village called *Chebron*, vpon a suddaine he tooke it, and in it an exceeding great bootie, a great quantitie of corne, and many fruites, which all he caried away. The inhabitants report, that this *Chebron* is not onely more ancient then all cities of that land, but also then *Memphis* in Egypt: for they affirme it to haue been built two thousand and three hundredth yeeres since. They also say that this was the place where *Abraham* the father of the Iewes dwelt, after hee forsooke *Meopotamia*, and that his posteritie departed from hence to Egypt. And of this there are yet monuments in the citie, richly wrought in fine Marble. Sixe furlongs from the town there is an exceeding great Turpentine tree, which they affirme to haue endured euery since the creation of the world vntill this day.

Simon hauing obtained this place, from hence he inuaded all Idumæa, and not onely robbed and spoiled all townes and cities thereof, but also hee wasted and destroyed many territories: for besides his armie, there followed him fortie thousand; so that hee could not find victuals sufficient for such a multitude. Moreouer, besides this calamitie that he brought vpon Idumæa, he excited great crueltie and outrage vpon the countrey, and so caused a greater spoile therein. And like as after locusts the trees and woods where they haue been, are left without leaues: so where soeuer *Simon* had been, all the country from whence he came he left desolate. And either by fire, or ouerthrowing it by ruinating places where he came, or else by treading vpon it with the feete of his armie, or by deuouring such as they found, they left nothing standing nor growing either in field or towne: & onely by passing through fertile places, he made the fields harder then barren ground; and left no signe in places which he had destroyed, that euery they had been tilled.

Hereat the Zealous were againe moued, yet durst they not fight with him in open field: but placing ambashes in the way he was to passe, they tooke *Simons* wife, and many of her seruants, and so came againe into the citie, reioycing as though they had taken *Simon* himselfe. For they perswaded themselves, that *Simon* would presently laying armes apart, come in humble wife and intreat them to restore vnto him his wife. But *Simon* was not moued with compassion for the losse of his wife, but with furie: and comming to the wals of Ierusalem like a cruell beast that had been wounded, and could not come to them that hurt him, he killed and slew all he met. And taking them that went out of the citie to gather herbs and wood, he caused them to be whipped to death, whether they were young or old: and this crueltie seemed onely wanting in him, that he did not cate the flesh of the dead bodies. Also hee tooke many and cut off their hands, and so sent them into the citie, thereby to terrifie his enemies, and to recall the people from the Zealous: and bad them tell the citizens, that except they presently restored his wife vnto him, that he swore by God who gouerned all, that he would breake downe their wals, and vse all that hee found in the citie after that fashion, and that hee would spare no age, nor respect the innocent more then the guiltie. These his threats did not onely terrifie the people, but also the Zealous, in so much that they sent him his wife againe, & so his anger beeing somewhat asswaged, hee ceased awhile from daily slaughter.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Galba, Orho, Vitellius and Vespasian.

NOt onely in Iudæa, but also in Italy at this time were ciuill wars: for *Galba* was slain in the midst of the winter; after whom *Orho* was created Emperour, and fought against *Vitellius*, who affected the Empire, whom the Germane legions had elected: So the battell being fought neere vnto *Bebrias*, a towne in Gallia Cispina, the first day *Orho* got the victorie against *Valens*, & *Cacina*, the generals of *Vitellius* his armie. But the day following they ouercame *Orho*: & so many being slain on both parts, & newes being brought that *Vitellius* his army had gotten the victorie, *Orho* beeing at *Brixels* slew himselfe, when hee had ruled the Empire three moneths & two daies. Then *Orhoes* souldiers came vnto *Vitellius* his capitaines, and ioyned with them, & so *Vitellius* came to Rome with his armie. In the meane time *Vespasian* the first day of Iune departed from *Cæsarea*, and went vnto those parts of Iudæa, which were yet vnto conquered:

The year of the world, 4033, after Christs birth, 71.

Simon beyond all expectation entered Idumæa without bloodshed.

Heere an ancient citie where Abraham his house was.

A Turpentine tree, that hath continued since the creation of the world.

Simon spoiled all Idumæa.

The Zealous take Simons wife.

Simons inhumane and crueltie.

The Zealous send backe Simons wife.

Sedition throughout the whole Roman Empire.

Vespasian once more inuaded Iudæa.

The year of the world, 4033, after Christs birth 71. Capharis subdues to Cerealis.

Cerealis burneth the ancient Citie of Hebron.

The Zealous fill the whole Citie with iniquitie.

The way of flight was quite cut off. A great discord betweene the Zealous & the Idumæans.

The flight of the Zealous with the Idumæans into the Temple.

Simon entereth the citie with a great armie.

conquered: and first of all he went into the high countries, & subdued the two Toparchies of A-G
crabatenā and Gophnitis, and after them two townes called Bethel and Ephrem, & placed garri-
sons in them, and so went vnto Ierusalem, killing many that hee found in the way, and hee tooke
many captiues. And one of his captaines called *Cerealis*, with a part of his horse & footmen, wa-
sted all the higher Idumæa, and in the way as he went he tooke Caphetra a castle, and burnt it, &
besieged another called Capharis, enclosed with a strong wall: for the which cause hee deemed
that he should haue made long abode there: but contrarie to his expectation, the inhabitants o-
pened the gates vnto him, and came and yeelded themselves, beseeching him to bee good vnto
them. When he had ouercome them, *Cerealis* went vnto Hebron an ancient citie, and lett it on
fire: this Hebron as I haue already said, was situated vpon the mountaines, not farre from Ieru-
salem: and breaking into it by force, he slew all them that he found there, and fired the citie. And
hauing subdued all places, saue onely three castles, to wit, Herodium, Massada, and Macheron,
which were kept by the thieues, now onely Ierusalem remained to be conquered.

CHAP. IX.

Of Simons acts against the Zelous.

When *Simon* had receiued againe his wife from the Zelous, hee went into Idumæa, to rob
and spoile that which he had left: and chasing the inhabitants vp and down, at last he for-
ced them to flie vnto Ierusalem, & he himselfe followed them thither; and besieging the
wals, he killed all the workmen he took, that returned out of the fields from their labor. Thus *Si-
mon* without the citie, was more terrible to the people then the Romans; and the Zelous within
the citie crueller then them both, being encouraged and incited thereto by the counsell of the Ga-
lileans. For they had put *John* in authoritie: and *John* in reward thereof permitted all things to
be done which they requested. There was no end of robbing and spoiling rich mens houses, and
of slaughtering both of men and women; and now to iniure any person was a pastime. And ha-
uing with bloudshed obtained their prey in securitie, and without all feare after they had gotten
what they liked, they now beganne to lust after women: yea, they became themselves effeminate
thorow luxuriousnesse, dressing their haire and clothing themselves in womens apparell; and
they annoiued themselves with sweete oynments, that their beauty might be pleasing, and al-
luring; their eyes wanton-like, they now did not onely imitate the attire of women, but also
their impudencie, & became so shamelesse, that they now thirsted after vnnatural pleasures,
as though they had kept a stewes, and so profaned the whole citie with their execrable impurities.
Yet though they did effeminate their faces, their hands were prone to bloudshed; and although
they liued in ignominious manner, as people giuen ouer to pleasure, yet could they quickly become
warriours, & vnder the habits of women drawing their swords, they did kill whomsoever they
met. Whosoever escaped *Johns* hands, *Simon* crueller, murdered; & whosoever escaped the ty-
rannie within the citie, was slain by the tyrant without. So now there was no way to flie vnto the
Romans. Furthermore, the armie of *John* beganne to be diuided, for all the Idumæans separated
themselves from the other people, and there began a mutinie against the tyrant, partly enuying
his puissance, partly hating his crueltye. And so assaulting him, they slew many of the Zelous, &
compelled the rest to flie into the Kings house, builded by *Graptā*, father of *Izata*, king of Adia-
bena. The Idumæans also brake in thither with them, & draue them from thence into the Tem-
ple, and so seized vpon *Johns* treasure: for *John* liued in that palace, & thither caried all his spoiles.
Then those Zelous that were disperſed in the citie, came vnto them that were in the temple, and
John purposed to send the against the townesmen, & the Idumæans. But they feared not so much
their forces, although they knew them to be the better warriors, as they did fear that now being
desperate, they would steale out of the Temple in the night, and so sleigh them, and fire the citie.
Wherefore, assembling themselves, they deliberated with the priests how to auoid their assaults:
but it pleased God to turne their owne counsel to be their destruction, and that they should pro-
uide a remedy of safety, far worse then death it selfe. For to depose *John*, they deuised to introduce
Simon, & as it were to intreat yet another to tyrannize ouer them. So this counsell was thought
best, & *Matthias* the priest, was sent vnto *Simon* (who before they stood in great fear of) now to
request him to come into the citie. With the also came such as had fled from Ierusalem, for feare
of the Zelous, intreating him in like manner, because they desired to return to their wiues & fami-
lies. So hee entered into the citie proudly, promising them to be their Lord, and all the people
cried with loud voices as hee came into the Citie, that hee was their preseruer, and giuer of life
and

OF THE IEWES. THE V. BOOKE.

A and libertie. Beeing now within the citie, presently hee deliberated with them about him to esta-
blish his dominion, thinking as well them that called him into the citie, as those against whom he
was called, his enemies. Then *John* and the Zelous with him, finding no way to come out of the
temple, and hauing lost all that he had in the citie (for *Simon* & his followers at his entrance took
all that belonged vnto him) beganne now to despair of his safety. And *Simon* being assited by
the Citizens, assaulted the temple, and the Zelous placing themselves vpon the porches, and in
towers of defence, made resistance, and hurt many of *Simons* followers. For the Zelous were vp-
on the higher ground on the right hand, and so had the vantage against *Simon*. And although by
reason of the place wherein they were, they preuailed against *Simon*; yet they builded 4 high
towers, that from thence they might shoot darts and arrowes against *Simons* army. One of these
B towers they built vpon the East side of the temple; another on the north; the third vpon a place
opposite to the lower part of the towne; & the fourth tower they builded vpon the toppes of the
place called *Pastophoriū*, where one of the priests doe vse to stand before the sun set, & at break
of day, to signifie vnto the people with the sound of the trumpet the beginning of the Sabbath,
declaring thereby vnto them, sometime holy daies, and afterward that they might goe about their
business. In these towers they placed all kind of engines to cast stones, & men with slings. Then
Simon perceiuing many of his souldiers languish, was more remisse in his business: yet when his
number increased, he came neerer: for a far off many of his men were slain with the shot of those
engines.

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The year of the world, 4035, after Christs birth, 74.
Simon assaulteth the temple wherein the Zelous kept.

The office of the priests, to signifie the beginning of the seauenth day by the sound of a trumpet.

CHAP. X.

How Vespasian was elected Emperour.

A T this time the Romans were in great danger: for *Vitellius* was now arrived out of Ger-
manie with his armie, bringing beside them an infinite multitude with him; so that his
armie was so great, that the place appointed for souldiers could not containe it: in so much
that his armie occupied all the whole citie, and euery house was filled with armed men. And they
beholding the Romans wealth greater then euer they saw any, and admiring their abundance of
gold and siluer, not able to containe themselves, they began to robbe and kill whomsoever that
fought to withstand them. And this was the estate of the affaires in Italy. *Vespasian* hauing wasted
all about Ierusalem, returned vnto Cæsarea, and there he vnderstood of the troubles at Rome, &
D how *Vitellius* was Emperour. Heereat, though he knew as well to obey as to be obeyed, yet was
he moued to indignation, and disdained to call him Lord, who had as it were invaded and vsur-
ped the Empire, being destitute of a Ruler. And much grieued hereat, he could not conceale his
griefe, nor follow warres against strangers, his owne country being so endangered. But the dis-
tance betweene him and Rome did as much repress him, as anger incited him to seek revenge:
for he considered that Fortune might cause many alterations before he could get to Rome, espe-
cially it being winter: and so he sought to bridle his wrath which daily increased. But his Cap-
taines with the souldiers did now openly consult of a change, and with indignation did exclaime
against the souldiers at Rome, who liued in pleasure, & neuer heard so much as the report of war, espe-
cially if they did now omit this occasion?
E and vnder hope of gaine, they disposed of the common-wealth at their owne pleasure: where
they on the contrary side, hauing ouerpast so many labors and dangers, still continuing in armes
till now, waxed old and gray-headed, and did suffer authoritie due vnto themselves, to be execu-
ted by others; when notwithstanding they had amongst them one who deserved the Empire,
more then any one; and what recompence could they euer after make him? or what occasion
could they find hereafter to shew themselves gratefull vnto him for the benefits by him receiued,
if they did now omit this occasion?

Vespasian knew both how to gouerne, and how to obey.

The capitaines consult with the souldiers openly of a change.

And they thought that *Vespasian* was so much more worthy of the Empire then *Vitellius*, by
how much they, who created *Vitellius* Emperour, were in very many respects much inferiour vn-
to them. For (said they) wee haue endured no lesse toile then those that came out of Germanie: *Vespa-
sian*
neither are we lesse valiant then they, who bring a Tyrant with them out of Germanie. And that
no body would resist *Vespasian*: for the Senate and the people of Rome would not rather endure
Vitellius his insatiable lust, then *Vespasians* chastitie and temperance; nor a cruell Tyrant, rather
then a good and courteous Emperour; nor the son should by them be elected Emperour before the
father. For true valor in an Emperour is a great defence of peace. Therefore if the Empire were due
to aged experience, they had *Vespasian*, if to valiant youth, they had amongst them *Titus*: & that
they might reap comodity by both their ages. And that they would not only assit him with the
forces

Vespasians chastitie and modestie.

The yeere of the world, 4033, after Christs Nativitie, 71. The causes that moued the people to elect Vespasian Emperour.

The souldiers elect Vespasian Emperour.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

forces of the Empire hauing there three legions, beside the help of the kings; but also all the East part of Europe was out of *Vitellius* his danger. Moreover, they had in Italy some that would assist *Vespasian*, to wit his brother & his son, whereof the one (they hoped) would get many young men to follow him, and the other was now made prefect of the Citie, which was no small steppe to attaine vnto the Empire. Lastly, it might so fall out, that the Senate would declare him Emperour, whom now the souldiers being as it were their conseruer, had neglected.

This was first talked amongst the companies of the souldiers: at last exhorting one another thereto, they came and saluted *Vespasian* by the name of Emperour, and requested him now to preferue the Empire, beeing in great danger to be lost. Albeit *Vespasian* had alwaies been carefull for the good of the common-wealth, yet he refused to be Emperour: deeming himselfe indeede to haue deserued it; yet he rather did chuse to liue a priuate life wherein was securitie, then in the height of fortune and honour with perpetuall danger. The captaines were more earnest because he refused it; and the souldiers flocked about him with drawne swords, threatening his death except he would consent to liue as he deserued: yet long time struiing to auert this their determination, beeing loth to be Emperour; at last, seeing he could not auoid it, he accepted their offer.

CHAP. XI

The description of Egypt and Pharos.



Vitianus and the rest of the captaines who had incited him to the Empire, together with the whole army, cried aloud, willing *Vespasian* to lead them against their common enemy. But *Vespasian* thought it best, first to settle the estate of Alexandria, knowing that Egypt for the supply of corne was the greatest and best part of the Empire: which if hee once were sure of, hee hoped that although *Vitellius* were stronger then he, yet he could bring him vnder perforce, because the people would not endure that for his sake the citie should be famished: which would haue come to passe, except they had supply of corne out of Egypt.

Moreover, he desired to ioine vnto himselfe those two legions that were at Alexandria. Hee also thought that that countrey might bee a defence and refuge for him, if any aduerser fortune should betide him: For the countrey is not easie to be entred by an army, and the sea coasts haue no hauens nor harbours for to receiue ships. On the West it bordereth vpon the dry and barren part of Lybia; on the South, vpon the frontiers which separateth Syene from Aethiopia, and the streames of Nilus not navigable; on the East it bordereth vpon the Red sea, which extendeth itselfe euen vnto the citie Copton; on the North it is defended with Syria, and the Egyptian sea, wherein there is no haven. Thus Egypt is strong on euery side, & reacheth in length 2000 furlongs from Pelusium vnto Syene: and from Plinthine vnto Pelusium they faile three thousand and sixe hundred furlongs. And Nilus is navigable euen vnto the towne Elephantine.

Further, by reason of the downfalls of Nilus, also the haven at Alexandria is dangerous to come vnto in time of peace: for the entrance into it is very straight; and beside that, the way goeth not directly on, but is made crooked by great stonie rocks, and the left side is compassed artificially, but on the right side is the Ile Pharos, hauing a tower vpon it exceeding great: so that the light in it is scene of the mariners three hundred furlongs off, that long before they come neere it they may prouide to bring their ships in with safetie.

This Ile is inclosed with most huge walls made by arte, against the which the sea beating, & so returning back again, maketh the entrance into the haven more dangerous. Yet this haven within is very safe, and thirtie furlongs long: so that whatsoeuer that countrey wanteth, it is brought them into that haven, and whatsoeuer aboundeth amongst them which other nations need, is carried from thence all ouer the whole world. So that *Vespasian* did not vnadvisedly seeke to establish the estate of Alexandria, and dispose thereof for his owne profit, being to begin his Empire. Wherefore presently hee sent letters to *Tiberius Alexander*, who was gouernour of Alexandria and Egypt, and told him of the souldiers resolution: and how that he seeing he could not auoid it, but that he was forced to take vpon him the Empire, that now he requested him to helpe him in what he could. *Alexander* receiuing *Vespasians* letters, agreed willingly thereto, and presently caused his army and the people also to sweare vnto *Vespasian*, which both of them did willingly, vnderstanding *Vespasians* verue by reason that he gouerned so neere them. And so he hauing now leaue, prepared all things to furnish himselfe like an Emperour, & to be receiued like a prince.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

How Vespasian deliuered Ioseph out of captiuitie.

It is incredible how quickly this newes was caried into all parts of the world, to wit, that *Vespasian* was declared Emperour in the East; and now all cities reioyced and made triumphs, and offered sacrifices for his fortunate successe. Moreover, the legions in Moesia and Panonia, who not long before were reuolted from *Vitellius* by reason of his crueltie, did now willingly sweare obedience to *Vespasian*. *Vespasian* returned by Berytum to Caesarea: where many Embassadors came vnto him, bringing him crownes, & applauding & reioicing at his good fortune, who came out of Syria, and all other places thereabout. There was also present *Mutianus*, gouernour of those parts, who brought tidings how ioyfully all the people receiued him for their Emperour, and how that they had all sworn obedience vnto him. So all things falling out prosperously on *Vespasians* side, and fortune for the most part enclining as he desired, he began to thinke with himselfe that it was Gods prouidence that he was made Emperour, & that a iust destinie had brought him to that estate. And so he called to mind all tokens and signes (as there had hapned many, which did foretell that he should be Emperour) and amongst the rest, hee remembered that which *Ioseph* had told him; who, *Nero* being yet aliue, presumed to call him Emperour, and so hee admired the man whom as yet hee kept in hold. And calling *Mutianus* and the rest of his friends together, first of all hee told them how valiant *Ioseph* had been, and what ado hee had to win Iotapata onely because of him; & then his prophecies, which at that time hee esteemed onely fables, fained vpon fear; yet now time & euent had proued them true. Affirming it an vndecent thing, that he who had bin the foreteller of his exaltation, and had bin a messenger vnto him from God, should still continue in bonds like a captiue, and be left in aduersitie. So calling for *Ioseph*, hee commaunded him to be let loose. This fact of his made the captaines vnder him hope for great reward at his hands, seeing he had been so kind to a stranger. *Titus* being there present, said; It is meete, O father, that as you acquire *Ioseph* from captiuitie, so you also take away the shame of that which he hath already endured. For if wee doe not onely vntie his chaines, but also breake them in sunder, he shall be as though he had neuer been in bondage: for this is the manner vsed for redresse, when any one being guiltlesse is committed to bonds. *Vespasian* hereto agreed: and so one came with an axe, and hewed his chaines in peeces. Thus was *Ioseph* rewarded for his prophecie, and so hereafter he was esteemed worthy to be beleueed.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Vitellius his death and manners.

When *Vespasian* had answered the Embassadors, and iustly disposed of all the rulers of his armie, according to euery ones merit, he now came to Antiochia, and there did deliberate whither to goe first, & it seemed best to him to go to Rome, rather then to Alexandria: for he knew that Alexandria was quiet & firme, but Rome was troubled by *Vitellius*. Wherefore he sent *Mutianus* into Italic with many footmen and horsemen: who fearing to goe by Sea, went through Cappadocia and Phrygia, for it was winter time. Now *Antonius Primus*, who was gouernour of Moesia, brought from thence the third legion remaining there, & came to war against *Vitellius*. *Vitellius* sent *Cacinna* to meet him with a great army: who departing from Rome, presently met with *Antonius* at Cremona, a towne of Gallia, situate vpon the confines of Italy; and there beholding the discipline and multitude of the enemies, durst not fight with them: and thinking it very dangerous to flie, hee plotted treason, and so calling vnto him the Centurions & Tribunes vnder his gouernment, he perswaded them to goe and ioine with *Antonius*, debasing *Vitellius* his power, and extolling *Vespasians*: affirming the first to haue onely the bare name of the Emperour; and the last to haue also all vertues meet for an Emperour. Moreover, that so it wold be better for them to do that of their own accord, which otherwise they should be compelled vnto; and seeing themselves already overcome in number, so also now willingly preuent all danger. For *Vespasian* was able without their assistance to subdue all the rest: but *Vitellius* was not able with their help to keep that he had: speaking much to this effect, he perswaded them to all that which he would haue done. And so he with his whole armie ioyned with *Antonius*.

The same night, the souldiers repenting themselves of that they had done, and also fearing that

The yeere of the world, 4033, after Christs birth 71.

Vespasian by common voice is created Emperour & crowned.

Vespasian is furnished with his captaines about *Iosephs* libertie.

Ioseph discharged out of bonds and rewarded.

Vespasian be-thinketh himselfe to returne to Rome.

Cacinna perswadeth the souldiers to forsake *Vitellius* and honor *Vespasian*.

The bounds of Egypt.

The length and breadth of Egypt.

A most high tower in the Island Pharos giuing light to those that saile three hundred furlongs off.

Tiberius Alexander gouerneth Alexandria and Egypt.

The year of the world, 4033. after Christs birth 71.
Cecinnas apprehended for treason.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

that *Vitellius* should get the vpper hand who sent them against *Antonius*, drew their swords, and would haue slaine *Cecinna*. And had done it, had not the Tribunes come and entreated them to the contrarie: wherefore they did not kill him, but kept him bound, meaning to send him to *Vitellius* as a traitor. *Primus Antonius* hearing this, came with his armie and assaulted them vwho were reuolted from him, and they awhile resisted; yet at last, forced to retire, they fledde vnto Cremona. And *Primus*, accompanied with horimen, preuented their courses, and so slew the most of them before the Citie; and afterward setting vpon the rest, gaue his souldiers the spoile of it, wherein many Merchants of other countries & many townesmen were slaine, and all *Vitellius* his army, thirty thousand and two hundred men: and *Antonius* lost in that battell, foure thousand and five hundred of those, whom he brought with him out of *Moesia*. And deliuering *Cecinna* from prison, he sent him to beare newes hereof to *Vespasian*: who comming vnto him, was praised for his fact, and greatly honoured about his expectation, in reward of his treason. *Sabinus* who was at Rome, hearing that *Antonius* was at hand, greatly reioyced, & tooke courage: and gathering together the companies of the watchmen in the night time, hee tooke the Capitoll, and in the morning many of the nobles came and ioyned with him: and *Domitianus* his brothers son, who was a great cause and help to obtaine the victorie. *Vitellius* little esteemed *Primus*, but he was angry against *Sabinus* and those that had reuolted with him: and as it were naturally thirsting after the blood of the nobilitie, hee set all the army hee brought out of *Germanie* with him, to assault the Capitoll, where many valiant deeds were shewed on both parts: and at last, the Germans beeing most in number got the Capitoll hill. And *Domitian* with many braue noble men, as it were by the prouidence of God escaped safe, the rest of the multitude were there slaine. And *Sabinus* was caried to *Vitellius*, and there by his commandement put to death: the souldiers taking away all the gifts and treasure in the Temple, sette it on fire. The day after came *Antonius*, and *Vitellius* his souldiers met him: and fighting in three seuerall places of the city, they were all slaine. Then *Vitellius* came drunke out of his palace, and beeing full gorged with delicate meat, he was drawn through the midst of the people, and after many contumelies slaine, hauing reigned eight moneths, and five daies: who if he had liued longer, I thinke verily the Empire had not bin sufficient to haue maintained his gluttonie. There were slaine about 50 thousand of other people. And this was done the third day of October. The day after, *Mutianus* with his armie came and entred into Rome, and repressed the souldiers of *Antonius*, who still sought about in euery place for *Vitellius* souldiers, and many other of his fauourits, and slew whom they thought good, not examining any matter by reason of their furie: and bringing out *Domitian*, hee declared vnto the people that he was to gouerne the citie till his father came. The people beeing deliuered from feare, proclaimed *Vespasian* Emperour, and made feasts & triumphs both vnder one, for his establishing in the Empire, and for ioy that *Vitellius* was depofed.

Vespasian honours *Cecinna* with vntreated honors and is acquitted of treason. *Sabinus* taketh the Capitoll & leaueth *Vitellius*.

Vitellius slaine.

The people of Rome proclaim *Vespasian* Emperour.

CHAP. XIII.

How Titus was sent by his father against the Iewes.

When *Vespasian* came to Alexandria, newes were brought vnto him what was done at Rome. And Embassadors came vnto him from all parts of the world to congratulate him. And although next after Rome this citie was the greatest in the world, yet was it scarcely able to receiue the people that came thither vnto him. *Vespasian* now beeing established Emperour of all the world, & the common-wealth of the Romans being contrarie to his expectation freed from troubles, he now began to think vpon the reliques of Iudæa. And so hee himselfe, winter being ended, prepared to go to Rome, & in the meane time hee hastened to dispose of all things at Alexandria. Moreover, hee sent his son *Titus* with certaine chosen men to destroy Ierusalem. Who departed from Alexandria vnto Nicopolis by land, which is distant from it 20 furlongs, & there he did ship his men & so sailed along the riuer Nilus by *Medensia* vnto *Thmuin*, & there landing his men, he came to the citie called *Tanis*. And the second place he rested in was the citie *Heraclea*, & the third *Pelusiū*: & there resting & refreshing his souldiers two daies space, the third day he passed the borders of *Pelusiū*, & hauing gone one daies journey through the wilderness, he pitched his tents at the temple of *Iupiter Casian*, & the next day at *Ostracine*, where there is no water, but all that the inhabitants doe vse, they bring from other places. After that he rested at *Rhinocolura*, and from thence in 4 daies he came to *Raphia*, where begin the borders of Syria, & the fifth day he lodged at *Gaza*, & from thence to *Afcalon*, and so to *Iamnia* & *Ioppe*, from whence he went to *Cæsarea*, purposing to gather the rest of the souldiers there.

Titus repairth to Ierusalem.

Titus cometh to Cæsarea and gathereth his forces there.

THE

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS.

The Contents of the Chapters of the 6. booke.

- 1 Of three seditions in Ierusalem.
- 2 How Titus went vnto Ierusalem to see their strength, and how he was in danger.
- 3 How the Iewes did issue out vpon the Romans pitching their Tents.
- 4 Of the fight within the Citie vpon the feast of unleavened bread.
- 5 Of the deceit the Iewes vsed against the Roman souldiers.
- 6 The description of Ierusalem.
- 7 The Iewes refuse to yeeld, and assault the Romans.
- 8 Of the fall of the tower: and how two of the wals were wonne.
- 9 How Calitor the Iew did floute the Romans.
- 10 How the Romans did twise get the second wall.
- 11 Of the mounts raised against the third wall, and a long Oration of Ioseph, perswading the Iewes to yeeld, and of the famine within the Citie.
- 12 Of the Iewes that were crucified, and how the towers were burnt.
- 13 How the Romans in three dayes space built a wall about Ierusalem.
- 14 Of the famine in Ierusalem: and how they built another tower or mount.
- 15 Of the massacre of the Iewes, both within and without the Citie.
- 16 Of the sacrilege about the Temple: and the dead bodies that were cast out of the Citie: and of the famine.

CHAP. I.

Of the three sorts of seditions in Ierusalem.



Itus being thus come out of Aegypt by the desert into Syria, hee departed from thence vnto Cæsarea: for there he purposed to set his armie in order. And whilest yet hee was with his father *Vespasian* at Alexandria, disposing of the Empire that God had giuen him, it happened that the sedition at Ierusalem was diuided into three parts, wherof, one part fought against another, and one may say, it was a good turne that they were so equally diuided. We haue already sufficiently declared who were the Authors and beginners of

the faction of the Zealous, whose tyranny ouer the Citie was the ruine thereof: and one may well call this a sedition raised out of a sedition; which, like a cruell and savage beast in penurie & want of others, turned his crueltie against his owne bowels. So *Eleazar* the sonne of *Simon*, who was the first that in the Temple diuided the Zelous from the people, faining himselfe to bee displeased with that which *John* euerie day did; yet in truth, for that he enuided that a more tyrant of later time then himselfe should be his ruler, desirous to obtaine the principallitie, and make himselfe mightie, he reuolted from the rest: and with him *Judas* the sonne of *Chelcias*, and *Simon* the sonne of *Ezyon*, two of the most potent amongst the. Besides them, was also *Ezechias* the son of *Chobarnus*

The year of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.
A threefold sedition in Ierusalem.

T t t

The fight be-
tweene Iohn
and Eleazar.Simon & Iohn
skirmish in the
temple.Great slaugh-
ter in the tem-
ple.Iohn assaulted
on both sides.They of Ierusa-
lem fast wel-
nie burnt all
their Corne.Awretched
calamities in
Ierusalem.

Chobarus a Nobleman, and all these had many of the Zealous following them: and getting in G possession the inner part of the Temple, they set a guard in the entrance and in the sacred gates, trusting in their abundance of all necessities: for there was great store of sacred provision, and they thought it no impietie to vse it; yet fearing their small number, they permitted many of the companie that were killed, to remaine in the places where they were slaine. *Iohn* was superiour in multitude and number, but inferiour by the inequalitye of the place: and hauing his enemies about his head, he could not without danger make incurfions, & yet for anger he would not cease to persecute his enemy: notwithstanding that thereby his part had more harme then those of *Eleazars* side, yet he still assaulted them though to his owne cost: thus many assaults were continually made and many darts cast, and all the Temple was prophaned with murders. And *Simon* the sonne of *Giora* (whome the people being in despaire, inuited to bee their leader, in H hope that hee would haue assisted them, hauing in his hands both the higher part of the Citie, and the greater part of the lower) did now more boldly then before assault *Iohn* and his followers, because they were assailed by those about them: yet hee being as it were beneath *Iohn* and his adherents, he sustained as much losse at their hands, as *Iohn* himselfe did at theirs about him. So *Iohn* had double warres: and as *Eleazar* harmed him because of the higher place wherein he was, so likewise did he damage *Simon* for the like cause; and easily without any labour did repulse all his assaults, which hee made being on the lower ground, and terrified by engines those that cast darts at him from the top of the Temple: for he vsed all engines to cast darts and stones, and killed many not onely of his enemies, but also of them that were offering sacrifices. For although that they were carried headlong vnto all vice, yet they permitted those that would, to offer sacrifice, watching and diligently guarding them of their nation. For the strangers that came thither for deuotion were not mistrusted: yet afterwarde that they had intreated these wicked people to permit them to sacrifice, they when they had done were a pray for them, and consumed by this sedition. For darts and other shot with force of the engines came into the Temple and Altar, and slew the Priest at the Altar. And manie who came from the vttermost parts of the world vnto that holy place, were slaine euen as they offered sacrifice, and so imbrued the Altar with their blood, which all the Greckes and barbarous people did reuerence: and strangers and the Priests being now prophaned, were forced to be amongst the dead bodies, and the place about the Altar stood full of blood of men that were slaine. O miserable Citie! what didst thou suffer at the Romans hands, to bee compared vnto this, although they enured with fire to purge thee from K iniquitie? For now thou wast no longer the house of God, neither couldest thou endure being made a Sepulchre of thine Inhabitants, and hauing by thy ciuill wars made the holy Temple a graue of dead bodies. Yet maifest thou once againe come into better estate, if first thou appeale Gods wrath that hath made thee desolate. But I must not giue place vnto sorrowe and write lamentation of my miserable Countrey, seeing I haue vndertaken to write a Historie of all things that past there. Wherefore I will recount the residue of the impietie of these seditious.

The seditious people being diuided into three companies, *Eleazar* and his followers, who had the keeping of the holy first fruites, and all the sacred oblations, came against *Iohn*, when they were drunke. And they who followed *Iohn* spoiling the people, assaulted *Simon*, and the Citie did succour *Simon*. Wherefore when *Iohn* was assaulted on both sides, hee turned some L of his souldiers against *Simon*, and the rest against *Eleazar*: and against *Simon* hee vsed darts cast from the porches of the Temple; and against *Eleazar* hee vsed engines for shot. And alwaies so often as they about his head ceased (as they often did being either wearie or drunken) hee freely assaulted *Simon* and his men. Also as farre as he draue them into the Citie, so farre did he fire all, and burne houses full of Corne and other necessities: and that which he left vnburned, *Simon* at his returne (when *Iohn* was gone into the Temple) set on fire: as if vpon purpose to the great advantage of the Romans, they had consumed all that was provided against the siege, so did they destroy their owne forces and strength. To bee short, all was consumed with fire about the Temple, and the Citie was made a plaine ground to fight in, and all the Corne was burnt that might haue sufficed the Citie many yeeres, and so they were taken by famine, which they M could not haue felt, had they themselves not caused it. The Citizens were in euery place a pray vnto those that were seditious on one side, and to them that besieged the Citie on the other side, and like a great bodie torne in peeces betwene these two. The olde men and women astonished with these calamities, prayed for the good successe of the Romanes, and desired some forraigne warre to deliuer them from their ciuill disagreement.

And

Lamentation
and mourning
in Ierusalem.The crueltie of
the seditious in
Ierusalem.Iohn made vse
of the wood
that was kept
for holy vices to
make engines
of.The order
of Titus army.

A And forthwith great feare and terror fell vpon them all: besides, it was no time as now to take counsel to change their mindes, nor hope of agreement or of flight to them that desired it. For all places were kept, and the rebels within, whomsoever they perceiued to wish peaceably to the Romans, or offer to flie vnto them, they presently killed them as their common enemies. And all these wicked persons agreed in this, to wit, to put the iust men to death, who best deserued to liue. Day and night nothing could be heard saue only the noyle of them that fought one against another; yet the lamentable cries of them that liued in a perpetuall feare was farre more miserable, who euerie day had new causes and occasions of sorrow giuen them; yet durst they not publicly lament for feare; and so not daring to shew their grieft, they secretly sorrowed, & now no man obserued any reuerence to them that were aliue amongst them, nor tooke any care to burie the dead. A The cause of both which was, that euerie man despaired of himselfe. For whosoever were not ioyned with the seditious, grew to bee carelesse of all things, as making account presently to die a thousand deaths. But the seditious gathering the dead bodies vpon heapes, continued their fighting, and trod vpon them, and as it were encouraging themselves by the dead vnder their feet, they became more cruell, still deuising one pernicious practise or other, and presently executing whatsoeuer they deuised without any commiseration, omitting no way to murder, and leauing no ranny vnattempted: so that *Iohn* abused the holy things of the temple to make engines of warre. For before time when the priests and people had determined to vnderprop the temple and build it twentie cubits higher, king *Agrippa* with great cost and charges brought them verie goodly timber sufficient for their purpose from mount Libanus. And this worke being preuented by warres, *Iohn* tooke them, and seeing them fit for his purpose, hee erected a tower to fight against those that assaulted him from off the temple; which he built along the wallouer against the chapterhouse, that standeth on the West side of the temple: for he could bulide it in no other place, by reason that all other places were filled with staires. And hauing thus impiously provided engines, hee hoped hereby to destroy his enemies. But God shewed his labour to be in vaine, and before he could preuaile against them, hee brought the Romans against the Citie.

For after that *Titus* had now gathered together part of his armie, and by writing appointed the rest to meete him at Ierusalem, hee departed from Caesarea, hauing three legions that lately vnder the conduct of his father *Vespasian* had waited all Iudaea, and the twelfth legion that sometime vnder *Cestius* were overcome, and put to flight by the Iewes: who though they were otherwise valiant enough; yet they desired to fight against the Iewes to reuenge themselves for that disgrace. *Titus* commanded the fift legion to meete him at Ierusalem, and go by Emmaus, and that the tenth legion should march by Iericho: the rest he tooke with himselfe accompanied with the kings forces that came to helpe him, hauing now more helpe then before, and many also out of Syria. *Titus* also brought men with him to supplie the number that was wanting, being sent by *Vespasian* with *Murianus* into Italy: For hee brought two thousand chosen men from the legions at Alexandria, and three thousand followed him from Euphrates, together with *Tiberius Alexander* his chiefeft friend, and one next him in most authoritie, who before was gouernour of Egypt, and as then thought a fit man worthie to be gouernour of the armie; for that he was the first that did entertaine the Emperour being new elected, who faithfully ioyned with *Vespasian*, though yet he knew not what successe he should haue: and hee was present with him in all his affaires as his chiefeft counsellor, renowned both for his wisdom and experience.

CHAP. II.

How Titus went to Ierusalem to see their strength, and how he was in great danger.

F *Titus* being now to go into the countrey of the enemy, caused all those that came to help him to march in the foremost place: after whom followed they that were to mende the waies, and to pitch the tents: and after them they which carried the baggage of the rulers and gouernours of his armie, and with them the armed souldiers. Next after these came *Titus* himselfe accompanied with chosen men, and with him many that bare his colours: next, the hostemen going immediately before the engines. And the Prefects and Tribunes with certaine chosen men, and their companies followed. After them the Eagle with many other ensignes: and the trumpets went before them. And after them followed the army marching six in a ranke: then the multitude of seruants that followed euerie legion did driue their baggage before them: lastly came

Titus cometh
to Iudaea.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

Titus repairth
to Ierusalem to
found the dif-
positions of
the people.

Titus in danger

Titus fighteth
valiantly with
his enemies.Titus putteth
his enemies to
flight, and re-
turneth in safe-
tie to his camp.

came the hirelings and those that were appointed to guard them. Marching in such comly & war-like manner, as the Romans are wont, he came by Samaria into Gophna, which place was already conquered by his father, and then also was vnder the custody of the Roman garriſons. And ſtaying there one night, hee departed from thence the next day: and after a daies journey he pitched his tents in a place which in the Iewes language is called Acāthouaulona, that is, the valley of thorns, neere vnto a village named Gabath Saul, which ſignifieth the valley of Saul, which is almoſt thirtie furlongs from Ierusalem. From thence accompanied with fixe hundred choſen horſemen, hee went to Ierusalem, to view how ſtrong it was, & of what courage the Iewes were, to ſee if peradventure at fight of him they would yeeld without any further war, for feare. For *Titus* vnderſtood (and it was true) that the people deſired peace, but they were oppreſſed by the ſeditious, and ſo durſt not attempt any thing being not able to encounter or reſiſt the rebels. *Titus* riding along the high way that went ſtraight to the wals ſaw no man all the way: but turning aſide towards the tower Plephinos with his horſemen, an infinite number preſently iſſued out by the towers of women, at a gate oppoſite to *Helens* tooombe; and brake his ranke of horſemen into two parts, and oppoſed themſelves, hindring thoſe horſemen that were yet in the high way to come and ioine with the reſt that had croſt the way, and ſo did ſingle out *Titus* accompanied only with a few men. So he could go no further for the ditch of the towne wall on one ſide, & for the garden pales on the other ſide: and there was no hope for him to returne vnto his ſouldiers, the enemies being betweene him and home. And many of his ſouldiers not knowing their Generall to be in any danger, but ſuppoſing him to haue beene amongſt them ſtill, fled away. *Titus* ſeeing that he had onely his owne valour to truſt vnto, turned his horſe againſt his enemies, and with a loud voice exhorted his followers to doe the like, and ſo he brake violently into the miſt of them, haſtning to get vnto his company. It was euident at that time that God giueth the victorie, and hath a particular care of kings and princes and Emperours. For notwithstanding that an infinite number of darts and arrowes were ſhot at *Titus*, and he had no armour at all (for as we haue already ſaid, he came to eſpie & not to fight) yet had he not one wound, but all paſt him; as though vpon purpoſe euerie one had ſtriven to haue miſt him. But *Titus* with his ſword madeway, and cut many vpon the face that oppoſed themſelves againſt him, and ſo they falling downe hee with his horſe paſt ouer them. The Iewes ſeeing *Titus* his valour, cried and exhorted one another to ſet vpon him; but whitherſoeuer he turned, the Iewes fled, and would not abide by it: like wiſe thoſe ſouldiers that were in the like danger with him, came of either ſide him & behind him. For no man had any hope to ſaue his life, but onely by making themſelves way with *Titus* before they were ſo incloſed & oppreſſed. So, of two of the moſt valiant amongſt them one was ſlain, & his horſe likewiſe: the other was ſlain, & his horſe taken by the Iewes. And *Titus* with the reſt of his followers came ſafe into the camp. And the Iewes getting the firſt victorie, raſhly took courage, & that encouragement being of moment, made them verie confident along time after.

CHAP. III.

How the Iewes did iſſue out vpon the Romans pitching their tents.

Titus campe
was 7. ſtades
off the Citie.The ſeditious
agree among
themſelves.

So ſoone as the legion that was to paſſe by Ammaus, was ioined to the reſt of the armie that night, *Cæſar* preſently the next morning remooued, and came to Scopus, where he might perfeſly view the Citie and the temple on the North part, where the ground adioining vnto the Citie is verie low, and is properly called Scopus, being diſtant ſeuē furlongs from the Citie: and there *Titus* commaunded two legions to encampe themſelves, and the ſiſt legion to retire three furlongs further off, to the intent that the ſouldiers who were wearied with trauiailing all night, might entrench themſelves without feare or danger. No ſooner had they begun their worke, but preſently the tenth legion came, who were to paſſe by Iericho, which *Veſpaſian* had already ſubdued, and had placed there a garriſon. This legion was commaunded to encampe ſix furlongs from Ierusalem, neere mount Oliuet, which is oppoſite to the Eaſt part of the Citie, and is incloſed with a deepe valley called Cedron. This great and huge armie ſo ſuddenly arriuing, preſently ſtaied the warres within the Citie: and theſe three ſects of ſeditious people beholding with admiration the Romans campe, became friends, and made agreement amongſt themſelves. They began alſo to queſtion one with another what furie cauſed them to ſuffer themſelves to be incloſed with three wals to their preiudice and loſſe of their liues: and ſeeing ſuch preparation of wars towards, that they ſhould be as it were beholders of that which was done

OF THE IEWES. THE VI. BOOKE.

The citizens
aſſaile the Ro-
mans.The Iewes
drive the Ro-
mans from
their campe.The fight of
the Iewes with
the Romans.The Romans
are diſperſed
by the Iewes,
and driuen to
the mountaine.Titus valour
againſt the
Iewes.Fear and trou-
ble among the
Romans.The Iewes
fight in their
citie, and are
driuen vnto the
valley.

A done, keeping themſelves quiet; and not providing to reſiſt the aſſaults of their enemies: & ſome cried, we are onely valiant againſt our ſelves, and we by our ſedition maſſacring one another ſhall betray our citie into the Romans hands.

Thus they being aſſembled together, exhorted one another: and preſently arming themſelves, they iſſued out of the Citie, and aſſaulted the tenth legion, and with a huge crie ſet vpon the Romans that were entrenching themſelves in the valley. The Romans being euerie one appointed to doe ſome buſineſſe for the furtherance of that worke, and for that cauſe the moſt of them hauing laid down their weapons (for they thought the Iewes durſt not haue made any excuſions, & although they wold, that yet they were hindred being at variance amongſt themſelves) they were troubled about meaſure, and preſently leauing the worke, ſome fled; many arming themſelves to fight, were ſlaine before they were prepared to reſiſt. The multitude of the Iewes was dayly encreaſed, becauſe that at the firſt they got the vpper hand, and notwithstanding their number was ſmall, yet did they thinke themſelves many: and ſo did the Romans thinke them to bee, becauſe of their good fortune. The Romans who were alwayes wont to obſerue militarie diſcipline and order, at that time by their ſodaine aſſaulting, were ſo troubled, that they obſerued no order, and ſo fled: yet whenſoeuer they turned againe vpon them that followed them, they eaſily wounded the Iewes, partly becauſe that they were ſo earneſt, that they did not greatly ſeeke to defend themſelves, and alſo they did eaſily ſlay the Iewes from purſuing them. Yet the number of them that purſued them ſtill encreaſing, they were alſo more troubled, and ſo at laſt forced to forſake the field, and leaue their tents: and the whole legion had bene in greater danger had not *C Titus*, hauing preſent newes hereof, ſpeedily came and ſuccoured them, and vpbraiding their cowardineſſe recalled them from flight; who with them, and the choſen men he brought, encountering the Iewes on one ſide, he ſlew many of them, and wounded diuers, and put the reſt to flight, and forced them into the valley. The Iewes being now in the lower ground, and hauing endured much at the Romans hands, ſince fortune frowned vpon them, turned againe, & hauing the valley betweene the, they fought with the Romans. And thus the fight continueth till the miſt of the day.

A little after midday *Titus* guarding the reſt with thoſe that he brought to ſuccour them, and placing others, to prevent the excuſions of the Iewes, hee commaunded the reſt to entrench themſelves in the toppe of the mountaine. The Iewes thought the Romans had fled, and their ſentinel vpon their wals making a ſigne vnto them by ſhaking his garment vp & downe, a great multitude of them ran ſo violently vpon the Romans, as though they had bene ſavage beaſts, ſo that none of their enemies were able to withſtand them; but as though they had bene ſtricken with ſome engine, ſo all of them were diuerſly ſcattered & forced to ſlie into the mountaine. But *Titus* in the miſt of the ſide of the mountaine remained alone, hauing but a ſewe with him; notwithstanding his friendes, who for the loue they bare to their Emperour, ſtaied with him, and abode the danger, did earneſtly perſwade him to ſlie from the Iewes, who delperately ran vpon their owne deaths, and not to endauenger himſelfe for them, who ought rather to abide it then he: And that he ſhould thinke vpon his owne eſtate, who was not a ſouldier, but general of them all, and Lord of the whole world, and that he ſhould not abide when all others fled ſo ſaſt, and in ſuch danger. But he made as though he heard them not, and oppoſed himſelfe againſt them that offered to aſſault him, ſtriking them vpon the faces, and killing them that made reſiſtance, and he purſued them downe the hill, and ſo forced them to retire. The Iewes amazed at his valour, did not yet ſlie into the citie, but auoided him on both ſides, and fled into the valley: then againe purſuing them that fled from them, yet *Titus* croſſing them as they went hindred their purſuit. In the meane time thoſe that were encamping themſelves aboue, ſeeing them beneath put to flight, were diſcomfited, and all fled, thinking that they were not able to reſiſt the Iewes, and imagining that *Titus* was likewiſe fled: for had they thought that he had ſtaied by it, they neuer would haue forſaken their quarters; yet being now terrified they knew not wherefore, ſo fled one way, and ſome another without any order, till ſome ſeeing the Emperour in the miſt of the

F bataille, and fearing the miſchance that might beſide him, they with loud cries ſignified it vnto the whole legion. Then the Romans turning againe for ſhame, and accusing themſelves guiltie of a great offence in forſaking their Emperour amidſt ſuch danger, came with all the violence they could vie againſt the Iewes, and driuing them downe the mountaine, forced them to retire; yet the Iewes fought flying, and ſeeing the Romans to haue the vpper hand of them; becauſe they were vpon higher ground, they departed into the valley. *Titus* aſſaulted them that were oppoſite againſt him, and ſo commaunded the reſt to goe and finiſh their trenches. And hee with thoſe that before were with him to defend the workmen, did now alſo keepe the Iewes from ſlie-
ing

lesting them. So if I may speake without flatterie or enuie, *Cæsar* himself did twice preferue the whole legion from destruction, and gaue the souldiers opportunitie to entrench themselves.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the fight within the Citie vpon the feast of vnleauened bread.

John entrench
and seifeth the
inward temple,
and all the fur-
niture thereof,
putteth the Ze-
lous to flight,
& raiseth a
mightie sediti-
on.

A threefold se-
dition diuided
into two parts.
Whatsoeuer a-
bout Ierusalem
is hollow or
troubled with
vallies is filled
vp.

DVring the intermission of the forrain wars, they fel to their former sedition again, which caused ciuill wars amongst them. And against the feast of vnleauened bread, which is the fourteenth day of April (for vpon this day the Iewes say that they were deliuered out of the bondage of Aegypt) *Eleazar* and his companions opened the gates, to the intent that all that would might come in to adore and do their deuotion. But *John* vsed this festiual day as a means to effect his deceit; and caused many of his companie that were vnknowne, to enter in amongst the people with weapons vnder their garments, giuing the charge when they were within, to get possession of the temple: and so soone as they were within, they cast off their garments, & shewed themselves to be in armour. Presently a great tumult arose within the temple: for all the people that were not of the sedition thought themselves betrayed: and the Zealous thought this treason onely practised to preiudice them: and so leauing the gate which before they kept, and leaping downe from the towers, they neuer offering to fight, fled into the vaults about the temple. And the people flocking about the altar, & others who were driuen into the temple, were killed with clubs and swords, and so troden vpon. And manie were slain vpon priuate hatred vnder pretence to be partakers with the enemies. And whosoever before time had offended any of those traitors, hee was put to death, as though he had beene one of the Zealous. But they, who had cruelly ragged against the innocent, let the wicked haue leasure to escape out of those caues; whereby they had no harme: and hauing gotten the inner part of the Temple, and all belonging therunto, they did now more confidently then before fight against *Simon*: and thus the sedition that was before diuided into three parts, was now brought onely into two. *Titus* being desirous to bring his armie neerer the citie, sent a certaine number of horsemen & foot, which he thought sufficient to hinder all excursions of the Iewes from Scopus, and another companie hee sent to plaine all the grounds betwixt him and Ierusalem: who cutting down al hedges and pales, & fences & wood (though they were fruit trees) filled the vallies and made it al plain ground, & hewing K down all stones that standing vp made the ground vnequall, they plained al that ground fro Scopus euen vnto *Herods* monumēt, which adioyned to the lake of Serpēts called sometime Bethora.

CHAP. V.

Of the deceit the Iewes vsed against the Romane souldiers.

ABout this time the Iewes deuised this stratageme against the Romans. The most courageous amongst the seditious people went out vnto the places called the womens towers, & counterfained themselves to be driven thither by them within the city that desired peace, & for that they feared the Romans, they were come thither to hide themselves one behind another: others standing vpon the wals, and counterfainting themselves to be the citizens, with loud cries desired peace, and a league of friendship; promising to fet the citie gates open, and inuited the Romans to enter, and crying thus they also cast stones against their countymen before spoken of, as though they did driue them from the gates; and they made as though they would by force breake through the people, & come to the gates, partly by force, partly by entreating the people to permit them. And making many offers to goe vnto the Romans, they turned againe like men troubled in mind, and studying what to doe. The Roman souldiers did not perceiue their subtil meaning; who seeing the seditious ready to fall into their hands, that so they might punish them, and seeing the people (as they thought) readie to open the gates vnto them, would in post haste haue gone vnto the citie. But *Titus* suspected some deceit coloured with this kind inuiling him to enter, because he did not see any reason for it. For the day before hauing by *Ioseph* offered them a peace, he vnderstood that their minds were farre from any peaceable cogitations: wherefore he now commanded the souldiers to keepe their quarters and not to remouue; yet some of them, appointed to worke in the trenches, taking their weapons ranne vnto the gates, and the Iewes who seemed to be driven out of the citie first fled; at last when they came vnto the gates

The alacratic
of the souldiers
among the Ro-
mans contrarie
to *Titus* ordi-
nance.

The yeere of the
world, 4034. af-
ter Christs birth,
72.
The victorie
of the Iewes.

A gates of the towers, they inclosed the Romans round about, and assaulted them vpon their backs: and they that were vpon the wals, did cast all kinde of darts and stones vpon them: so that they slew many and wounded verie many; for it was not easie to escape from the wals, others being behind them and offering them violence. Moreover they were ashamed that their Captaines had so offended, and in feare for their offence committed, both which caused them still to persequer in it. And after a long conflict receiving many wounds, and giuing as manie, at last they put them to flight that enclosed them, and so the Iewes departed, and followed them vnto *Herods* monumēt, pursuing them with darts. And then the Iewes returned reioycing in their good fortune; and deriding the Romanes for being so deceiued, lifted vp their shieldes and bucklers, shouting and reioycing.

B The Romane souldiers were receiued of their Captaines with threatnings, and of *Cæsar* with this speech: The Iewes led onely with desperation doe all things with aduise and counsell, deuising deceites; and forrune fauoureth their practises because they are ordered, and truste to one another. And now the Romanes, whom for their obedience and discipline fortune was wont to fauour, doe contrariwise offend herein, and for their rash and vnaduised fighting are ouercome: & which is worst of al, in *Cæsars* presence offering to fight without their Captaines. Truly the military law & discipline will be grieved hereat, & my father not a litle sorrowful to hear of this. For he who from his infancie vnto old age, hath beene trained vp in armes, yet did hee neuer offend in this sort; and what shall wee say to our law which punisheth the least offences against them committed with death, when our whole armie doth disobey their Emperours command? But

C (quoth he) they who so arrogantly haue disobeyed our command, shall presently vnderstand that amongst the Romans, victorie against the Generals command is an infamie. *Titus* hauing thus spoken in anger vnto the Captaines, evidently declared vnto them what and how he purposed to punish them. And they presently despaired, as though by and by they were iustly condemned to die. But all the other legions flocking about *Titus*, besought him to pardon their fellowe souldiers, and to remit the offence of the rashnesse of some fewe, for the obedience sake of all the rest: affirming that their future valour should be a sufficient recompence for this their offence. *Cæsar* was herewith pacified, partly thinking what was most profitable, partly for the intreaty of the rest: for he purposed to punish one man onely, and to rebuke the rest, & signifie vnto them his displeasure, and so he was reconciled vnto his souldiers, streightly charging them to be more

D wise hereafter: and after he deuised how to be reuenged vpon the Iewes for this deceite. When all the ground betweene the wals of Ierusalem and his armie, was in lower dayes made plain, *Titus* being desirous safely to conduct the baggage and the rest of the multitude in safetie, he placed the strongest of all his souldiers euerie one in his ranke leauen by leauen, and caused them to march from the North part of the Citie vnto the West, all along without the Citie wals, placing the footmen in the forefront, and in the last place the horsemen three in a ranke, and betweene them both the Archers. So the Iewes not able now to make any excursions, *Titus* souldiers being thus disposed of, the baggage of the three legions, and the multitude passed along without any danger. And *Titus* himselfe being now within two furlongs of the Citie wals, pitched his Tent against that corner of the wall that is called *Psephinos*, where the compass of the wall from the North bendeth into the West: the other part of the armie entrenched themselves against that part of the wall that is called *Hippicos*, distant in like manner two furlongs from the Citie. But the tenth legion remained still in mount *Oliuet* where it was before.

CHAP. VI.

The description of Ierusalem.



FHe Citie was compassed with a threefold wall on euerie side, saue onely on that part where it was inclosed with vallies vnaccessible: for on that side it had onely one wal. It was built vpon two little hills, one of them being opposite vnto another, and separated one from another with a valley, which was wonderfully replenished with houses. One of these hills whereon standeth the vpper part of the Citie, is farre higher and steeper then the other, in so much that because of the strenght of it, King *Dauid* in times past called it a Castle. (This *Dauid* was the father of king *Salomon*, who first builded the Temple in that place) but wee at this day call it the high market place. The other hill called *Acra*, is the place where the lower part of the Citie standeth. Opposite against this hill, there was also another lower then this *Acra* was, which was first diuided from it with a large valley, but afterwaied at such time as the *Asmoneans* reigned

The treble wall
of Ierusalem

The Castle of
Dauid.

Acra still remaineth
the lower part
of the Citie.

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth 72. The fountain Siloa.

The older wall.

The second wall.

The third wall.

Bezetha the fourth hill.

Agrippas coft in building the wall.

The third wall had 30. towers.

Plephina was 30 cubits high.

Herod called three towers by the names of three his most chere friends.

reigned they did fill vp this vallie, to the intent that they might ioyne the Citie vnto the Temple, and cut downe the top of Acra, and so made it lower, that it might not hide the Temple. The valley by which wee haue said the two higher hills are separated one from another is called Tyropoon, & reacheth vnto Siloa (which is a fountaine abounding with sweete water.) Without the Citie were two hills, compassed with deepe vallies, and being enclosed with high rocks, they were on euerie side inaccessible. The most auncient of the three wals by reason of the vallie about it and the hill whereupon it stood, could not easily be taken: and beside the opportunitie of the place, it was verie strongly built, at the cost and charges of *Danid*, *Salomon*, and other kings. This wall beginning at the tower called *Hippicos*, reacheth vnto that called *Xylus*, and afterwarde being ioynd vnto the Palace, it endeth in the West porch of the Temple: on the other side towards the West it beginneth at the same tower, and passing by the place that is called *H Betiso*, it descendeth vnto the gate of the *Esseans*, and so into the South, and from thence againe it bendeth into the East, where also is *Salomons* pond, and reacheth vnto the place called *Ophlan*, where it is ioynd vnto the East porch of the Temple. The second wall beginneth at the gate that is called *Genath*, which is a gate of the former wall, and it onely compasseth the North part of the Citie and reacheth vnto *Antonia*, a Castle so called. The third wall beginneth at the tower *Hippicos*, from whence it goeth into the North part, and from thence it cometh vnto the tower *Plephina*, ouer against the Sepulchre of *Helena* that was Queene of *Adiabena*, and mother of king *Antiochus*, and passing along by the Kings caues, it turneth towards the tower neere the monument of *Fullo*, and in the vallie called *Cedron* it ioyneeth with the olde wall. *Agrippa* compassed that part of the Citie that hee built with this wal, it being before all open without defence. For the citie grew so populous, that by little and little they were forced to inhabite some part without the wals: and this wall reacheth a great way, being ioynd vnto the hill next the citie on the North side of the Temple. There was also a fourth hill inhabited, named *Bezetha*, situate against *Antonia*, but separated from it with verie deepe ditches, which were made of purpose, least that the foundation of *Antonia* being ioynd vnto it, it might bee easier to come vnto, and seeme lower: for the deepenesse of the ditch maketh the tower seeme much higher then otherwise it would. This place being added vnto the Citie, is called in that Countrey language *Bezetha*, which signifieth the new Citie. And the Inhabitants desiring that part to bee fortified, *Agrippa* father to this *Agrippa* that finished the wall, did begin that wall afore mentioned: & fearing least *Glaucius Caesar* hearing how sumptuous a wall he built, should mistrust that hee purposed to revolt, he onely laid the foundation of it, and so left it vnfinished.

For the Citie could neuer haue bene taken by force, if he had finished that wall as hee began it, it being builded with stones twentie cubits long, and ten cubits broad, which could neither easily bee vndermined, nor battered with engines: and this wall was built ten cubits high, and no doubt had bene raised higher; had not his liberalitie who began this building bene hindered. Yet againe by the Iewes industrie the same wall was raised twentie cubits high, the battlements hereof were two cubits high, and the tower three cubits, and in all it was twentie and foure cubits high, as before. Vpon the wall were three towers twentie cubits broad, and twentie cubits high built foure square verie strongly, and was builded of as firme a foundation as the wall in selfe, which for the building and faire stone, was not inferiour to the temple about. Within this strong tower, which reached twentie cubits high, were roomes for men to dwell in, and cesterne to receiue raine water, and large turning staires to goe into euerie place there: and this third wall had fourescore and ten of these towers, and betweene euerie tower were two hundred cubits space. The middle wall had foureene towers, and the old wall had threescore, and the compass of the whole Citie was three and thirtie furlongs. And although the third wall was admirable, yet the tower of *Plephina*, which was built vpon a corner of the wall, betweene the North and the West part of the Citie, had a certain excellency of more wonder, against which part *Xitus* had encamped himselfe: for it was seuentie cubits high, so that from thence vpon a cleare Sunnes shine day, one might discouer Arabia, and see the vttermost parts of all the dominions of the Hebrewes vnto the sea, and it had eight corners. Iust opposite vnto this was the tower *Hippicos*, and neere vnto it were other two, that king *Herod* builded vpon the olde wall, which in bignesse, beautie, and strength, did surpass all others in the whole world.

For king *Herode*, beside his naturall liberalitie and desire to adorne this Citie, did also for his owne pleasure so beautifie this building, that it might excell all other, and dedicated them to three most renowned personages, whose names they also did bear, to wit, to his brother, his friend and to his wife, she being (as is afore said) put to death for iousie; the other two being slaine in warres

A warres after they had fought valiantly. The tower *Hippicos* called by the name of his friend had foure corners, and euerie one of them were five and twentie cubits broad, and as many in length, and thirtie cubits in height, being in no place hollow: and about the high places and stone worke there was a well to receiue raine water twentie cubits deepe: and aloft of it were houses with double roofes twentie five cubits high, and diuided into many roomes: and about them were battlements two cubits high, and turrets three cubits high: so that the whole height was accounted to be fourescore and five cubits. The second tower that by his brothers name hee called *Phaclus*, was in breadth and length fortie cubits, and so many cubits high, in figure of a square pillar, all which height was solide and not hollowe within: and about this a porch ten cubits high, decked with turrets and pinnacles. Over the midit of this porch he builded another tower distinguished into goodly roomes & sumptuous bathes, that it should not want anie thing necessarie for a prince: on the toppe it was beautified with turrets and pinnacles; so that all his height was almost fourescore and ten cubits: And it resembled the tower *Pharus* at *Alexandria*, wherein continuall light is kept to guide the seamen that faile thither, fauing that it had a greater compasse then it. And in this house now at this time did *Simon* lodge, who tyrannized ouer the people. The third tower was, according to the Queenes name, called *Mariamme* the wife of *Herod*, twentie cubits high, all solide, and other twentie cubits broad, hauing more magnificent and beautifull houses and lodgings then the rest. For the king so thought it meete that the tower called by his wifes name, should be more beautifull then they, who only bare the names of other men, like as they were stronger then this that bare the name of a woman. This tower was in all 55. cubits high.

C Notwithstanding these three towers were of such height, yet by reason of their situation they seemed farre higher: for the olde wall whereupon they were built was placed vpon high ground, and the toppe of the hill whereupon they stood was about thirtie cubits high, whereby their height was much increased. The greatnesse also was admirable; for it was not ordinarie stone which men might beare, but all white marble, whereof euery stone was twentie cubits long, & ten cubits broad, and five cubits thicke: and they were so coupled one to another, that euerie stone by it selfe seemed a tower; and so cunningly conioyned by workemens hands, that euerie tower seemed one stone. And these were placed on the North side of the Citie; and adioyning to them within the Citie, was situated the kings palace, surpassing all that can bee spoken of it: which for greatnesse and excellent worke may be compared to all that were in the world. It was compassed about with a wall thirtie cubits high, and adorned with goodly towers round about, euerie one of like distance from other, beautified with dwelling houses and lodgings for a hundredth of the nobilitie. The varietie of the marble it was built withall, was admirable, all sorts being there used that were neuer so rare to bee found: and the tops of these houses for the length of the beames and the beautie thereof passed all credite; and the multitude of roomes and diuersitie of buildings, all filled and adorned with household stuffe and furniture. And in euerie room there were many vessels of gold and siluer, and many porches round about, one answerable vnto another, and pillars in euerie one. And there were manie pleasant walkes replenished with diuers trees, and manie walking places or alleys, all beset with conduites that spouted vp water on high, and cesterne full of brazen images, from which ran out water: and about the water many dovec-houses full of tame pigeons. But it is vnpossible sufficiently to declare the riches and beautie of the kings palace, and a grieve to thinke what goodly things, and how rich the theues did there set on fire: for these things were not burnt by the Romanes, but by the seditious theues (as is before said) at the beginning of this rebellion, who consumed all with fire euen from the Castle *Antonia* from whence the fire came, and destroyed the kings palace, and the couers and tops of the three towers. The temple was, as is before said, built vpon a hard mountain, and at the first the Plaine vpon the toppe thereof was scarcely bigge enough to containe it and the temple yard, the hill being verie steepe. But when king *Salomon*, who also built the temple, had compassed the East part thereof with a wall, he also placed a porch vpon the rampire, and so for many ages after it lay vnscened on other parts: wherefore the people euerie day bringing earth thither, at last made it plaine and large enough: and breaking downe the North wal, they took in all that space which the temple hath continually occupied euen vntill now: and the hill being now enclosed with a threefold wall, it was a worke passing all expectation in building. To the effecting whereof many ages were spent, and all the holy treasure offered vnto God euen from all parts of the world was employed therein, as well in the buildings of the higher as of the lower part of the temple; the foundations whereof, were laide three hundred cubits deepe, and in many places more: yet could

705
The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth 72. Hippicos 87. cubits high.

Phaclus 80. cubits high.

Mariamme a goodly tower 55. cubits high.

The kings palace.

The kings palace burnt by the theues and rebels.

The Temple builded vpon a most strong hill.

All the sacred treasures spent in the building of the temple.

could not all the height of the foundations be scene, being now buried in vallies that were filled vp to make them equall with the straight streets of the Citie. The stones of this building were of fortie cubits: for the abundance of treasure and liberalitie of the people did effect that which was scarcely possible: and that which all men thought could neuer haue come to passe, in time and by industrie came to perfection.

The porches
were builded
of white mar-
ble stone sustai-
ned by pillars.

A peculiar
place destina-
ted for women
for religion
faze.

Some of the
gates were of
gold, some of
silver, and one
of Corinthian
brasse.

The sacred
language.

The building was answerable vnto these foundations. For all the porches were double, and euerie one was supported by pillars, each of them being five and twentie cubits high, and all of one piece and of white marble: the top wherof was all of Cedar, whose natural beaurtie for the good conioyning of this wood & polishing therof, did astonish all that behelde it, being adorned neither with painting nor carued workes. These porches were thirtie cubits broad: and the compasse of them altogether, with the fort of Antonia, was fix furlongs. All the ground wheron stood no building was cutiously wrought & paved with all sorts of stones. The way to the second temple was all enclosed with stones of lattice work, which were three cubits high, and most beautifullly wrought along: in which place also were placed certaine pillars equally distant one from another, to shew the law of purification; some being written vpon in Latine letters, other some in Greeke, forbidding all strangers to enter into the holy place: for the second temple is called the holy place. To go vnto the second from the first, one must passe vp foureteen stairs, and it was fouresquare aloft, and enclosed with a wall by it selfe; whose outside being fortie cubits high, was all couered with staires to ascend vp into it, and within it was five and twentie cubits high: for all the part of the inner side was not scene, because it was built on the descent of a hill. After the foureteen staires there was a Plaine made leuell with the wall of three hundred cubits: from thence passed on five other staires which lead vnto the gates, whereof on the North side and the South there were eight, foure on each side, and two on the East. For it was necessarie that there should be a peculiar place for women to exercise their deuotion in, which also was enclosed with a wal. And so it was necessarie there should be two doores: and against the first gate there was opposite vnto it one gate on the North side, & another on the South, both separated from the rest, wherby one entred into the place allotted for women; for it was not lawful for any to passe by any other gate vnto the women, neither could they go beyond their own doore, because of the wall: for that place was common both to the women of that nation, and also to all strange women that came for religion faze. There was no gate on the West part, but a wall that reached all along in that place: Betwene the gates were porches opposite one against another, reaching to the wall vnto the treasure house, supported with great and goodly pillars, being as plaine and fully as bigge as they below. The gates were couered with gold and silver, as also the posts and foreparts thereof were, one onely excepted that was couered with Corinthian brasse, far surpassing in beaurtie the other that were couered with silver or gold. In euerie gate there were two doores, each one thirtie cubits high, and fiftene cubits broad: and after the entrance where they were made larger, euerie one had on each side seates thirtie cubites long, and large like a tower, and fortie cubits high, each one supponed with two pillars twelue cubites thicke. And all other gates were of like greatnesse; but that which was couered with Corinthian brasse, which was the entrance into the place allotted for the women, & opened into the East gate of the temple, doubtlesse bigger then the rest: for it was fiftie cubites high (the gates wherof were L fortie cubits) and was more richly adorned then the rest: for the couer of gold and silver was thicker then it was in the rest, which Alexander Tiberius his father had melted, to couer all the nine gates. And there were fiftene staires, that went from the wall that separated the women, vnto the great gate of the temple: for these staires were shorter by five degrees, then those that went to other gates. The temple it selfe was situated in the midst of all, to wit, the holy Sanctuary, and had twelue staires to go vnto it. The forepart wherof was in height and breadth a hundred cubits: and behind it, was fortie cubits outright: and before, it was as it were two shoulders on each side rising vp in height twentie cubits. The first gate hereof was seauentie cubits high, and twentie five wide, and had no doore: for it signified that heauen was spread all ouer & might be scene in euerie place: and all the foreparts were gilded with gold, and at the first building did M appeare and might be scene without, and all that was within and about the gate glistered with gold. The inner part thereof was diuided into two roomes, wherof only the first roome might be scene, which was in height fourescore and ten cubits, and in length fortie, and in breadth twentie. The inner gate was (as is already said) all gilded with gold, and all the wall about it, and aboue it: it had a golden vine, whereon were hanging clusters of grapes all of gold, euerie cluster being as long as a man is high. And because the height was seeled aboue, the inner temple

A temple did seeme to bee lower then it was without, and it had golden gates five and fiftie cubits high, and sixtene cubits broad.

It had hangings also of the same length, which was a Babylonian vaile, all wrought with violet and purple silke and scarlet, admirable to behold: the permutation of which colours had a mystical meaning, bearing as it were the signification of the whole world. For the scarlet doth seeme to expresse the fire, the silke signifieth the earth, the violet sheweth the aire, & the purple declareth the sea, partly in their colours resembling them, partly also as hauing their beginning from thence: for the purple is ingendred in the sea, and the silke is produced by the earth. In this tapestry worke was curiously wrought and deciphered all the speculations of the heauens, onely the celestiall signes excepted. Being entred within, you come into a lower place of the temple, which was threescore cubits high, and as manie in length, and twentie in breadth. Again this place was diuided into two, whereof the first part contained fortie cubits, hauing in it three most admirable things, and famous throughout the world, to wit, a candlestick, a table, and the altar of incense: vpon the candlestick seuen lampes were placed, which signified the seuen planets (for so manie did there come all out of one stemme of the candlestick) vpon the table were standing twelue loaves of bread, signifying the twelue celestiall signes, and reuolution of the yeere. By the altar of incense, out of which proceeded thirteene odours, coming partly from the sea which is uninhabitable, and partly from the earth, which is inhabited, is signified that all things are in the hands of God, & subiect to yeeld him obedience. The inner part of the temple contained twenty cubits, which likewise was separated from the other part by a vaile, and nothing was within it: and this place was the ho-

Three admir-
able workes.
The candle-
stick, the table
and center.

Cly of holies, and no man might enter, looke into it, nor violate the same. On each side of the lower temple, there were manie lodgings and doores to passe into, euerie one of them hauing three roofes one about another: and there was a gate which led vnto both sides of the temple, and vnto these roomes: but the higher part of the temple had not the like roomes on each side, and therefore it was made so much narrower then the other, yet was it higher then it by fortie cubits, neither was it so gorgeous as the lower. For the whole height was an hundred cubits, and the ground thereof sixtie. The vtermoost part was so curious and richly wrought, that it was vnpossible for any one to imagine any workmanship that it wanted: for it was all couered with a massiue plate of pure gold, which shined far more bright then the morning sun, so that it dazzled the eyes of the beholders, as doth the sunne when it is gazed vpon. And afar off it seemed vnto strangers

The outward
court of the
temple court-
ed with many
places of gold.

D that came thither like a white mountaine: for where the temple was not gilded with gold, there was it milk white. The top hereof was all set full of rods of gold, verie sharp at the vpper end like pikes, least the birds should come and sit thereon, and so defile it: manie stones wherewithall it was built were five and fortie cubits large, five cubits in length, and fixe cubits broad. Before the temple there stood an Altar fiftene cubits high, being fortie cubits broad, and as many long, and foure square, hauing corners made like hornes. The way to this Altar was on the south side, where it by little and little mounted from below euen vnto the Altar. This Altar was builded without yron, and neuer yron did touch it. The Temple and the altar were enclosed with stone-work, beautifull to behold, which was a cubit high separating the people from the priests. Those that were troubled with a fluxe of their seede, and leapers were expelled out of the citie; and women also hauing their monthly courses, and those that were not vncleane might passe this foresaid li-

E mit. Likewise men that were not purified were not permitted to come within the inner temple, and those that were, might not come amongst the priests: those also that descended from the line of the priests, and for blindness did not administer their function, were notwithstanding admitted into the place appointed for the rest of the priests that were sound, and had a share as they had; yet did they goe attyred as laymen, for onely hee that did sacrifice might weare priestlie attire.

The priests that came vnto the altar and temple had no infirmie, and they were cloathed in a fine linnen garment, and abstained from wine, and liued in abstinence for reuerence of religion, least they should sinne whilst they offered sacrifices. The high priest also ascended with the priests into the temple; yet not alwaies, but only every seventh day, and in the Calends of euery month, or on a festiual celebrated according to the custome of their country, or wherein all the people were present. And then hee sacrificed being girded with a vaile, which couered his thighe euen vnto his priuities, vnder which hee ware a linnen garment hanging downe vnto his feete, and aboue it a round violet garment all fringed at the skirtes, and hanged full of golden belles, and pomgranates of gold, first one & then another: the bells signified thunder, and the pomgranates lightning. Vpon his breast he wore a vesture of five colours, to wit gold, purple, scarlet, silke and violet;

The Priests in
the old Testa-
ment abstain-
ed from wine
and were sober.

The high priests
garment.

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth 72.
The precious stones in the high priests garment.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

violet, which also (as we haue said) the vailles of the temple were wrought withal. He had likewise a rochet of the same, wherein was more gold, and in shape it was like the garment he wore on his bodie downe to the thighes: it was also buttoned with two golden buttons, made in the form of Aspes, wherein was enclosed the greatest & most precious Sardonyx stones that could be found, bearing the names of the twelue tribes of Israel engrauen in them. On the other side did hang 12 precious stones, three and three in a ranke, diuided into foure rowes. In the first was the Rubie, the Topaze, and the Emerald: in the second the Carbuncle, the Iasper, and the Saphire: in the third the Agate, the Amethyst, and the Diamond: in the last the Onyx, the Beryl, and Chrysolite; in euery one of which one name of the twelue tribes was written. Vpon his head he wore a miter of silke, which was crowned with Hyacinth: and aloft of it was another crowne of gold, wherein was engrauen sacred letters, to wit the foure vowels. He did not alwaies vse this garment, but an other most commonly not so gorgeous: this hee vsed when he entered into the sanctuary, which he did onely once euery yeere alone, none else going with him, vpon which day all the nation was wont to fast. But wee will hereafter speake more at large of the citie and temple, the lawes and customes, the ordinances and obseruations; for these things cannot be briefly declared. The castle Antonia was situate in a corner of the two porches of the first temple, which looked vnto the West, and the North: and it was builded vpon a rocke of stone fiftie cubits high, which on euery side was inaccessible: this first was builded by king *Herode*, to shewe the greatnes and magnificence of his minde. For first of all the rocke at the foote thereof, was all couered with thin, and slender stones like slates, which did both adorne it, and would also easily slide downe, if any one walked vpon them. Before the battlements of the fort there was a wall three cubits high, within the which the castle Antonia was built fortie cubits high, being within all furnished and contriued like the Palace of a king, hauing all kind of houses of office, and other necessary roomes. For there were porches, bathes, and large hals, for to place tents in: so that for all conuenient roomes and places, it seemed to be a citie, and for the magnificence thereof a kings palace. In outward fashion it was built like a tower, and inuironed about with foure other towers, at euery corner one, whereof they that were on the South and East side were threescore and ten cubits high, the other two were onely fiftie, so out of these two highest one might haue a perfect view of all the whole temple. Where it ioyned vnto the porches of the temple, there was on either side a paire of staires, for the souldiers to come downe out of it into the temple. For alwayes the Roman souldiers lodged there, and guarded the temple in armour vpon festiual daies, least the people should attempt any rebellion or sedition. For the temple was as a castle to keepe the towne in awe, and the castle Antonia to ouerthrow the temple: there also were placed the souldiers: likewise in *Herodes* palace, which serued for a castle ouer the higher part of the citie. The hill *B-zetha* was diuided from the citie as is before mentioned: which being the highest of all, was ioyned vnto part of the new citie, which did obscure the view of the temple on the North side. And thus I haue here spoken sufficiently of the citie and the wall in this place, because wee meane hereafter to describe them more at large.

CHAP. VII.

How the Iewes refused to yeelde, and how they assaulted the Romanes.

Fiftie thousand folloues Simon.

THe most warlike of all the people ioyned with *Simon*, being in number ten thousand, beside the Idumæans: and those ten thousand had fiftie captaines of their owne fellows, yet all subiect vnto *Simon*. The Idumæans that tooke his part were five thousand, and had ten captaines, the chiefe of whom were *Jacob* the sonne of *Sofas*, and *Simon* the sonne of *Cathla*. And *John*, who kept the temple, had fixe thousand armed men, ouer whom were twentie captaines: and then there came vnto him two thousand of the Zealous, and foure hundred, who before had followed *Eleazar* and *Simon* the sonne of *Iairus*. So these warring one against another, the people was their bootie, and the multitude that were not seditious as they were, was their prey. *Simon* kept the higher part of the Citie, and the greater wall euen vnto *Cedron*, and all that part of the olde wall which is betwene *Siloa* and the palace of *Mohabazus*, M who was king of *Adiabena*, that lieth beyond *Euphrates*: hee also kept all the hill *Acra* (which is the lower part of the citie) vnto *Helens* palace, who was *Mohabazus* his mother. But *John* kept all the temple and the space about it, *Ophla*, and the valley *Cedron*: and that which was betwene these two places which *Simon* and *John* kept, was all consumed with fire, and made a place to fight in. For although the Romans tents were pitched neere vnto the vails of the citie, yet did not this sedition cease, but hauing recovered some securitie a while at the Romans first

Simons campe against John.

OF THE IEWES. THE VI. BOOKE.

A comming presently they returned vnto their former wont. And diuiding themselves againe, euery man fought for his owne part, doing all that the Romanes could wish to be done. For the Romanes did them no more harme then they did themselves: for after them the Citie suffered no new calamitie, but indured farre more miserie before it was taken and destroyed by the Romanes, then it did at that time. For the Romanes in destroying it did rather end their misery, then bring them into it. For the seditious did take the citie, and the Romanes did overcome and take the seditious, which was furre stronger then the wallles: so that one may ascribe all their miseries to their owne nation, and equitie and iustice vnto the Romanes, as euery one shall cleerely see by that which ensued.

B The citie being in the estate before said, *Titus* with chosen horsemen went vp and down withing the wall, to espy where he might most easily assault the wals. And being in doubt a long time what to doe, for that where the vallie was, footemen could not possibly get vp to it: and where it was walled, they seemed to be impossible to be battered downe with engines: At last he determined to assault it on that part, where was the monument of *John* the high priest: for onely in this place the first wall was lower then in other places, and it was not compassed here with the second wall, for this place was not fortified, because that those parts of the new citie were not much inhabited. So that from this place the wall might easily be assaulted: wherby *Titus* was perswaded that the higher citie, and the Temple, and Antonia, might easily be taken. As he was thus viewing the place, one of his friends called *Nicanor* came vnto him: who was shot in the left shoulder with an arrow, because hee desired to come neere *Ioseph*, who went thither of purpose to perswade the

Nicanor is wounded with an arrow in the left shoulder.

C Iewes which were vpon the wall to yeelde (for *Nicanor* was very eloquent.) *Cesar* perceiving their minds, and that they could not abstaine from him, who perswaded them to that which was most expedient for them, was now moued, and began earnestly to besiege them: and so hee permitted his souldiers to waste all the suburbs, and to gather all the rubbish, stones, wood, & other matter together, and made therewith a mount. And diuiding his army into three parts, hee disposed of euery one what he should doe, & in the midst of all vpon the mounts he placed archers, and before them engines for shot, wherewithall he hindered the incursions of his enemies, least they should annoy the worke, & also did beate those off from the wall, who made any resistance from thence. And presently all trees being cut downe, the suburbs appeared naked. Whilst the Romanes hauing gathered the wood together, were busied in their worke, the Iewes were not idle: and then the people, who were troubled with murders & robberies, did hope to haue an end of their miserie, the seditious people being busied against their enemies: & they now hoped that if the Romanes did overcome, they might be reuenged vpon them. *John* still kept where hee was, fearing *Simon*; yet were his followers very earnest to assault the Romanes. But *Simon* being next vnto the siege, did not rest, but placed all along that part of the wall, men with darts, which before were taken from *Seleis* Gouvernour of the Romanes, and found in the Castle of Antonia. But the darts did the Iewes small pleasure, by reason that few of them knew how to vse them: onely some who were taught by certain that fled from the Romanes, could vse them a little. Yet did they assault the Roman souldiers that were building the mounts, with arrows and stones; and they made incursions vpon them by companies, and fought with them. But the Romanes worke

The darts did the Iewes little good because they were not expert in vsing them.

D men were defended by hurdles that were of purpose set before them: & euery legion had strange and admirable engines against the excursions of their enemies, and especially the engines that the tenth legion had to cast darts, and others that cast stones; which did not onely repulse them, by whom they were assaulted, but also those that stood vpon the wall: for euery stone was a talent weight, and were shot more then a furlong, and flew not onely those that they did first strike, but also many that were stricken with the rebound. But the Iewes alwaies espied the stones before they came (for they were white) and so auoided them: and they were not onely deliered by the noyle they made in flying, but they might easily be perceived: and by this meanes the watchmen in the towers gaue warning alwaies when these engines were shot off, and when the stones came, crying in their countrie language, *The stone commeth*: so the Iewes vpon the wallles knowing what they meant, auoided the stones and so received no harme. Then the Romanes deuised to blacke the stones with inke, and so they could not be seene as they flew, but at one stroke slew many. But the Iewes were not herewith so terrified, that they permitted the Romanes peaceably to build the mount, but night and day they hindered them with stratagemes and valour. Now when the Romanes had finished their worke, the Carpenters measured the space betwene the mounts and the wallles with a plummet fastned vnto a line, which they cast from one place vnto another: for they could not measure it otherwile, because of the darts cast from the wallles; and

VIII

finding

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativitie, 72. Titus commaundeth the wall to be battered in three places

The seditious forgetting their hatred and discords ioine in one.

The Ramme shaketh a corner of a tower

Titus putteth the Iewes to flight and driueth them into the citie.

John Captaine of the Idumæans by the shot of an arrow that woundeth him in the breast dieth.

finding that they had Rammes long enough, they set them vp, and *Titus* commaunded the wall to be battered in three places, to the end that the batterie might not bee hindred. The noyse that these rams did make, was heard round about the citie; and the citizens cried mainly out, & the seditious persons were also sore afraid. And seeing themselves all in like danger, they now determined to ioine all together in resisting the Romans: and the seditious cried one vnto another, saying, that they rather assisted the enemies, then resisted them: & therefore exhorted one another, at least for that time to become friends, if not for euer, onely to resist the Romanes. And *Simon* sent a crier vnto the temple, licensing all such as would to come vnto the wals: which also *John* did permit, notwithstanding he mistrusted *Simon*: so they forgetting their old quarrel, ioined all together, and resisted the Romans, and guarding the walles round they cast much fire vpon the engines of the Romans, and against those that did rule them; & threw darts against them without intermission: and the boldest amongst them in great companies leapt downe, and destroyed that wherewith the engines were couered, and assaulted those that stood to defend them; and so did the Romans much harme, by reason of their desperate boldnes more then by their skill.

Titus was still at hand to succour them that stood in need: and placing horsemen & Archers about the engines, he repulsed the Iewes who came to cast fire, and repressed them that cast darts, and shot arrows from the towers, and so gaue the rams time & opportunity to beat the wals. Yet for all this the wall was not shaken with rams, saue onely that the ram of the fifth legion did shake the corner of a tower; but yet the wall stood firme, and was not harmed by the shaking of the tower: for it was far higher then the wall, and so could not draw downe any part of the wall as it fell. So soone as they had awhile ceased from excursions, they perceiued that all the Romanes were busied in one labour or other, and so dispersed all ouer the camp, thinking that the Iewes for feare durst come no more. The Iewes all secretly issued out of the gate by the tower Hippicos, & cast fire vpon the works, and courageously made incursion vpon the Romans euen vnto the rampire of their campe. The Romanes seeing what danger might ensue, presently assembled themselves, both they that were neere, and those that were far off. The discipline of the Romanes ouercame the furie of the Iewes: and putting those to flight that first met them, they assaulted those that opposed themselves against them afterward. So there began a grieuous battell about the engines, the Iewes struing to fire them; and the Romanes fighting to hinder them: and a doubtfull cry was raised on both parts, & many in the forefront were slaine on both sides. But the Iewes audacitie got them the vpper hand; & their fire did something touch the engines: and all had been consumed quite with fire, had not the chosen soldiers that came from *Alexandria* hindred it, who for the opinion that they had of themselves did fight stoutly: for they were accounted to haue bene the most valiant of all in this battell; till such time as the Emperour with certaine selected horsemen came and set violently vpon the enemies: and he himselfe slew twelue men that did resist him; for whose deaths the rest fearing fled, and were forced to retyre themselves into the Citie, and so saued the engines from being fired. It chanced that one of the Iewes was in this fight taken aliue, and *Titus* commaunded that he should be crucified before the wall, that perhaps therewith being herewithall terrified might yeelde. After *Cæsar* was retired, *John* the Captaine of the Idumæans talking vpon the wall with one of his friends, being stricken in the brest with an arrow by an Arabian soldier presently died: which caused great lamentation among the Iewes, and sorrow amongst the seditious, for he was valiant of his hands and very wise and of good aduise.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the fall of the tower: and how the two walles were taken.

THe night following, there was a great tumult amongst the Romanes. For *Titus* the Emperour had commaunded to be builded three towers, fiftie cubits high a peece, each one vpon a seuerall mount, that from thence hee might the more easily beate the enemies from off the wals: but one of these towers in the midst of the night fell downe without any assault. And making a great noyse with the fall, feare fell vpon the whole army; who suspecting that it came to passe by some stratageme wrought by the Iewes, euery one ranne and armed himselfe, and so there was a great tumult in the armie: and for that no man could tel what the matter was a long time, they stood as it were all amazed, euery one asking his fellow what had happened. And seeing no enemies come, they beganne to feare some treason amongst themselves; and so were in a great feare they knew not wherefore, till such time as *Titus* vnderstanding

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativitie, 72.

A the matter, caused the truth thereof to be presently proclaimed throughout the campe; and so the tumult (although with much adoe) was appealed.

The Iewes valiantly bearing and enduring all other dangers, were foretroubled by reason of these towers which *Titus* had erected; for they were slaine and wounded from thence with small engine shot, darts and arrowes; neither could they build themselves any so high, nor was there any hope to destroy them: for neither could they bee throwne downe for their weight, nor fired because they were couered with yron: and so they flying out of the reach of the shot, did not seek to hinder the ram from battering their wals; which neuer ceasing, at last preuailed somewhat. So the great ramme, which the Iewes called *Nicon*, because it ouercame all, at last battered the wal; and the Iewes being weary with fighting, for that they had watched all the night before, for sloth, or else because they perswaded themselves that the wall was superfluous, they hauing two more beside it, they all forooke their quarters, and retired themselves vnto the second wall; and the Romanes entred the first, that the ram called *Nicon* had battered. Then the Romanes that had passed and entred the first wall, went and opened the gates & let in the whole army. Hauing thus gotten the wall the seventh day of May, they destroyed the greatest part thereof; and also the North side of the citie which before *Cestius* had wasted.

Titus remooued his campe from thence, and went vnto the place called the Assyrians campe, and seised vpon all betwene that and *Cedron*; and being without the shotte of an arrow from the second wall, hee began againe to assault it. Then the Iewes diuiding the wall betwixt them to defend each others part, they resisted most valiantly. And *John* and his partakers defended all *Antonia*, and the North part of the Temple from *Alexanders* toombe: and *Simon* defended all from *Johns* toombe vnto the gate by the tower Hippicos. And many times issuing out at the gates they fought hand to hand with the enemy, being alwaies repulsed by the discipline of the Romanes, only for want of knowledge in warlike affaires; and still in all fights vpon the wal they got the best: for the Romanes were assisted by fortune and knowledge, and the Iewes with desperate boldnes which came of feare; for they are of stout courage in aduersitie. Moreover, the Iewes were moued to fight in hope that way to saue their owne liues: and the Romanes to get a speedy conquest. Neither partie was wearie, neither did they euer cease from assaulting one another: all the day long the Iewes in whole companies made excursions against the Romanes, and they omitted no kinde of fight, beginning at sunne rise, and continuing all night long, farre more terrible to them both then in all the day before: the Iewes feared least that the Romanes should get the wall; & the Romanes likewise misdreaded that the Iewes should invade their camp. Thus still all night long being armed, early in the morning they were prepared againe to fight. The Iewes did one strue with another who should vndergo the most danger, and so deserue his captaines fauour. *Simons* followers did greatly reuerence & feare him, in so much as if hee should haue commaunded any of them to haue killed himselfe, hee would presently haue done it. The Romanes were encouraged to fight by their wont and custome in getting the victorie, and that they were not wont to bee ouercome: againe their frequent and daily warres and continuall exercises, and large dominions gaue them like courage, and especially *Titus* their Generall still present in all their affaires greatly stirred them forward: for euery one thought it a hainous crime to be a coward in the presence of such a captaine as *Cæsar* was. *Cæsar* himselfe beholding and looking on, who also was a witness of their deedes that behaved themselves valiantly, would reward euery man for his valour: beside that, it was aduantage to be easily knowne vnto the prince for a valiant man: so that many of them shewed that their alacritie was farre greater then their strength. At this time *Longinus* one of the horsemen coming out of the Roman armie, pread into the midst of the Iewes forces, and casting them downe that stood in his way, by this violence he slew two of the strongest of the enemies amongst them, striking one of them ouer the face, and slaying the other with his owne dart he rooke from him: who for this deed was greatly honoured, hauing broken thorow a strong army of the Iewes, that were placed before the wals, and cast darts at him on either side. Many of the Romanes by this his example were enticed to doe the like. The Iewes now regarded not what they suffered, but onely deuised which way to harme their enemy; nothing esteeming death, so that they might kill some one of the Romanes. But *Titus* had as much care to preferue his soldiers, as he had to get the victory; affirming these rash assaults to proceed of desperation: and that onely was to be accounted for vertue, when one did warlike not in danger himselfe to atchieue any worthy action, and willed them rather to shew themselves men where there was no danger.

Nicon that is to say Victor, the Romans great ramme.

The Romanes get the first wall.

The Iewes conflict with the Romanes. The Iewes boldnes.

The custome of the Romanes to conquer.

Longinus breaketh into the midst of the Iewes armie, and disturbeth it.

How Castor the Jew derided the Romans.

Castor a subtil
and politike
Jewe.

When *Titus* commanded the ramme to be set vp against the tower on the North part of the citie, wherein a craftie and politike Iewe accompanied with ten men had hid himselfe, all the rest being fled: this Iew was named *Castor*. These men hauing seen still a while there in their armour, at last being afraid and the tower beginning to shake, they start vp: and *Castor* stretching forth his hand, did as it were humbly craue fauour at *Cæsars* hands, and with a lamentable voice besought him to spare him. *Titus* seeing the mans simplicity, as he thought, and perswading himself that the Iewes did now repent them of their enterprise, he caused the ram to cease from battering, and the archers to hold their hands; and withall permitted *Castor* to speake his pleasure. *Castor* said, that he desired to come & make a league of peace. And *Titus* answered, that he would grant it, if so be all the rest would do so likewise; & that hee would presently confirme a league of peace betweene him and the citie. Five of *Castors* fellowes seemed to bee willing, and to request the like; but the other five counterfai't to withstand them, crying out aloud, that they would neuer bee slaues vnto the Romanes, seeing they might die in libertie. Whilest *Castor* and his fellowes were debating the matter, the batterie ceased. In the meane time *Castor* priuily sent worde vnto *Simon*, willing him whilest the batterie ceased to deliberate what was expedient to be done in this necessitie: for hee awhile would deceiue the Roman Emperour, and hold him in suspence. And in the meane time hee seemed to exhort his companions that denied to embrace the kind offer of *Titus*: & they as it were angry hereat, drew their swords and strooke vpon their corslets; and they so stricken seemed to fall down, as though they had bin slaine. *Titus* and his soldiers were amazed at this their obstinacie; for being on the lower ground they could not well perceiue what was done: and so they wondred at their desperation, and also pitied their calamity. At this time one strooke *Castor* in the buttock with a dart, & *Castor* pulling it out of his flesh, shewed it vnto the Emperour; & complained of it, as being iniured. *Titus* presently with sharp words corrected him that shot it, and forthwith would haue sent *Ioseph* to promise *Castor* pardon and peace. But *Ioseph* denied to goe, affirming that *Castor* only dissembled, & so hindered his friends that would haue gone. At last one *Aeneas*, who had fled vnto the Romanes, K offered himselfe to go. *Castor* inuited him, as though hee would giue him some thing in token of his true meaning. Then *Aeneas* opened the skirt of his garment, thinking *Castor* would haue cast him downe something of worth: and when he came vnderneath the tower, *Castor* tooke a great stone and threw it downe vpon him; yet hurt him not because he was aware of it, & auoided the stone; but it wounded another souldier standing by. Then *Cæsar* considering this deceit, began to thinke that pitie and mercie in warres was hurtfull, & that cruelty was not so easily deceived; and so being very angry at this deceit, he caused the wall to be beaten with the ramme more then before. *Castor* and his fellowes perceiuing the tower to shake, they set it on fire, and so passed through the flame, and conuied themselves into a mine of the tower; so that again the Romanes admired their courage, thinking that they had burned themselves. L

Mercy in wars
hurtfull.

Titus taketh
the second
wall.

Titus assaulting the wall on this part, took it five daies after that he had taken the first; and causing the Iews to fly from thence, he accompanied with a thousand chosen men about him, entered in where the woollmen, & coppersmiths, & marchant-tailors dwelt, which place was the new citie, hauing only narrow & straight waies to go vnto the wall. And had he presently beaten down a great part of the wall, or according to the lawes of armes destroyed that which he had gotten, he had obtained the victory without any losse on his side. Yet now hoping the Iewes would yeeld, seeing that if he pleased he might take them by force, he gaue the more ample and easie passage to retire: for he did not thinke that they whose good he sought, would haue bene traitors vnto him.

CHAP. X.

How the Romanes did twice take the second wall.

M

When *Titus* was entred the citie, hee suffered none of them that were taken to be slaine, nor the houses to be burned, but permitted the seditious (if they were so minded) to fight, and that without the preiudice of the people: & also promised the people to restore vnto them all their goods. For many besought him to spare the citie for them; and the temple for the

The year of the
world, 4034, af-
ter Christ's Na-
tinitie, 72.
They interpret
warlike *Titus*
humanitie for
cowardize.

The Romanes
are driuen out
by the Iewes.

A the citie. The people were glad hereof: and many of the warlike Iewes thought the humanity of *Titus* to proceed from cowardize; and iudged that *Titus*, for that he despaired to winne the rest of the citie, did now cowardlike propound these conditions. They likewise threatned all the people, that whosoever should speake one worde concerning peace and yeelding vnto the Romanes, should presently die: and some of them did resist the Romanes from out of their houses, and others in the narrow waies: and others going out at the higher gates, began a battell; wherewith the watchmen being troubled, fled from the wall, and forsaking the towers, they reired themselves into their campe. The Roman soldiers within the city cried out, because they were enclosed with enemies, the gates being shut, and assaulted without by those who apprehended their companions to be in great danger. The number of the Iewes encreasing, and preuailling, for that they knew the waies and turnings of the streets, many of the Romanes were slaine, and violently borne downe, when they offered to resist in that necessitie: for a multitude together could not flie, by reason of the narrowness of the streets, that went vnto the wall: and all that entered into the city had been slaine; had not *Titus* succoured them. For placing at the beginning of euery streete archers, and himselfe being where most need was, he so did driue away the Iewes with darts and arrowes: and with him *Domitius Sabinus*, who in that fight was proued a stout warriour; who so long continued beating the Iewes with arrowes, till all the souldiers were escaped away.

C Thus the Romanes hauing got the second wall were beaten from it againe: And the citizens fit for war were hereat encouraged, & were drunken with this good fortune, thinking that now the Romanes durst no more offer to come into the citie, and that they could not be overcome if they did arme themselves to fight. For God, because of their iniquitie had darkened their vnderstanding, so that they neuer considered that the Romane forces were far greater then they that were overcome, nor the famine that presently ensued: for as yet they liued vpon the destruction of the people, and dranke the blood of the citie: but the good did euen now suffer famine, and many of them had already perished for want of foode: yet the seditious did reioice at the death of the citizens, as though thereby they were eased of a great burthen, onely desiring their liues that bare rebellious minds, and would ioine with them against the Romanes, reioicing at the death of the rest, as freed from a heavy clogge; and this was the affection they bare vnto their Citizens. And so they armed themselves, and resisted the Romanes, who now againe did attempt to enter the breach: and they threw down stones and part of the wall vpon them as they came vp, and so draue them backe againe, and valiantly resisted them for three daies. But the fourth day they were not able to withstand *Titus* his assault, but were forced to retire, as before: and hee hauing gotten the wall, destroyed all the North part thereof, and placed a garrison in the towers and fortresses of the South part.

The Iewes
courage en-
creaseth.

The people in
want, & many
die for hunger

Titus once
more getteth
the second
wall.

CHAP. XI.

Of the mounts raised to batter the third wall: and a long Oration of Iosephs to perswade the people to yeelde: and of the famine in the Citie.

E

When *Titus* now determined to batter the third wall, and he thought to continue that siege but a short time: & that it was conuenient to giue the seditious some time to bethinke themselves, to see if that either by the taking of the second wall, or terrified with famine, they would repent. For now there was no more preies for the left in the citie, & he lay before the walls thereof, euen as he desired. And the time being come, that euery souldier should receiue victuals and prouision for himselfe, *Titus* caused them to be led euery one in order into a place, where the Iewes in the citie might perfectly behold them, and caused his captaines to distribute money to euery one: and the souldiers (as their custome is) all armed, and drawing their swords out of their sheathes, marched along, the horsemen leading their horses gallantly adorned, and a great part of the suburbs glistered with gold and silver. This spectacle was gratefull to their own souldiers, and terrible to the Iewes: for all the old walles, and the North part of the citie, and many houses were filled with the multitude of them, who came to view this sight: & there was no part of the citie that was not filled with people to see and behold it. And feare came vpon the very boldest amongst all the Iewes, seeing both the Romanes armour & their order: and perhaps that shew would haue caused the seditious people to haue relented, had they not despaired to haue found mercy and pardon at the Romanes hands for their offences committed; and so they thought it better

Titus surcea-
sing the siege
commandeth
money to be
distributed to
all his soldiers.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christ's Nativity, 72. Dettine had decreed that the innocent should perish with the no-cent, and the citie with the seditious.

The Romanes in their labour are hindered by the Iewes.

Titus bounty towards the Iewes.

Iosephs Orati on to the Iews.

Fortune and God for the Romanes.

Famine in the Citie.

better to be presently slaine in warres, then to be put to death shamefully, if they desisted from fight. Destiny also hindered this, whereby it was decreed that the innocent should perish with the wicked, and the citie with the seditious, and for foure daies space they distributing necessities vnto the souldiers: and on the fift day Titus perceiuing that for ought he could do, the Iewes were still obstinate, he diuided his armie into two parts, and about Iohns tomb he began to raise mounts, and against Antonia, hoping that waies to take the higher part of the citie, and by Antonia to seise the temple; which except he could effect, he could effect, he could not safely take the citie: and against either of these places he raised two mounts, euery legion making one. The Iewes and Simons followers did hinder the work that was begunne before Iohns tomb, and Iohn likewise with a great number of the Zealous hindered them that made the mounts ouer against Antonia: who not onely did fight with the aduantage of the higher ground; but also had now learned the vie of engines: for continuall vie by little and little made them skilfull, and they had three hundred engines called Balistaes, and fortie engines to cast stones, wherewith they greatly annoyed the Romanes, and hindered them from their worke.

Titus foreknowing that fortune would fauour him, & that the city was like to perish, he halted to take it, neuer ceasing to perswade the Iewes to yeeld: & with his deeds he joined counsell. For he knew that many times words preuaile more then violence of armes, & exhorted them to saue themselves, & yeeld the citie vnto him: & told them of Ioseph, how that he should make a speech vnto them in their owne language, for he hoped that they would heare their owne countriman. Then Ioseph going about the Citie without the daunger of shot, cried vnto them to spare themselves, the citie, the temple, the people, and not become more hard hearted against him, I strangers were. For the Romanes did reuerence the holy places, notwithstanding they had no societic or portion in them; and how euen till this day they had abstained from violating them: and they who were nourished with them, and might onely saue them, did wilfully cause their destruction: and bad them consider that their strongest walles were battered down; and only now the weaker remaining vn battered, hee willed them to consider, how they were not able to withstand the Romanes forces. And that it was no newes to the Iewes, nor straunge, to be subiect vnto the Romanes. For although it be a good & commendable thing to fight for liberty, yet that was to be done in the beginning: for hee that was once subiect, and would rebell, hauing a long time liued vnder the obedience of the Romanes, seemed rather to be desirous of a shameful death then a loue of libertie. Moreouer, that they should disdaine to be subiect vnto base people, and not vnto them whom the whole world obeyed. For (said he) what place haue not the Romanes that may be inhabited? Nay themselves might perceiue how fortune did still fauour them: And that God who guided the Empire to be placed in all parts, was now in Italy. Also that euen by the law of nature, as well by the example of beastes as of men, wee are taught to giue place vnto them that are stronger then ourselves, and be contented that they should get the victory that are valiantest in armes. And this (quoth he) was the cause that your ancestors who were far more strong and politike then you, and had better meanes to resist; yet did they submit themselves vnto the Romanes: which if God had not bene pleased withall, hee would neuer haue permitted them to haue done. And how could they hope to resist, seeing the citie was as it were already raken? And that the citizens supposing their walles were whole, yet were they all destroyed. For the Romanes well knew what famine was amongst them, and how it did euery day waste the people, and would also in short time destroy the warriours amongst them. For suppose that the Romanes would cease, and not besiege the citie, nor offer with drawne swords to assault it: yet is there a ciuill warre within the Citie, which the Iewes cannot overcome or auert, it euery daie increasing: except they would also fight against hunger, and they alone overcome aduerse fortune. Further he added, that it was best, before intolerable calamities befell them, to change their opinion, and whilst they haue time to be counselled by good aduise. And that the Romanes would not punish them for that which was already past, except they persisted obstinate euen vnto the end. For they are (quoth he) kinde, courteous, and gentle to their subiects, and doe prefer their commoditie before reuenge. And they thought it aduantage to haue the citie, & the countie try inhabited; therefore the Emperours would make a league of peace with them: but if he tooke the citie by force, he would not spare one, especially seeing that they were willed by him to saue themselves, and yet in their greatest necessity refused to obey him. Likewise hee told them that the third wall would also be taken very shortly, as well they might perceiue by the two walles: and suppose that the citie was inexpugnable, yet the famine would cause it to be yeelded into the Romanes hands in despite of them.

As

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christ's birth, 72. The Emperor striueth to be at peace with the Romanes. Ioseph rippeth vp the ancient Histories, and some forraine.

- A As Ioseph did thus aduise them, many standing vpon the wals did raile against him, many vbraided him, & others shot at him. Ioseph seeing he could no more auert them from their imminent calamities, recounted vnto them al their own Histories making for his purpose. O wretches (quoth he) and vngrateful to them that help you: you fight against the Romanes, and bear armes against them, as though this way you had conquered some others that came, as they now doe, against you. When doth God the maker of all things denie his help vnto vs if we be oppressed? Will ye not remember your selues? For what cause did you enterprise these warres, & how great a friend and alsiester of yours doe you daily offend? Do ye not remember the miraculous works of your ancestors, and this holy place; & how in times past it was by the enemies destroyed? But I quake and tremble to recount the works of God to such vnworthy hearers: yet hearken, that you may know that you do not only resist the Romanes, but also God himselfe. Nechias at that time king of Egypt, who also was called Pharaoh, came, and with an infinite army tooke away Queene Sara, the mother of our nation. And what did our first father Abraham in this case? Did he with weapons and armes reuenge this iniurie? hauing vnder his command three hundred and 18 captaines, & vnder them an infinite multitude? Or did he rather desist from warre, perceiuing God not to accompany him? Wherefore lifting vp pure and vndeiled hands towards this holy place, which now you haue defiled and prophaned, he chose God an inuincible helper to aide him. And vvas not the Queen the second night after sent home againe vnto him vntouched? And the Egyptian adoring this holy place, which ye haue polluted with murders of your own nation, & trembling at the visions he saw in the night time, fled, rewarding the Hebrewes with gold and siluer, whom he perceiued to be so beloued of God. Shal I recount vnto you the going of our ancestors into Egypt? who hauing for foure hundred yeeres been slaues vnto the Egyptian tyrants and kings, & able to haue reuenged themselves by force of armes, yet did they rather expect & stay Gods leade of serpents, and infected with all diseases, and the earth became so barren, that Nilus waxed dry, and the tenne plagues followed one another without ceasing; whereby our ancestors were safely deliuered without any bloodshed: for God conducted them, as willing to referue them for his Priests.
- When the Assyrians had taken away from vs the holy Arke, did not Palestina and Dagon repent that fast? did not all the nation of them that tooke it, weepe and lament therefore? For their priue parts being putrified, their bowels and the meat they did eate ran out there, and so with vnclean hands they were forced to bring it back againe, with cymbals and trumpets: therby to make satisfaction for their offence. It was God that did this for our ancestors, because that they laying their armes aside, wholly resigned themselves to his pleasure. Was Senacherib king of Assyria, comming with all his power out of Asia, and incamping himselfe before this citie, ouercome by humane force? Did not our ancestors leauing armes, flie to prayers, and by an Angell God in one night destroyed an infinite army? And the next day the Assyrians rising, found a hundred four score and siue thousand of his men dead, and so fledde with the rest from the Hebrewes being vnarmed, & not pursuing him? You knowe also, that in the captiuitie of Babylon, where the people liued the space of 70 yeeres, they got not their libertie till such time as God put in Cyrus hart, to suffer them to goe into their owne countrey. Who still assisting them, they againe as the Priests in old time were wont, did serue and reuerence their helper. In briebe, our ancestors did neuer atchieue any great matter by force of armes, neither did they leaue any thing vndone, wherein they expected Gods helpe, but still remaining quiet at home, they ouercame their enemies through his prouidence: and when they did fight after their own wils, they alwaies failed of their expectation. For when Zedechias our king, contrary to the admonition of the prophet Jeremie, did go forth, and fight with the king of Babylon then besieging the city, both hee and all his were taken, & this city destroyed. Yet consider how far your captaines are inferior vnto that king, and your selues vnto the people of those times. For Jeremie crying vp & downe the citie, and saying that God was offended at their iniquitie, and that except they did yeeld the same, it should be taken by force; yet did not the king nor any of the people lay hands vpon him. And you (that I may omit your iniquitie done within the citie, which though I wold, I could not sufficiently diminish) do attempt to kil me, & vnto me speaking speeches against me, who once gaue you wholsom counsell for your good only; for that I put you in mind of your sins, you not enduring to hear of that which you daily commit. This same berided also when Antiochus surnamed Epiphanes besieged the Citie, GOD being highly displeased at our ancestors, who going out in armes against him, were all slaine, the towne spoiled, and this holy place for three yeeres and sixe moneths made desolate.

Nechias, a king of Egypt.

The Hebrewes vnder the tyrannie of Egypt 4 hundred yeeres.

The sacre Arke taken away by the Assyrians and restored to the Iewes.

Senacherib king of Assiria

The captiuitie of Babylon.

The destruction of Ierusalem by the king of Babylon.

Iosephs bitter inuective against them.

The yeere of the
world, 4034. af-
ter Christs birth,
72.

The Iewes
finnes against
the lawes.

The Romans
vse the same
maner of o-
uerthrow a-
gainst the
Iewes, as the
Assyrians did.

God knoweth
when to re-
uenge.

The fountains
that before
time were dry
now flowe to
Titus.

God is wont
to shew mercy
to those who
confesse and
be penitent.

solate. What should I shew vnto you any more examples? Who first incited the Romans them-
selues against the Iewes? Was it not the impietie of our owne countymen that did it? Whence
began our bondage at that time? Did it not proceed from the sedition of our ancestors, when the
furie of *Aristobolus* and *Hircanus* brought *Pompey* into our citie: and so God subdued them vnto
the Romans, being now vnwoorthy of liberty? And at length hauing for three months space en-
dured a siege, being not so great offenders as you are, and better able to abide the siege then you,
yet did they yeeld themselves. Are we ignorant of the end of *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobolus*,
who inuading the kingdom, brought our nation againe into subiection; God so laying this
bondage vpon them, for that he was moued at the iniquitie of our nation? And *Herod* the sonne
of *Antipater*, brought *Sosius* and the Romane armie, and besieged the citie round six moneths
space: and at last, for the greatnesse of their iniquitie was taken and punished for their offences, &
the citie sacked by the enemies. So you evidently see that our nation did neuer preuaile by force
of armes. And assure your selues that the Citie will be taken by this siege. It is meet therefore that
you who keep this holy place, wholly commit your selues to Gods wil and pleasure, & then feare
not the forces of the enemies, when by reason of your pietie, you are assured of Gods helpe and
succour. But what one parcell of Gods law haue you obserued? Nay, what mischiefe haue you
left vndone, that he detesteth not? How farre greater is your impietie then theirs, that did lud-
dainly perish for their sinnes? For you making small account of secret sinnes, to wit, stealing, de-
ceit, and adulteries, do violently take away mens goods by open force, and murder whom yee
please; and haue deuised new waies to sinne. Moreover, you haue made the holy Temple a place
of all these your impieties, and the seate that the Romans did adore, is by our owne nation pol-
luted: much derogating from the honour of our religion by your impious facts. Last of all, you
hope of his help whom you haue so hainously offended. Truly you are very iust people and obe-
dient, and with pure hands you aske help of God. Did our king thus pray vnto God, when he ob-
tained that in one night so many of the Assyrians should be destroyed? Or doe the Romans com-
mit such impietie as the Assyrians did, that you may hope of the like reuenge against them? for
he hauing receiued a peece of money to saue the citie, did, not regarding his oath, seek to destroy
the same. The Romans doe onely request the tribute that our auncestors were wont to pay vnto
them: which if they haue, they will neuer destroy the citie, nor touch our holy things. They will
also permit you to enioy freely your families and possessions, and suffer our lawes to remaine in-
uiolate. It is altogether madnesse for you to hope that God will so punish iust men, as hee did sin-
ners and impious persons, who knoweth to punish at his pleasure. To be short, hee destroyed the
Assyrians the first night, that they encamped before the citie. And if hee purposed also to deliuer
you, and punish the Romans, hee would then haue done it, when *Pompey* and *Sosius* came against
the citie, or when *Vespasian* wasted Galilee, or lastly now, when *Titus* came to assault it. But nei-
ther *Pompey* nor *Sosius* suffered any harme, yet both of them tooke the citie. *Vespasian* so gained
by warring against vs, that he hath hereby got the whole Empire. And the fountaines which be-
fore gaue you no water, yeeld it to *Titus* in great abundance. You know that before his com-
ming, the fountains without the citie and Siloa were so dried vp, that water was sold by measure:
yet now they flow so plentifully, that they do not only serue all the army, & their cattell also, but
besides that, do water all the gardens about. What this wonder foretelleth, you haue already ex-
perience, vvhhen the king of Babylon came with his army and destroyed the citie: who tooke it &
fired it and the temple, notwithstanding that (as I am perswaded) the Iewes of that time were no-
thing so wicked as you are. Wherefore I thinke that God hath forsaken this holy place, and is now
gone to them that do besiege you. Wil not a good man flie a wicked house, and hate the impious
that dwell therein? And do you then thinke that God will abide your impietie, who beholder shall
secrets, & knoweth all things that are hid? But what is secret amongst you? Or what do you seeke
to hide? Nay, what do you that your enemies doe not know? All your iniquities are disclosed to
all men: & you euery day strue one with another who shall bee most impious. And you doe as
greatly labour to shew your selues vicious, as others do to shew themselves vertuous. Yet for all
this, there is time to amend, and Gods wrath will be appeased, if ye acknowledge your sins, & be
penitent for your offences. Cease from armes, be ashamed of your country now ruined through
your owne meanes. Turne your eyes and behold the beautie of the place, whose ruine you seek.
How braue a Citie, how gorgeous a Temple, how rich with the gifts of all nations? Who would
fire these? Who would desire the ruine of these? Or what is there in the world that better deser-
ueth to be serued then these? O hard harted people, and more blockish then stones. If you
doe not pittie these, yet let your families moue you; euery one of you look vpon your children,
wiues,

A wiues and parents, who shal all presently be consumed, either with sword or famine. I know that
together with you shall perish my family, and wife and house, which sometime were of no small
account: And perhaps some of you doe think me therefore to speake this vnto you; but kil them,
and take my blood for recompence of your welfare and liues: I my selfe am also prepared to die,
if after my death you would remember your selues.

Ioseph crying thus vnto them with teares trickling downe his cheeks, the seditious were no-
thing moued, but told him that it was not safety for them to yeeld. But the people were perswa-
ded to flie: and some selling their possessions, & that they had for small prices, they did swallow
downe the gold, for feare the thieues should take it from them. And so when they had escaped
vnto the Romans, they emptying their bellies found it againe, and so had money to buy them ne-
cessaries.

B *Titus* also permitted many to go away which soeuer they pleased: which thing caused
diuers to flie, seeing that thereby they were deliuered out of their calamitie, which in the citie
they abode, and were not forced to serue the Romans. But *John* & *Simon* were as diligent to stop
the waies, lest the Citizens should escape, as they did hinder the Romans from entring into the
Citie: so that whosoever did but giue any suspition of flight, hee was presently by them put
to death. The richer sort, whether they staid or fled, were slaine for their wealth & possessions. The
famine of the citie, and the desperation of the thieues both increased alike, euery day more and
more; so that now there was no more corne found. Wherefore the seditious persons brake into
the houses, and searched euery corner for to find corne; and if after their search they found any,
then they did beat the owners for denying it at the first; and if they found none, they tortured the

C householders, as hauing more cunningly hidden it. And whosoever was yet strong of body, and
well liking, him they presently kild; for hereby they deemed him to haue store of food, or else he
should not haue been in so good plight of body as he was. And they that were pined with famine,
were by their barbarous seditious people slaine, who esteemed it no offence to kill the, who wold
shortly after die though they were left aliue. Many both rich & poore secretly exchanged all that
they had for one bushell of corne, & presently shutting themselves in the secrett roome of their
house, some of them did eate the corne as it was, vnground: others made bread thereof as neces-
sitie and teare required. No man in the whole citie fate down to eare his meat on a table, but gree-
dily taking it not boiled from the fire, they euen rawe as it was did eate it.

Most miserable was this manner of liuing, and a spectacle which none without teares was
D ble to behold; for the strongest still got the most, & the weakest bewailed their misery: for now
famine was the greatest calamitie they endured. And nothing doth arme men more then shame:
for during this famine, no reuerence was had towards any man: for wiues rooke the meate euen
out of their husbands mouthes, and children from their parents, and mothers euen from their
infants, which was the most lamentable thing of all. No body had now any compasion, neither
did they spare their deereest infants, but suffered them to perish euen in their armes, taking from
them the very drops of life. Yet could they not eate thus in such secrecy, but presently some came
to take away from them that whercon they fed. For if in any place they saw any doore shut, pre-
sently heereupon they coniectured that they in the house were eating meat, and forth-with break-
ing downe the doores, they came in; and taking them by the throat, they tooke the meat alit-
tle chewed, and ready to be swallowed downe. The old men were driuen away, and not permit-
E ted to keep and defend their food from being taken from them: the women were drawne vp &
downe by the haire of the head, for that they hid between their hands some part of their meate,
and would not forgoe it. No pitie was now remaining, neither to old age nor infancie, but they
rooke young babes eating, their mouth full of meate, & not permitting it to be taken out of their
mouthes, and threw them against the ground. Now if any one had prevented these thieues, and
eaten their meat before they could come at them, then they were more cruell; and the other to
much more tyrannously handled, as hauing committed some greater offence against them. They
also deuised most barbarous and cruell torments to extort food from others: for they thrust sticks
or such like into the cawtie of mens yards, and sharpe thornie rods into their fundaments: and it
F is abhominable to heare what the people endured to make them confesse one loafe of bread, or
one handfull of corne which they had hidden.

These miscreants did not yet for all this feele either hunger or thirst: for then these their impi-
eties had become more tolerable; but they did it onlie to exercise their crueltie, preparing six daies
food for themselves aforehand. Wherefore meeting such as had escaped the Roman watch in the
night, and gone into the fields to gather weeds or herbs, when they againe came into the Citie,
and thought they had now escaped the danger of their enemies; they there tooke from them the

heards

727
The yeere of the
world, 4034. af-
ter Christs birth,
72.
Iosephs loue
and constan-
cie towards
his country.

The people
flie with their
money.

A wonderfull
famine in the
citie.

The argumēt
of store of
meate.

A miserable
kind of liuing,
and a specta-
cle of great
compasion.

Theouldiers
enter the hou-
ses, and take
the meate vnto
themselves out of
the Citizens
mouthes.

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth 72.

The honorable & rich are drawn before the tyrants.

The dissension between Iohn and Simon was for rule, their concord was in wickednesse.

heards they had gotten with hazard of their liues, denying to giue them any small part of that for which they had vndergone such danger: & they required them for Gods sake to do it; yea they thought it a benefit, if beeing thus robbed and spoiled, they did not also perish by the swords of these miscreants. These calamities the baser sort of people endured at the hands of the common souldiers: but the nobles & chiefe men of the citie were led vnto the tyrants, & accused before the of betraying the citie vnto the Romans; & so by some forged treason or other put to death. And many times their suborned accusers would testifie against them, that they purposed to flie vnto the Romans. And those that *Simon* robbed, he sent vnto *Iohn*; and those that *Iohn* spoiled, he sent vnto *Simon*: and so they did as it were one drink vnto another the blood of the people, & diuide their dead carcases between them; insomuch that they disagreed onely for their desire of rule & domination: but both conspired to doe mischief & commit iniquitie. For hee that did not giue to the other part of that which by crueltie hee had extorted from the miserable citizens, was accounted impious: and he that receiued not part, did now grieue as sustaining losse, in not hauing a share in crueltie and impietie.

I am not able to recount all their iniquities: but briefly, I thinke that neuer any citie endured the like, nor neuer any people since the memory of men were so cruell and barbarous: and finally, to the intent that their impietie vnto strangers might seeme the lesse, they spake euill of the nation of the Hebrewes, and cursed them, & openly confessed themselves to be slaues, people of diuers countries, vnited together in wickednesse, bastards and abortiues of their nation. They ouerthrew the citie, and forced the Romans (though against their wils) to accept of this sorrowfull and heauie victory; and almost drew the fire into the Temple, as though it staied from it too long. Neither did they weepe or lament when they saw the higher part of the citie on fire; but many amongst the Romans did with sorrow behold that sight: which we will speake of hereafter, where we will describe the euent of that businesse.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Iewes that were crucified, and the Rampiers burnt.

THe mounts and rampiers that *Titus* built did greatly aduantage him: and although his souldiers endured some losse by the Iewes who were vpon the wal, yet hee sent part of his horsemen, and commanded them to lay wait for the Iewes that came out of the citie into the vallies to fetch food: and amongst them were also some fighting men. For now that which they could rob & take from the citizens was not sufficient for all of them: yet the greater part of them were poore people, who durst not flie vnto the Romans for feare that some harme should thereupon betide their dearest friends, not induring to leaue them behind to be murdered by the thieues. Famine did now embolden them to goe forth of the citie; and now it only remained for them to go forth priuily, & be taken by the enemies. And being taken, necessity forced them to fight for fear of torments; for they now thought it too late to request mercie: after the fight they were beaten and tortured all waies possible, and then crucified before the citie walls. *Titus* deemed this calamitie most miserable: for every day 500 Iewes and sometime more were taken; and yet did hee not thinke it expedient to dismisse so great a multitude, nor to keepe them who would be as a guard of guards. But the principall point for which hee did not hinder this, was, that by this spectacle he might terrifie the Iewes & make them feare to suffer the like, except they did quickly render themselves & the citie vnto him. Wherefore the souldiers for a hatred which they conceived against our nation, crucified all they tooke one after one fashion, & another after another in derision. And the multitude of the captiues was now so great, that there remained no more space to set crosses in, nor any more crosses to crucifie bodies vpon. But the seditious Iewes within the citie were so far froe relenting by this massacre, that rather their hearts were heereby more hardned; so that heere with they terrified the rest of the multitude: for they caried the kindred of them that had fled vnto the Romans to the wals, & bad the behold how those were vnto that fled vnto the Romanes: the same sight they also shewed vnto them that desired peace; affirming that they whom the Romans had so vnto, were those that fled vnto them for succour, & not captiues by them taken. This terrified many who desired to flie vnto the Romans, from effecting their desire; till such time as the truth hereof was known. Yet some presently went boldly vnto the Romans, as they were intending to suffer death & torment at their hands, accounting that death coming vnto them by their enemies hands, was far more tolerable than the famine they endured.

Here-

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth, 72.

The Iewes both curie Caesar & his father.

The insolence of Antiochus and the souldiers.

The Romans in 17 daies build foure huge bul-warks.

Three valiant Iewes.

The Romans inuironed with fire, lose the mounts they had built.

A Heereupon *Titus* cut off many of the captiues hands, and so sent them into the citie vnto *Simon* and *Iohn*, that their calamitie might testifie them to be captiues, and not such as had fledde and yielded vnto the Romans; willing to admonish them at least now to yield, and not compell him to destroy the citie: telling that in so doing, euen now at the last they should saue their owne liues, countrey, and temple, which had not the like in all the world: and hee continually went about the rampiers hastening the workmen in their busines, as though hee presently meant to effect that in deeds which in words he had spoken. The Iewes that stood vpon the wals, cursed both him and his father, reuiling them, and affirming that they contemned death; and that they did chuse rather to die then to become bond slaues: and that whilst life lasted, they would as much as lay in them harme the Romans, neither hauing care of themselves nor of their countrey; which **B** *Caesar* sent them word were both presently to perish. Moreouer, hee said, that the whole world was a temple dedicated to God, farre more excellent then that of theirs, which notwithstanding should be consecrated by him that dwelt in it; whose help they also enjoying, would deride all his threatnings, which could not come to passe, God beeing the end of all. And thus opprobriously they exclaimed against the Romans.

At this time arriued also *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and with him many armed men; and beside them, guarded with a company called the Macedonians, who were all of like age, and little older then young men in their youth, all trained vp in armes, and armed after the Macedonian manner, whereof also they tooke their name: yet for the most part not able to answere the expectation that men had of the Macedonians. For the king of Comagene was the most fortunate & happy of all kings, that were subiect vnto the Romane Empire; till such time as he felt the frown of Fortune: who in his aged yeres shewed that none ought to be accounted happy before his death: he yet flourishing, his sonne (said he) maruailed that the Romans did delay so long to assault the citie, and enter the battered walles (for this young man was a fine warriour, and of exceeding strength, to the which he trusted too much, so that he did many things rashly. *Titus* heereat smiled and answered, that that was a labour not onely for the Romans, but for all in common. After he had said thus, presently this young man *Antiochus*, as he was accompanied with his Macedonians, assaulted the wall, and himselfe with his strength and dexteritie auoided the darts of the Iewes, and cast his darts at them: but all his young men (onely a few excepted) were there slain: for ashamed of their boasting speeches, they continued longer in fight then it was expedient for them: at last, many beeing wounded retired themselves, now perceiuing that the Macedonians to win a victorie had need of *Alexanders* fortune. The Romans the 12 day of May beganne to build their rampiers: & labouring full seauenteen whole daies, with much adoe they ended them the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. For they builded foure most huge rampiers, one of them ouer against Antonia, which was builded by the fift legion opposite to the midst of the Struthian waters: another was builded by the twelfth legion, 20 cubits distant from the other. But the tenth legion, which was of more account then the two former, erected a mount opposite to the pond called Amygdalon on the North side: and the fifteenth legion made the fourth, thirtie cubits distant from the other, ouer against the monument of the high priest *Iohn*.

The mounts beeing thus finished, *Iohn* vndermined that which was ouer against Antonia, & **E** vnderdropped it with posts of wood, and filling the mine with wood, bitumen and pitch, hee fired it: so the posts that held it vp beeing burnt, the mine fell, and the mount also with a hideous noise fell into it: and first of all there arose a great smoake and dust, for the mines did couer the flame; at last the fire hauing consumed the matter that couered it, the flame cleerly appeared. The Romans at this suddaine and vnexpected exploit were amazed, being grieued at it: so that thereby those who before made account of the victorie, as though it had been theirs already, began to despair. Two daies after *Simon* and his associates did sette vpon the other rampiers: for thereon were planted rams, wherwith the Romanes began to beat the wals. Amongst the rest, a certaine man named *Tepthaus* of Garfusa citie of Galilee, and *Megastarus*, one of Queene *Mariammes* seruants, and with them one of Adiabena the sonne of *Nabateus*, who for his fortune was named **F** *Agirus*, which signifieth lame: these three taking fire brands ran vnto the engines, and there was none found in all the Roman armie more valiant then these men, nor more terrible: for they ran amidst the throng of their enemies so boldly, as though they had gone amongst their friends, and neuer made any stay, but breaking through the midst of their enemies, they fired their engines: and notwithstanding that on euery side they were assaulted with darts and arrowes; yet did they not giue backe, nor seek to auoide the danger, till such time as the fire had taken hold of the engines. The flame mounting on high, the Romanes now came running out of their campe

The yeere of the
world, 4034. af-
ter Christs birth,
72.

A most bitter
law among
the Romans
against those
that forsooke
their places.

Titus accu-
seth his foul-
diers of neg-
ligence.

The Iewes re-
tire within
the citie.

Titus consul-
teth with his
captaines.

to succour their fellowes: and the Iewes vpon the wall with darts and arrowes hindered them, fighting with them that sought to quench the flame, nothing sparing their own bodies. The Romans beganne to draw away the Rammes, their shelters being fired. And the Iewes amidst the flames sought to keep them there: yet for all this the Romans saved their Rammes. From thence the fire caught hold of the rampiers, and those that would haue prevented it were burned: & the fire so increased, that it could not be extinguished; so the Romans now enuironed with a flame, and despairing to rescue their works, retired themselves into their campe, and left them on fire. But the Iewes were so much the more earnest, their number still increasing by new supply coming out of the citie: and so encouraged by this their victory, they rashly adventured vnto the Romans campe, & assaulted the guard there. Which guard, was a company placed round about before the campe in armour, and there was a law made, that whosoever of them forsooke his place, he should lose his life: so that they esteeming rather to die a glorious death, then ignominiously to suffer a penall punishment, resisted very valiantly: so that many that had fled, retired themselves back againe to fight, both for shame that they had forsaken their place, and for fear of punishment therefore: and placing engines vpon the rampier of their campe, they hindred the Iewes from issuing out of the citie any more: for they came out vnarmed, hauing nothing to defend their bodies withall. For the Iewes fought with whomsoever they met, and rashly running amongst their enemies pikes, they strooke them with their fists. For the Iewes preuailed more by their hardnesse, then by their deeds: and the Romans fledde more for the Iewes boldnesse, then for any harme they sustained by them.

Then Titus came from Antonia, where he had been to view a place to build an other rampier, I and he greatly blamed the souldiers, who hauing gotten their enemies wals, did now suffer themselves to be in danger in their own wals; and now forced to abide that, which earst the Iewes did suffer, he now as it were broken out of prison: & so he with certaine chosen men assaulted the enemies on one side; and they though stricken vpon the faces, yet did they not giue backe, but stoutly resisted him: and so ioyning the battaile, the dust was so thicke, that none could see one another, nor any heare what was said for the cries and noise, so that now no man could discern his friends from his foes. The Iewes persisted still in the battaile, not for that they trusted to their force, or thereby preuailed, but because they were desperate. The Romanes on the other part tooke courage, and fought stoutly for shame, and for that Caesar himselfe was in danger amongst them. So that I thinke that had not the Iewes retired themselves into the citie, the furie of the Romans had then consumed the whole multitude. The Romanes were now sorrowfull for the losse of their rampiers, who in one houre had lost that, which with such labour and so long time they had been making: and many of their engines being now displaced, they despaired to take the citie.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the wall which the Romane armie built about Ierusalem in three daies space.

Titus now deliberated with his captaines what was to be done; & they that were most forward amongst them, thought it best with all the whole army to assault the wals: for that as yet the Iewes had onely fought with one part of the army, but they were not able to withstand the force of the whole army, but would be all consumed with darts and arrowes. The wisest sort again perswaded Titus to build rampiers: but others counselled the contrarie, to hold themselves quiet there, & onely to keep all places about, that no foode should be conuied into the citie, and so famish the citie, and neuer fight with the enemy. For that the Iewes being now desperate, & desiring to be slaine, would not be overcome by force; or if not, to slay others which was worst of all. But Titus thought it a shame to lie there idle with so huge an armie, and do nothing; yet he deemed it superfluous to fight with them, who would willingly fight to be slaine: and he could not make any mounts because hee wanted matter, & it was most difficult of all to guard every place about the citie, that none could go forth, for that it could not be beleagred round on euery side, by reason of the difficult places, & huge compasse thereof, fearing also the dangers that so might ensue, the Iewes issuing out of the citie. For the Iewes seeing their open waies all guarded by the Romans, they would deuise some secret waies, both vrged thereto by necessity, & also because they knew all places there about very wel. And if so be that the Iewes should secretly effect any thing to preiudice the, that then their siege was like to continue

OF THE IEWES. THE VI. BOOKE.

The yeere of the
world, 4034. af-
ter Christs birth,
72.
Titus deter-
mineth to in-
close the citie
with a wall.

The Romanes
with ceaseles
labour build
the wall.

One wall of 39
furlongs, where-
of one contain-
eth eight
furlongs or
thereabout.
The Romanes
plant their
courses of
guard in seuer-
all Castles.

A so much the longer: so that hee feared that the continuance of time would diminish the glorie of his victorie. For though all these waies might be taken, yet hee preferred haste before glory: and if so be he would vse celeritie and safetie, that then it was needfull for him to compasse the whole citie round about with a wall: for so all waies and passages might bee hindered: and so the Iewes seeing now no hope of safety, should either be compelled to yeeld the citie, or else bee consumed with famine, otherwise he could not be in safety and at quiet; and that so he might erect mounts, hauing that wall to defend them. And if any one thinke that worke difficult, and not to bee achieved, let him consider that it did not become the Romanes to make a bafe or slender peece of worke: and that no man in the world could without labour effect any great matter, but God onely. Hauing with these speeches encouraged his captaines, he caused them to lead the souldiers, & dispose them all in these businesses. The souldiers had as it were some diuine force and courage fallen vpon them: for the captaine parting the circuit amongst them, not onely they, but the souldiers also did striue who should first effect their part. And euery souldier laboured to please his Decurio, the Decurio to content the Centurion, and the Centurion the Colonell, the Colonell to please the Captaine, and the Captaine to please Caesar, who euery day went round about, and beheld the worke: and so beginning at the place called the Assyrians campe, where hee was encamped, hee drew a wall all about, euen vnto the new citie, and from thence by Cedron and mount Oliuet, and so turned toward the South, and inclosed the mountaine to the rocke called Peristereonos, and the hill next adioining thereunto which hangerth ouer Siloa: and from thence bending his worke into the West, hee brought it downe all along the valley of the fontaine: from thence ascending to the monument of Ananus the high Priest where Pompey pitched his Tents, and so brought it about by the North side of the citie: and comming along vnto the village called Erebinthonicus, he compassed the monument of Herode towards the East, and so ioined the wall vnto his campe where hee began. This wall was nine and thirty furlongs about. Without this wall hee builded also thirteene forts, euery one ten furlongs in compasse. And all this whole worke was finished in three daies space, which desired moneths to haue beene builded in: so that the celeritie in the building thereof doth make it scarcely credible. The citie being thus encom- passed with a wall, and guards placed in euery fort, Titus himselfe did still goe round about the first watch, to see all things in good order: the second watch hee allotted vnto Alexander; & the third vnto the captaines of the legions, and the watchmen appointed euerie one in his turne to D sleepe in: and so all night long some of them went about the Castle.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the famine in Ierusalem: and of the building of the second rampire by the Romanes.



He restraint of libertie to passe in and out of the citie tooke from the Iewes all hope of safetie; and the famine now increasing, consumed whole households and families, and the houses were full of dead women and infants; and the streetes filled with the dead bodies of old men: And the yong men swollen like dead mens shadowes, walked in the

The house &
waies full of
dead men.

E marker place, and fell downe dead where it happened. And now the multitude of dead bodies was so great, that they that were aliue could not bury them, neither cared they for burying them, being now vncertaine what should befall themselves. And many endeavouring to bury others, fell downe themselves dead vpon them as they were burying them. And many being yet aliue, went vnto their graues and there died. Yet for all this calamitie was there no weeping nor lamentation, for famine ouercame all affections. And they who were yet liuing, without teares beheld those, who being dead, were now at rest before them. There was no noyse heard within the Citie, and the still night found all full of dead bodies: and which was most miserable of all; the thecues at night came and tooke away that which couered the dead bodies nakednesse, and went laughing away, and in their bodies they proued their swords, and vpon pleasure only thrust many thorough yet breathing. Yet if any had desired them to kill him, or to end him a sword to kill himselfe, that so he might escape the famine, they denied him. And euery one that died, as he was dying, fixed his eyes vpon the temple, and beheld it now with griefe, leauing the seditious behind them. The seditious now not able to endure the stinke of the dead bodies that lay corrupted about the ground. first commanded that all such should bee buried at the charges of the citie: at last finding not place wherein to bury them all, they threw them ouer the wals into the ditch. When Titus going about the wals, beheld all the ditch filled with dead mens bodies, hee

The dead lie
vnburied in
the streetes.

The crueltie
of the thecues
against those
that lay dying.

Adad

lamented,

The years of the world, 4034, after Christs birth, 72.

Titus lifting up his hand to heaven, calleth God to witnes that the fault is not his.

The Romanes shew the Iewes their abundance of victualls.

Titus pitying the remainder of the nation laboureth to saue them.

The blindnes of the Iewes.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

lamented; and lifting vp his hands to heauen, hee called God to witnes, that it was not his doing. G Such was the estate of the city. Now the Romanes, when none of the seditious durst make any more excursions, passed their time in ioy and mirth: for they neither suffered famine nor sorrow, hauing abundance of corne, and all other necessities out of Syria, and the prouinces adioining: and many standing before the walles, and shewing their abundance of victualls vnto the Iewes, did so much more increase their famine. Yet were not the seditious people moued at these calamities: wherefore Titus pitying the reliques of the nation, and minding at least to saue them that were left aliue, hastned to take the citie, and so he began anew to build mounts: although hee scarcely found matter to doe it withall. For all the wood neere vnto the citie was consumed in the first workes, so that now the souldiers were forced to fetch more wood ninety furlongs off, and onely against Antonia, were erected in foure places foure mounts greater then the former. *Cesar* H went about and hastned the workemen, and now shewed the theeues that they were fallen into his hands. Yet for all this they would not repent: and now as it were depriued of their wits and bodies, they vsed both as though borrowed, and not their owne. For neither did any affection moue their minds, nor any griefe their bodies: for they reut and tore the dead bodies like dogs, and filled the prisons with weake and languishing people.

CHAP. XV.

Of the massacre of the Iewes both within and without the citie.

Simons cruelty against Matthias and his sonnes.



T last, Simon hauing tormented Matthias put him to death, notwithstanding that by his meanes he had obtained the citie. This Matthias was sonne vnto *Bathura* Priest, whom the people for his fidelitie towards them greatly esteemed of: who seeing the outrage of the Zelous towards the people, *Iohn* beeing now ioined with them, perswaded the people to call in Simon to helpe them, conditioning nothing with him before, for that they misdoubted no euill. And when hee was come into the citie, hee held him for his enemy as well as the rest: notwithstanding, that by his onely aduice hee was receiued into the citie, as though Matthias had onely done that of simplicitie. Wherefore calling him before the people, hee accused him that hee did fauour the Romanes, and so condemned him to die, not suffering him to cleare himselfe; and put to death likewise his three sonnes with him, K for the fourth was before this time fled vnto Titus. Matthias requested Simon that hee might bee put to death before his sonnes: but Simon in regard that by his meanes hee had gotten the Citie, caused him to be executed last of all. And so he was killed vpon the murdered bodies of his sons, in a place where the Romanes might behold him: for so Simon commanded *Ananus* his executioner who was the sonne of *Banadus*. This man was the most cruell of all Simons followers: who euen when he was to kill Matthias, derided him, asking what they could now help him, to whom hee sought to flie, and not permitted their bodies to be buried. After them *Ananias* a Priest the sonne of *Masbalus* a nobleman, and chiefe secretary to the councill, a valiant strong man & borne at Emaus, and with him fiftene of the chiefe men in the citie were put to death. They tooke also *Iosephs* father and kept him in prison, and with the publike voice of a crier proclaimed, that L no man should talke with him nor visit him, pretending feare of treason: and who soeuer bewailed his estate, were put to death without any triall. It happened, a certain man called *Iudas* the son of *Iudas*, who was one of Simons captaines seeing this (who also kept a tower that Simon committed vnto his charge, perhaps moued with compassion towards them that perished without desert, yet rather fearing his own life) assembled together ten of his most trusty companions, & said; "How long shall we endure these calamities? Or what hope haue wee of life in beeing trusty to a most impious man? Behold how famine doth take our citie. The Romanes are almost within our walls, and Simon is cruel & faithlesse, euen towards them that haue wel deserved at his hands: with him we are in feare of punishment; if we fly vnto the Romanes, we shall assuredly be receiued into fauour. Wherefore let vs deliuer the wall vnto them, and saue our selues & our citie. Neither can Simon hereby sustaine any great losse, in being punished a little sooner, then otherwise hee should be, being now desperate of his own health and safety. The ten men, to whome in this manner hee brake his mind, agreed hereunto, and so he in the morning sent the rest of his souldiers vnder his rule into diuers places, that they might not perceiue his intent, and hee at the third hower of the day standing vpon the tower called the Romanes. But some of the Romanes proudly contemned their offer, and others scarcely believed them, and the rest made no speed to come. In the meane time

Ananus one of the cruellst soldiers about Simon.

Ananias the Priest with fiftene of the noblest people slaine.

Iosephs father taken.

Iudas consultation with his companions.

Judas with his companions is slaine by Simon.

OF THE IEWES. THE VI. BOOKE.

The years of the world, 4034, after Christs birth, 72.

Ioseph wounded in the head with a stone and the rumor is spread thorow the citie.

A time while Titus with certaine armed men came vnto the wall, Simon had notice of their intent; and so speedily got the tower, and slew them that were within in the sight of the Romanes, and cast down their bodies ouer the wall. And Ioseph going about the wall, and coming thither (for he neuer ceased from requesting the Iewes to remember their estate) hee was strooke vpon the head with a stone, and so amazed with the blow fell downe: who beeing fallen downe, presently the Iewes made excursion out of the citie, and had carried him away into the citie, had not Titus sent men to defend him: and whilest they fought, Ioseph was carried away, scarcely knowing what was done. The seditious with loud cries reioiced, as hauing slaine him whose death they chiefly desired; and so they reported within the citie. Hereupon the people were most sorrowfull, verily beleueing him to be slaine, by whom they had confidence to fly vnto the Romanes.

B When Iosephs mother who was in prison heard this, she said vnto those of *Iotapata* that were her keepers, that she verily beleueed it, for that he was neuer taken aliue by the Romanes: yet secretly vnto her maidens she wept, and said, that this benefit shee receiued by hauing borne a son, that he could not bury him by whom she hoped to haue bene buried her selfe. But this false report did not long grieue her, nor comfort the theeues: for Ioseph was quickly healed of his wound, and recouered; and shewing himselfe he cried vnto them, that ere long they should finde that he would be reuenged on them for his wound; yet he ceased not to exhort the people to obey the Romanes, and yeld: but the seditious seeing him aliue were astonished, and the people conceiued good hope. Many (present necessity vrging them) leapt off the wals and fled vnto the Romanes, diuers with stones going forth vnder pretence to fight with the Romanes, yeelded themselves, C who had harder fortune there then within the citie; and were now more harmed by plenty of victualls which they found amongst the Romanes, then with their famine they suffered in the citie: for many became by famine all swollen, as though they had the dropsie, & presently filling their emptie bodies they burst; and so all died, saue onely those who being warie did by little and little accustome their bodies to food, which they had long wanted. Yet they who thus escaped fel into another grievous misfortune: for one of the Iewes that were fled vnto the Romanes was found amongst the Syrians, gathering gold out of his owne dung which he had swallowed, as is before said, for that the seditious did search all, and take that they could finde from them: & there was verie great store of gold in the citie, and that now was sold for twelue Atticks which before was worth twenty five. This deuice being discovered in one, presently a report was spread all ouer the whole campe, that the Iewes that fled from the citie came full of gold. And now the Arabians and Syrians did rippe the bellies of their poore suppliants, to see if they could find any gold or siluer within them. And I am perswaded that there was no greater calamitie befell the Iewes then this was: for in one night the bellies of two thousand Iewes were ript. Titus hearing of this cruelty, had caused the authors hereof to haue been compassed round with horsemen, and slaine with darts; & had the multitude of the offenders bin knowne, many more of the should haue bin punished, then of the Iewes that were so murdered. Wherefore he called together the leaders of the soldiers that came to helpe him, and the Roman captaines (for some of the Romanes also did commit this fault) and said vnto them in anger, that if any of his souldiers did commit any such acts for vncertaine gaine, and were not ashamed that their armour should be made of gold and siluer: or if the Arabians in these warres against strangers did what they pleased, and presently cause the infamie of their vile facts to redound vnto the Romanes; they committing such murders and exercising their hatred against the Iewes (for now euery one that bare armes vnder him were diffamed with this vile report) hee declared vnto them, that such beeing hereafter found in that fact, should bee put to death. Also he commanded his owne legions to make enquire, who were suspected among them for this matter, and bring him worde thereof. But auarice is not terrified by feare of punishment, and cruell people haue naturally a desire of lucre and gaine, and no one calamitie may be compared to the desire of wealth; yet sometime it is bridled and restrained for feare. But now God who had giuen ouer the people to perdition, suffered all things to be turned to their destruction: for that which *Cesar* did so streightly forbid, was still secretly committed against the poore Iewes that fled for mercie vnto the Romanes. So that now who soeuer fled out of the Citie, the souldiers first looking about them, least any of the Romanes should see them, rippe their bellies, and so got an vngodly and impious bootie; yet in verie few did they find that they sought for; & the most of them that were slaine had no gold nor siluer found within them. And this mischance caused many that fled vnto the Romanes to returne againe into the Citie.

Ioseph recouereth vpon his wound.

Many that fled from famine at home mette with more speedy death among the Romanes.

Two thousand Iewes embowelled in one night.

Titus displeased at this cruell act.

Auarice is not terrified with any punishment.

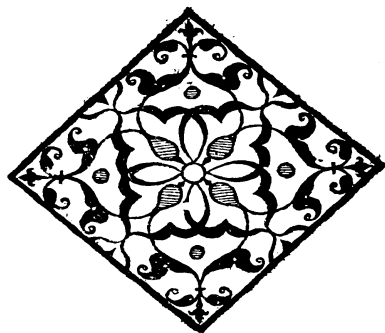
*Of the sacriledge committed about the Temple, and the dead bodies cast out of the Citie:
and of the famine.*

John falleth
to sacriledge,
& taketh away
many presents
out of the
temple.

When John could rob no more, nor get any spoile from the Citizens, whom hee had robbed of all they had, he presently fell to sacriledge, and took many gifts that were bestowed vpon the temple, and carried away sacred vessels for diuine seruice, as cups, plates, tables, and the cruets of golde that *Augustus* & his wife sent. So that now a Iew robbed and spoiled the temple of all gifts wherewith the Romane Emperours and other nations had honoured it: affirming vnto his associates, that without feare they might vse the holy things of the temple, seeing they fought for God and the temple, and therefore it was lawfull for them to be fed by the riches of the temple. Moreouer, that it was lawfull for them to spend the holy wine & oile which the priests reserued for diuine sacrifice: which hee distributed in the temple amongst the multitude, and they without feare were annointed therewith, and dranke thereof. I will not cease to speake that which grieue compelleth me. I verily thinke that had the Romanes forborne to haue come against these seditious, that either the earth would haue swallowed the city vp, or some deluge haue drowned it, or els the thunder and lightning which consumed Sodome would haue light vpon it: for the people of the citie were farre more impious then the Sodomites. In brieue, by their desperation and obstinacie the whole nation was extinguished. What neede I recount euery particular misery? *Mannæus* the sonne of *Lazarus* flying to *Titus* out of the gate that was committed vnto his custodie, and yelding himselfe vnto him, recounted vnto *Titus* that from the time that the Romans army was placed neere the citie, from the fourteenth day of Aprill, vntill the first of Iuly, were carried out of that gate he kept, a hundreth, fiftene thousand and fourescore dead bodies; yet was not he the keeper of the gate, but beeing appointed to pay for the burying of the dead at the charges of the citie, was forced to number the dead bodies. For others were buried by their parents, and this was their buriall, to cast them out of the citie, and there let them lie. And certaine noble men flying vnto *Titus* after him, reported that there were dead in all the citie 600000. poore folkes which were cast out of the gates, and the others that died were innumerable: and that when so many died that they were not able to bury them, that then they gathered their bodies together in the greatest houses adioining, and there shut them vp. And that a bushell of corne was solde for a talent, which is six hundreth crownes: and that after the Citie was compassed with a wall that now they could not goe out to gather any more hearbes, many were driuen to that necessitie, that they raked linkes and priues to finde olde dung of Oxen to eate; and so the dung that was loathsome to behold, was their meate. The Romanes hearing this, were moued to compassion; yet the seditious within the Citie who beheld this miserable sight were nothing moued, nor repented not, but suffered them to be brought to that calamitie: for their hearts were so blinded by the prouidence of God, that they could not see what hanged ouer their heads, and ouer the citie.

Six hundreth
thousand dead
carcasses cast
out of the city

Cow dung and
durt gathered
together is the
Iewes food.



THE

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THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE VVARRES OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIUS

IOSEPHVS.

B

The Contents of the Chapters of the 7. booke.

- 1 *Of the breach made in the wals: & how the mounts were fired: & how Sabinus assaulted the wal.*
- 2 *How the Romans assaulted Antonia, and were repulsed by the Iewes.*
- 3 *Of the exceeding valour of Iulian a Roman souldier.*
- 4 *Iosephs speech, perswading the Iews to yeld their city: & how the Iewes fled vnto the Romans.*
- 5 *Of another battaile, the Rampiers being againe builded: and of the excursions of the Iewes.*
- 6 *How the Romans were by the deuice of the Iewes consumed with fire.*
- 7 *Of the famine amongst the Iewes.*
- 8 *Of a woman that for hunger did see the her owne sonne.*
- 9 *How the wall was taken, and the Temple burnt.*
- 10 *How the temple was set on fire against Titus his will.*
- 11 *Of the Priests: the treasure house: and the porch.*
- 12 *Of the signes and tokens which appeared before the destruction of the Citie.*
- 13 *Of Titus his rule and gouernment: and how the Priests were slaine.*
- 14 *Of the pray of the seditious, and the burning of the inner part of the Citie.*
- 15 *How the higher part of the Citie was assaulted: and how some of the Iewes fled vnto Titus.*
- 16 *How the rest of the Citie was taken.*
- 17 *Of the number of the captiues, and them that were slaine.*
- 18 *A brieue historie of the Citie of Ierusalem.*
- 19 *How the souldiers were rewarded.*
- 20 *Of Vespasians sailing: & how Simon was taken: and of the Spectacles, and shewes made vpon Vespasians birth-day.*
- 21 *Of the calamitie of the Iewes amongst the Antiochians.*
- 22 *How Vespasian at his returne was receiued by the Romans.*
- 23 *Of Domitians actes against the Germans and Frenchmen.*
- 24 *Of the iuner Sabbaticus: and of the famous triumph of Vespasian and Titus.*
- 25 *How Herodium and Machera were taken by Bassus.*
- 26 *Of the Iewes that were slaine by Bassus: and how Iudæa was sold.*
- 27 *Of the death of King Antiochus: and how the Alans brake into Armenia.*
- 28 *How Massada, the strongest Castle of all, was taken and destroyed.*
- 29 *Of the death of the Sicarians that fled into Alexandria and Thebes.*
- 30 *How the Temple which Onias built at Alexandria was shut vp.*
- 31 *Of the Massacre of the Iewes at Cyrene.*

CHAP. I.

Of the breach made in the walles: and how the mounts were burned: and how Sabinus assaulted the wall.

THIS misery of Ierusalem every day encreased, the seditious being by reason of their misery more & more incited against the people: for now the famine was not only amongst the people, but amongst them also. And it was a miserable sight to see the multitude of dead bodies heaped together in the city, from which came a pestilent & infectious smel, so that it hindred the soldiers from making excursions. For they were forced to tread vpon dead bodies, as though they were to march along a field couer'd with dead carcasses. Having now embred their hands in the blond of their countymen, they prepared to resist & fight with their

The year of the
world, 4034, af-
ter Christs birth,
72.
The multitude
of carcasses
heaped in the
citie is hide-
ous to behold.

Aaaa 3

The year of the world, 4034. after Christs Nativity, 72.
The Iewes vpbraid God in that he so long delayed to punish them.
Iudaea desert and desolate.

IOSEPHVS. OF THE WARRES

their enemies, and (as it seemeth to me) hereby vpbraiding God in that he so deferred to punish them. For the greatest part of them did now fight more earnestly then before, not for hope of safety, but as despairing of all. The Romanes though much troubled to get wood to build withall; yet did they in one and twenty daies finish their mounts, hauing cut downe all the woodes neerer the citie by ninety furlongs. It was miserable to behold that country and place, before all beset with trees and fertile plants, now to lie plaine like a delart, all cut downe: neither was there any stranger that before time had scene Iudaea, and the beautifull suburbs of Ierusalem, who now beholding it could abstaine from teares, or not lament the wofull change so farre different from the former. For now this warre extinguished vtterly all signes of beauty: neither could one coming sodainly now know the place which he well knew before.

The Iewes and Romanes are equally afraid.

The Romans most of all fear the desperate-nesse of the Iewes.

The Iewes with firebrands set vpon the engines: but losing their hope returne backe againe. The valour & violence of the Iewes decreaseth.

The Iewes retire, accusing one another of cowardize.

The assault of the citie the first day of Iuly

The Romans undermine the wall.

When the mounts were ended, both the Romans and the Iewes greatly feared: the Iewes for that except they were destroyed, their citie would bee presently taken: the Romans, for that if these were ouerthrowne, they knew not how to erect more, wanting matter: and now their bodies were wearied with labour, and their minds with many griefes and molestations. But the Romans were more grieued at the calamitie of the citie then the citizens within: for the Iewes notwithstanding these miseries, did neuertheless stoutly defend their wals: but the courages of the Romans failed, when they saw that the Iewes policie made their mounts vnprofitable, that the strength of the wals resisted their engines, that the Iewes boldnes ouercame their strength in fight; & especially seeing that the Iewes hauing endured such calamitie, famine, and misery, were still more courageous then before: so that they deemed their strength not to bee overcome; and that their minds were inuincible, who were hardened and encouraged by misery. For who were I able to abide their forces in prosperity, who by aduersitie were incited to vertue? Wherefore the Romans made a stronger watch about their mounts. But Iohns followers who were in the Castle Antonia, fearing what might ensue if the wall were battered, preuented it in what they could, before the Rams were set vp: and taking firebrands in their hands they assaulted the mount; but deceiued with a vaine hope they retired theselues. For first of all they seemed to disagree amongst themselves; so that they came from their wals one after another, & some space betweene every one; so that they came softly and fearefully; and briefly, not after the maner of the Iewes: for they wanted courage, rashnes, and flocking together at once, which is proper vnto all that nation, and so came more soberly, and with lesse courage then they were wont. They did also finde the Romans more courageous then of late, who so defended their mounts with their bodies and weapons, that it was not possible to come & fire them; and euery one was fully determined not to shrinke out of his place till he were slaine. For besides that if so be that worke were destroyed, they had no hope left to build more; they all accounted it a shame that their vertue should bee overcome by subtiltie, or their weapons by rashnes and temerity, or their skill by a multitude; or the Romanes by the Iewes. Also they had engines to cast dartes at them as they came downe their wals. And when any one of the Iewes that was slaine fell downe, hee hindered them that followed, and the danger of him that went before terrified them that came after. They also that rashly aduentured within the shot of a dart, either were terrified with the discipline, and multitude of their enemies, or else wounded with their darts: and so they all retired, one accusing another of cowardlines, and archieued nothing.

The first day of Iuly the citie was assaulted, and the Iewes being now retired, the Romanes set vp their Rammes, notwithstanding that they were assaulted from Antonia with stones, fire and sword, and whatsoever their enemies in that extremitie could finde. For though the Iewes had great confidence in their wals, as that they could not be battered; yet did they not permit the Romanes to place their Rammes against them. And the Romanes being perswaded that the Iewes so laboured, because they knew their wals to be weake, and least Antonia by the breach of the wall should be hurt, did strue to place the against the wals. But the wal wold not yeeld vnto the Ram: yet did the Romanes safely & without danger (notwithstanding that many darts were cast at them from off the wals) persist to beat the wal with their Rams: who being below & seeing the stones broken with the force of their engines, they shielded themselves with their bucklers: and so some with their hands pulled the stones out of the wall; some digged vnder the foundation thereof: and when foure stones with much labour were broken and shaken, the night hindred both parties from doing any more at that time, and in it the wall now shaken with the Rammes (in the place which Iohn had undermined to destroy the mounts, the mine setting) fell downe. So, that fell out otherwise then either part expected: For the Iewes who indeed had cause to be sorrowfull for the mine of the wall, and for that they did not preuent that mischance, were iofull and courageous,

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

The year of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 73.
No man durst ascend the wall that Iohn built.

Titus exhortation to the most valiant and strongest.

The patient minds of the Iewes, & their constancie in misfortunes.

The wrath of God against the Iewes, & their furtherance.

Titus speaketh of the lite to come after a poeticall manner.

The reward of that valiant men.

A courageous, as though Antonia did yet remaine firme & strong: And the Romanes reioycing for this vnexpected fall, were againe dismayed, seeing the other wall that Iohn had built within, yet they iudged it easier to be taken then the former; but no man durst ascend it, for that he who first assaulted it, was certain to die. Titus thinking that by hope and perswasion his souldiers might be encouraged, and knowing many times promites and exhortations made men forget danger, & sometime to contemne death it selfe, he called together the most valiant of all his souldiers, and spake thus vnto them as followeth; Fellow souldiers, it is manifest cowardlinesse to exhort men to enterprife a thing without danger, both in them that are exhorted, and in him that exhorteth: for exhortations are onely to be vled in doubtfull affaires, wherein it is praise worthy for euery man to aduenture himselfe. So that I confesse it is hard for you to ascend the wall: yet wil I shew you that it is a glorious death to die in such a fight, and especially it becommeth them that are desirous to win honour; and that they that first aduenture valiantly to doe it, shall not go away unrewarded. And first let this moue you which terrifieth others, to wit, the patient mind of the Iewes, and their constancie in aduersitie. For it is a shame for the Romane souldiers, who in time of peace practice themselves in warlike feates, & are accustomed in warre to get the victory, now to be overcome by the Iewes; and that in the end of the victory, we hauing also God to helpe vs: for all our harmes proceed from the Iewes desperation; and their destruction and calamitie by Gods fauour and your valour is euery day increased. For what else is betokened by their ledition amongst themselves, their famine, the fall of their wals without our engines to batter them, and the siege it selfe, then the wrath of God towards them, and his fauour towards vs? Wherefore it is vnseemly for you either to giue place to your inferiours, or to betray Gods fauour and furtherance. Is it not a shame that the Iewes, who, were they conquered, sustained no great reproach, as beeing accustomed to serue and obey others, should so valiantly contemne death, least they should hereafter suffer or endure the like; and many times boldly to aduenture and make excursions euen amongst the midst of vs, not for hope they haue to overcome vs, but onely to shew their valour: and wee, who haue conquered almost the earth and sea, to whom it is an infamie not to be victorious, to lie idle, neuer making valiant assault vpon our enemies, but beeing thus armed, to expect till fortune and famine deliuer them into our hands? Especially seeing that by vndergoing a little danger, all will be ours. If we get into Antonia, we haue taken the Citie. For suppose that we were then to fight against them, that are within the citie (which I do not think) D we hauing gotten the higher part of the citie, beeing about our enemies head, are then assured of a perfect victorie ouer them. I omit now their commendations who haue been slaine in wars, and their immortalitie whom Martiall furie hath deprived of this life: and those that doe not so thinke, I pray that they may die of some euill death in peace, whose soules are condemned to be entered with their bodies. For what valiant man knoweth not that the soule of him that dieth in war, is presently receiued into the most pure airie element, & fro thence caried & placed amongst the starres of heauen, and the good and valiant ghosts doe alwaies sit his posteritie? And that all that in peace doe die of some disease and sicknesse, their soules are kept in the bowels of the earth in darknesse: notwithstanding that they be most iust and pure, and presently they are forgotten, and their life and memory together with them extinguished. Seeing therefore that we are E all certaine to die, & that to die by the sword is a more easie death then to die by any disease, why should we deprive our selues of this opportunitee, seeing that at last wee must necessarilie forgoe our liues as due debt vnto the destinies? And this I haue spoken as though it were vnpossible to escape with life, you doing your endeavors; yet they that beare the minds of men can find means to saue themselves, euen in the greatest dangers. For first of all, that part of the wal that is fallen may easily be entred, and the wall new built is not hard to be thrown downe: and many of you together enterprising this worke, may one exhort and helpe another, and your audacite and courage will quickly daunt the enemies hearts, and perhaps may get vs the victorie if we get this one place without bloodshed. For they will not resist vs if wee offer to ascend the wall: and let vs but effect any one exploit either secretly or openly, and the Iewes will neuer more endure vs, though wee F be but a few in number. And I wold be ashamed if I did not so reward him, that doth first begin, as to make all that are in our armie to eniue his happinesse: and from henceforth I decree, that whatsoever escapeth, shall be Gouvernour ouer them that are now his equals; and who so is slaine in this quarrell, I will doe him great honour.

Titus hauing thus spoken, the rest of the multitude feared the greatnesse of the danger: but one of them that warred in the companies named Sabimus, a Syrian borne, a man of excellent strength and courage; yet of so small stature; that if one had scene him, they would haue deemed him

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72. Sabinus a man of low stature, but valiant both in hand and hart. Sabinus with cleauen men approacheth the wall.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

The power of Fortune.

Sabinus with three companions slain.

him vnfit to haue been a souldier: for he was of very small stature and of black colour, but he had a mind far bigger then his body, & strength scarcely able to be contained in so little roome. This *Sabinus* rising vp, said; I offer my selfe vnto thee, *O Caesar*, first of all to ascend the wall, and that with a willing mind, requesting that my fortune may asist my strength and mind: yet if fortune shall hinder my enterprise, know that I die not against my expectation, but that I will gladly giue my life for thee. When he had so said, he tooke his shield in his left hand, and holding it about his head, with his drawne sword in his right hand, about the sixth houre of the day hee went vnto the wall: and cleauen men followed him, who only enuied his vertue. But *Sabinus* with a diuine feruour of spirit went before them all; notwithstanding that on euery side the Iewes vpon the wall cast an infinite number of darts at him, & rowled downe vpon him huge stones, which did strike downe some of the cleauen that followed him. But *Sabinus* meeting the darts and pestering arrowes, yet did not remitt his force, till such time as he had gotten vnto the top of the wall, & put the enemies to flight: who terrified with his strength and courage, & indeed thinking that more had come vp after him, fled. Wherein, who may not iustly blame Fortune, & accuse her; as enuying at vertuous acts? For this man failed not of his purpose, yet was he stricken with a stone, & throwne downe flat vpon his face most violently with a great noise: so that now the Iewes seeing him alone, and lying vpon the ground, returned againe, and shot at him on euery side: and hee kneeling vpon his knees, and couering himselfe with his shield, did first of all reuenge himselfe vpon his enemies, and wounded many that came neere him, till that with wounding them hee was so wearie, that he could strike no longer; and so at last was slaine with arrowes: a man who for his valor deserued better fortune, & died as valiantly as his enterprise was courageous. Those that were left of his company, hauing almost gotten to the toppe of the wall, were slaine with stones, and the rest being wounded were caried into the camp. And this was done the third day of Iuly.

CHAP. II.

How the Romans assaulted Antonia, and how they were driuen backe from thence by the Iewes.

The Romans inuade Antonia.



Two daies after, twentie of the watchmen which guarded the mounts, two horsemen, and one trumpeter gathered themselves together: and about the ninth houre of the night, they came by the ruines into Antonia without any resistance: and finding the first watchmen asleepe, they slew them, and got the wall, and commaunded the trumpet to sound; by which found the rest of the watch-men were awaked, and fled for feare, before they saw what company of the Romanes were gotten vpon the wall: and the sound of the trumpet perswaded them, that a great multitude of enemies were come vp the wall. *Caesar* hearing the sound of the trumpet, presently armed his souldiers; and accompanied with his chiefe Captaines, and a company of chosen men, he ascended the wall. The Iewes fledde into the inner Temple, and the Romanes also brake in amongst them by the mine that *Iohn* had made to destroy the mounts of the Romans. And the followers both of *Iohn* and *Simon*, did courageously driue them back: for they thought it the vnder ruine of all, that the Romans were now gotten into the holy place, which indeed was the beginning of their victory. So they began a sore fight, euen in the very entrance, the Romans struing to get the inner Temple, and the Iewes endeavouring to beat them back towards Antonia. And now arrowes, darts, and speares, nothing auailed either part, but they both fought it out at handie blowes with swords: & in that conflict no man could discern on which side any one fought; for the souldiers on both parts were mingled together, & for the straightness of the place, could not keep their roomes: for there was such a noise that no man could heare one another, and many were slaine on both parts: & the dead bodies of those that were slaine and their weapons falling with them, did hurt many that trode vpon them; and whosoeuer had the worst, presently cried out pittifully, and the victors shouted for ioy: neither was there any place to flie or follow; the fight was such, that now one had the better, and now the other. Moreover, they that stood in the forefront of the battell, were either of necessity to kill or be killed: for there was no void space left between the two armies. At last the Iewes courage ouercame the Romans skill, and they were all beaten back (hauing fought from the ninth houre of the night vnto the seauenth houre of the day.) The Iewes were encouraged to fight for feare they should be ouercome. And that parcell of the Romane army (for as yet the legions were not come) thought it sufficient at that time to haue gotten the Castle of Antonia.

CHAP.

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

CHAP. III.

Of the exceeding valour of Iulian the Romane souldier.



Here was one *Iulian* a Centurion, borne in Bithynia, of good parentage, who (as my selfe well knew) was most valiant of all, both in strength of body, and skill, and courageous mind. This *Iulian*, seeing now the Romans to haue the worst (standing by *Titus* in Antonia) he presently leape downe, & all alone pursued the Iewes who had the victory, into the inner temple. And the whole multitude fled, deeming him by his force and courage, not to haue been a man. But he amongst the midst of them, slew whosoeuer he light on, one of them for haste casting downe another. So that this his deed seemed admirable vnto *Caesar*, and terrible to his enemies. Yet did that destinie befall him, which no man can escape; for hauing his shooes full of sharpe nailes, as other souldiers haue, running vpon the pavement, hee slipped & fel down, his armor in the fall making a great noise: wherat his enemies, who before fled, now turned again vpon him. Then the Romanes in Antonia fearing his life, cried out: but the Iewes many at once strooke him with swords and speares. And he defended many blowes with his shield, and many times attempting to rise, they strooke him down againe: yet as hee lay hee wounded many; neither was he quickly slaine, because that all parts of his body, which being wounded might cause present death, were armed, and shrunke in his neck a long time till the rest of his body being cut off, and no man helping him, his strength failed. *Caesar* was very sorrowful to see a man of so great force and fortitude slaine in the sight of such a multitude: & that the place wherein he was, hindered him from helping *Iulian*; and others that might haue helped him, durst not for feare. At last, when *Iulian* had a long time striven with death, and wounded many of them that slew him, he was with much adoe killed, leauing behind him a renowned memory, not onely amongst the Romans and *Caesar*, but also amongst his enemies. Then the Iewes tooke his dead body, and did beate back the Romans, and shut them in Antonia. In this battaile one *Alemaus* and *Gyphtheus* two of *Iohns* company fought valiantly, and of *Simons* company *Malachias* and *Judas* the sonne of *Merton*, and *Iames* the sonne of *Sosa*, capitaine of the Idumæans; & two brethren of the Zelous, the sonnes of *Tairus*, *Simon* and *Judas*.

CHAP. IIII.

Iosephs speech, perswading the Iewes to yeld their Citie: and how many of them fled vnto the Romans.



After that *Titus* had commanded his souldiers to pull down the foundations of Antonia, & make an easie entrance for the whole army: He called *Ioseph* vnto him (for he understood, that day being the seauenteenth of Iuly, that the Iewes were wont to celebrate a certaine feast to God, which they called *Entelechismus*, and that it was not solemnized for want of men; so that the people greatly mourned therefore) and againe commaunded him to tell *Iohn* that, whereof before he had sent him word, to wit, that if hee desired to fight, hee should haue libertie to come, with what multitude he pleased; so that the citie and the temple might not both perish with him, willing him now to desist from prophaning the holy place, and from sinning against God: sending him also word, that if he so pleased, hee would grant him leaue to celebrate the festiuitie which had been now long time omitted, and that by what company he pleased. *Ioseph* to the intent that not onely *Iohn* might heare this offer of *Titus*, but also the rest of the people, he stood in an eminent place, from whence he might be heard, and in the Hebrew tongue he recounted vnto the Iewes *Caesars* pleasure, earnestly requesting them to spare their country, and forbid the fire now ready to take hold of their Temple, & to offer the accustomed sacrifices vnto God. When he had thus said, the people were very sorrowfull, and euery one held his peace, not knowing what to say. But the tyrant *Iohn* hauing vsed many railing speeches against *Ioseph*, at last he answered, that he need not feare the destruction of the temple & citie, seeing that it belonged to God.

Then *Ioseph* with a loud voice cried out, True it is, you haue kept it pure, and vnprophaned for God, and the holy things you haue kept inuiolate, neither hast thou committed any iniquitie against him, from whom thou expectest helpe, but hast offered Iolemn sacrifice vnto him. If any man should take fro thee thy daily food, no doubt thou wouldest account him thy enemy: canst thou then hope that God whom thou hast depriued of daily sacrifice, wil asist thee in these wars?

Doest

729
The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 73.

Iulians famous fortitude.

Iulian running, falleth vpon the pavement.

Iulians death.

Valiant souldiers among the Iewes.

Titus willeth *Iohn* to come out to fight, least with him the citie and temple should perish also.

Iohn railerh against *Ioseph*.

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth, 72.

Iechonias sustained a voluntary banishment in Babylon.

The Citie by the ordinance of late and Gods will was to be overthrowne.

Iosephs speeches interred with sighs.

Some of the nobilitie among the Iewes escape to the Romans.

Cæsars humanity towards the Iewes. Those Iewes that were fled besought the besieged with teares & sighs to submit themselves.

The Temple after the manner of a castle.

Titus speaketh to Iohn & his companions.

Doest thou impute these offences to the Romans? why they euen now doe defend our religion, and commaund sacrifice to bee offered, which thou hast forbidden. Who doth not bewaile this vnexpected change, and lament our Citie? strangers and enemies correct thy impietie, and thou a Iew born & brought vp in our lawe, art more cruell then they. But consider *Iohn*, it is no shame to repent thy wickednes in extremitie: and at the last cast, if thou bee desirous to saue thy countrey, thou hast a good example of *Iechonias*, sometime king of the Iewes; who when the Babylonians warred against him, of his own accord, went out of the citie before it was taken, and willingly endured captiuitie with all his family and kinred onely, least hee should betray these holy places vnto his enemies, and behold the temple fired. And for this act of his, hee is of sacred memorie amongst the Iewes, and hath thereby gained immortall credit amongst all his posteritie. This is a good example, O *Iohn*, although danger be at hand: and I wil promise thee also pardon from the Romans, onely remember that I thy countreiman admonish thee, and promise this vnto the Iewes, behold who is the author & counsellor hereof. God forbid that euer I should solue a captiue, that I should not lue according to the lawes of our countrey. Yet againe art thou incensed against me, and exclaimest vpon me, and cursest me. But true it is, I deferue worse then this, who seeke to perswade contrary vnto the determination of Gods prouidence, and strue to saue them whom his sentence hath condemned. Who is ignorant of the writings of the ancient prophets, & their prophecies, now hanging ouer this wretched city? For then it is foretold by them to be destroyed, when we murder our owne nation: and now not onely the citie, but also the temple is full of your dead bodies. Certainly it is God, God it is that together with the Romans, bringeth in fire to purge this citie filled with iniquitie.

Ioseph thus crying with teares and lamentations, hee could speake no more for sobbing: And the Romans compassionating his sorrow and affliction were astonished. But *Iohn* and his confederates were so much the more incited against the Romans, and sought to take *Ioseph*; yet his speech did moue many of the nobles; and diuers fearing the seditious watchmen, remained still where they were, making full account both of their owne destruction, and the subuersion of the Citie. Yet some there were, who, finding opportunitie, fled vnto the Romans: amongst whom were two priests, *Ioseph* and *Iesus*, and three sons of *Imael* the priest, who was beheaded at Cyren, and foure sonnes of *Matthias* the priest, and one of the other *Matthias*, who escaped vnto the Romans before his father was put to death by *Simon Gora*, with his three sons, as is before said: and many other nobles reuoluted with the priests, whom the Emperour receiued very courteously, & sent them into Gophna; knowing that it was a griefe for them to conuerse amongst people of diuers manners from them, and willed them to remaine there, and promised euery one of them great possessions, after the warres were ended. So they ioifully departed vnto the place appointed. But the seditious, for that they were not seene, reported vnto the people, that they who had fled vnto the Romanes were slaine, meaning hereby to terrifie the rest from flying to them: and this their deuicewhile preuailed, as their former did; and they that saue would, durst not now flie for feare. But afterward when *Titus* recalled them from Gophna, and commanded them to go about the wals with *Ioseph*, and shew themselves vnto the people; then many of the Iewes fled vnto the Romans. And after they had gathered themselves together, standing all before the Romans, they besought the seditious with teares, first to receiue the Romanes into the Citie, and saue their countrey: or if it pleased them not, at least to depart out of the Temple, and deliuer it vp vnto them. For the Romans durst not, except necessity vrged them thereto, fire the holy temple. But their malice against the Romans encreasing, and rayling against them that had fled vnto them, they planted all their engines to cast stones, darts and arrowes vpon the holy porches. So that all the void space about the temple was filled with dead bodies like a Sepulchre, and the temple it selfe resembled a castle, & they now with their weapons hauing their hands imbrued with the blood of their countreimen, presumed to enter into the Sanctuary where none ought to come, and they became so iniurious against their owne lawes, that looke what indignation the Iewes ought to haue conceived against the Romans if they had so prophaned the holy places, the same they caused the Romans to haue against them, for doing the like. For there was no one amongst the Roman souldiers, that did not with reuerence behold the temple, and adore it, and that did not hartily wish that the theewes would repent themselves before it was too late. Moreover, *Titus* pitying the seditious once againe spake vnto *Iohn* and his adherents, saying: O ye impious people, haue not you inuironed the temple about with a cloister? haue not you your selues in Greeke and our language engraued in tables, forbidden all men to enter into those limits? did not we licence you to kil any man that should passe them, notwithstanding that he

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth, 72. Titus made use of the sight of the Iewes stridely to saue the temple.

A he were a Roman? Why then ye wicked wretches doe you tread vpon dead mens bodies within your temple? Or wherefore haue you polluted the Temple with the blood of strangers; and of your countreimen? I call my country gods to witnesse, & him who sometime dwelt in this place, if euer there were any (for now I am perswaded there is none) I call also my army to witnesse, & protest vnto the Iewes that are with me, and vnto your selues, that I will not compell you to violate these sacred things: but that if your armie will depart from this place, that then no Roman shall come into these holy places, nor commit any thing in contumely of them, but I will preferre the temple for you against your wills.

CHAP. V.

How the battaile was renewed, the Rampters being againe builded, and of the excursions of the Iewes.

Ioseph hauing deliuered these words of *Titus* vnto the Iewes, the seditious thinking that they proceeded not of good will but of feare, began to be more proud hereat. Then *Titus* seeing that they neither pitied themselves nor the temple, determined again to fight, though very loth so to doe; yet could hee not bring all his armie against them, the roome was so little. Wherefore out of euery hundred he made choise of thirtie of the strongest amongst them, and ouer euery thousand he appointed a Colonell, and made *Cerealis* their capitaine or Generall, commanding him at the ninth houre of the night, to assault the watchmen of the enemy. Altho he himselfe would haue gone downe with them armed; but his friends and the capitaines about him, foreseeing the great danger that he might fall into, would not permit him: affirming that he might doe more good sitting in Antonia, and encouraging the souldiers that fought, then if he himselfe should goe and indanger himselfe: for euery man being in the view of the Emperour, would fight more courageously. *Titus* herewith was perswaded, telling the souldiers that the onely cause he went not with them was this, that he staied behind to view and iudge euery ones valour and vertue, and to the intent that none behauing himselfe valiantly should goe away unrewarded, nor any coward escape unpunished, but that he himselfe would be a beholder of euery mans vertue, and a witnesse thereof, who was their Lord either to reward or punish.

Then he went vnto a watch-tower in Antonia, from whence hee beheld what was done. But they whom *Titus* sent, did not find the watchmen asleepe, as they hoped, but with a cry assaulted the Romans that came against them: and at this noise they awaked their fellowes, who came in whole companies to assist them, and made excursions vpon their enemies. So the Romanes sustained the violence of their first companies: but the second that came fell vpon their owne fellowes, & vsed them like their enemies: for no man could know one anothers voice for the noise there, neither could one see another by reason it was night: and moreover, some were blinded with furie, some with anger, some with feare: wherefore euery one strooke him that met him without any respect. And the Romanes receiued small damage thereby, because that they were defended with their shields, and remembred one anothers watch-word. But the Iewes fel on euery side, shewing themselves rash as well in excursions, as in their retiring; so that many times one of them rooke the other to be his enemy, euery one falling vpon him that retired, as though hee had been a Roman, assaulting them in the darke. Briefly, more were wounded by their fellowes then by their enemies, till day breaking euery one knew his companion; & each one keeping his rank, did then betake themselves to their darts & arrowes. Neither part gaue back, nor was wearied with labour: but many Romans together & apart, did in the view of the Emperour shew their courage, euery man accounting that day the beginning of his preferment, if he behaued himselfe valiantly. The Iewes fought stoutly, both for that they feared their owne imminent danger, if they were overcome, and the destruction of the temple: and *Iohn* standing by, encouraged them to fight, some with blowes, other sortie with threatnings. They fought most commonly with handle blowes; yet fortune often changed: for neither part had either farre to flie, or any space to follow them that fledde. The Romanes in Antonia cried vnto their fellowes that fought the battaile, Now for hope of victorie: presently encouraging them to stand to it, when they began to giue backe; so it was as it had beene a theater of warre: for *Titus*, and they with him, beheld all that was done; so at last in the fift houre of the day the fight ceased, hauing continued from the ninth houre of the night, neither partie forsaking the place where first they beganne battaile, neither any part hauing the victorie. Many Romanes there fought courageously, and amongst the Iewes these that follow: *Iudas* the sonne of *Mertyn*, *Simon* the sonne of *Iosias*, and *Iacob* and *Simon Idumeans*; this the son of *Eathla*; but *Iames* was the son of *Desa*: and all these were of *Simons*

Titus chose thirtie out of euery hundred, most strong & able men, and bided them charge the besieged.

Titus beheld from a window in Antonia what his souldiers performe.

The events of battailes are changed very shortly.

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth 72. Four mounes raised neere vnto the temple.

The Iewes surpriseth the Romans horses.

The fight of the Iewes and the Romans neere vnto the mozt Eleon.

Pedanius, a strong & expert horseman.

The captiue punished.

The Iewes burne the porches of the temple.

The Iewes are too slacke in putting out the fire.

Jonathan prooketh the stoutest Roman to a single combat.

Simons company, and of *Iohns* followers *Cyprianus* and *Alexas*; & of the Zealous, *Simon* the son of *Jairus*. But the 7 day, the rest of the Romans pulling down the foundations of *Antonia*, made a large entrance for the rest of the army. And the legions comming vnto the wall, presently began to raise mounes, one against the corner of the inner temple, which was situate north & east: & another against the gallery on the north side between the two porches: & the other two, one against the porch of the west side of the outward temple; the other against the north porch. So with much toile and labour they finished this worke, fetching wood to build it withall a hundredth furlongs off. And many times they were endamaged by trechery, not being wary by reason of their victory: & the Iewes despairing of themselves every houre more & more were encouraged. For many of the horsemen going either to get wood or hay, whilst they were about it, they tooke the bridles frō off their horse, & permitted them to feed till they had ended their busines; & presently the Iewes issuing out in troupes vpon them, rooke them away.

Titus seeing that this fell out, deemed (as indeed it was) that his mens horses were stolen rather by their negligence, then their enemies valour: wherefore he thought by the seure punishment of one, to make others look better to their horses. And so he cōdemned to death one of the souldiers that had lost his horse: by whose punishment the rest of the souldiers being terrified, kept their horses better. For after that, when they went about any busines, they neuer left their horses in the pastures, but kept alwaies with them. Thus the Romanes assaulted the temple, and builded there mounes. The day following, certain of the seditious, who now could get no more booties in the citie, and now also beganne to taste of hunger, assaulted the Romanes that were placed towards mount *Oliuet* about the eleventh houre of the day: for they hoped to take them vnawares, as being now at dinner. But the Romanes vnderstanding their intent, came out of their places & resisted them who attempted violently to breake in vpon the ouer the wall: so that there was a hot fight, and many worthy deeds were done on either partie, the Romanes hauing both strength & knowledge in warlike affaires; the Iewes led with a desperate furie: and shame forced the Romanes to fight, and need compelled the Iewes: for the Romanes accounted it a shame not to ouercome the Iewes, who were as it were fallen into their hands; & the Iewes thought it the onely way to saue their owne liues, to breake downe the wall by force. And one of the horsemen called *Pedanius*, the Iewes being put to flight & driuen into the vally, pursued them with his horse as fast as hee could gallop, and ouertooke a young man one of his enemies, being of a heauie bodie, armed all ouer; & taking him about the ankle, hee caried him violently away: thereby shewing the strength of his arme and of the rest of his bodie; and his skilfull chiuallrie, and so brought the captiue vnto *Cesar* as a present. *Titus* admiring *Pedanius* his strength, and punishing the captiue for hauing attempted to assault the wall, he now hastid to assault the temple, and commanded the workmen quickly to dispatch their mounes. In the meane time the Iewes beeing ill handled in the former wars, and war still increasing to the overthrow of the temple, they did, as the custome is in a purtified body, preuent the plague from going any further by cutting off the corrupted members. For that part of the porch that reached from the North vnto the East, ioyned vnto *Antonia*; which they firing, separated it twentie cubits from it, hauing now with their owne hands begunne to cast fire into the holy place. Two daies after, which was the 24 day of the aforesaid moneth, the Romanes set the porch on fire, and the fire hauing gone foureteene cubits, the Iewes pulled downe the top thereof, and not desisting from their accustomed workes, they pulled downe all adioyning vnto *Antonia*; vhen it was casie for them, and that they ought to haue hindered the fire. The porch beeing on fire, they permitted so much to be burned as they thought good for their purpose. The fight about the Temple neuer ceased, many excursions were made one against each other.

About this time a certaine Iew of lowe stature, and to seeto a contemptible person, euerie way an abiect, both by reason of his base parentage and otherwise, named *Jonathan*, going to the monument of *Iohn* the Priest, dared the strongest amongst the Romanes to come and fight a single combat with him. The Romanes that beheld him diddaind him: yet some amongst them (as commonlie it is seene) were afraide of him: others vsifely deemed, that they ought not to fight with one that was desirous to die: for they that were desperate, neither fought aduisedly, nor had the feare of God before their eyes: and so that it was not a signe of valour, but of ouermuch hardinesse, to fight with such a one; whom though they ouercame, yet they could win no credit, but with infamie hazard themselves to be vanquished. So a long time none of the Romanes came against him, and he vpbraided them of cowardlinesse. At last, an arrogant and proud fellow, one of the Roman horsemen named *Pudens*, diddaining his insolencie, and perhaps also for that

The yeare of the world, 4034. after Christs birth 72. Pudens fighting with Jonathan is slaine by him. Priscus the Centurion killeth Jonathan with an arrow.

A that he was of little stature, came against him; and fighting with him, fortune frowned vpon him, so that he was laught to scorne by his fellow: for he falling downe, *Jonathan* slew him; & setting his foote vpon the dead body, with his left hand hee flourished his shield, and with his right his bloudy sword, and striking his weapons one against another, he insulted ouer the Roman army, and ouer the dead body, vpbraiding the Romans, so long till *Priscus* a Centurion, as he was thus vaunting, shot him through with an arrow, & so he fell down dead vpon the body of his enemy: at which deed, both the Romanes and the Iewes raised a confused cry or noyle. So *Jonathan* here shewed how quickly reuenge pursued the felicitie of warlike victorie, falling out contrarie to all reason.

CHAP. VI.

How the Romanes through the deceit of the Iewes were consumed with fire, and of one *Artorius*.

THe seditious that kept the Temple, did now every day openly in fight resist the Romanes that kept the mounes, and the seuen and twentieth day they deuised this stratagem; They filled the void part of the East porch of the temple with drie wood and brimstone, and bitumen, and then fled out of it as not able longer to resist. Wherefore many of the Romanes rashly pursued the Iewes that fled, & with ladders got into the galleries. But the wiser sort considering that the Iewes had no iust occasion to fly, kept their place. The porch being now full of Romanes that were got vp into it, the Iewes gaue fire to the wood and brimstone, and vpon a sodaine all the porch was compassed with the flame: so that the Romanes who were out of danger were hereat amazed, and those that were amidst the flames became desperate; & inuironed with the flames some sought to runne backe into the towne, other some vnto the enemies; others killed themselves, so preuenting the fury of the fire; and presently the flame ouertooke those that sought to flie. *Cesar*, though offended at the souldiers for hauing ascended into the porch vnbidden, yet seeing them die so woefully in the flames, hee compassionated them. And although that the fire could not be quenched, yet the poore souldiers dying amongst the flames were hereat comforted, in that they perceiued him to be sorrowfull for them, for whom they had lost their liues.

D For they beheld him crying to their fellowes to helpe to extinguish the fire, and hee himselfe laboured what he could to do it; so that euery one esteemed his sorrow and lamentation for them as much as a sumptuous funerall: but some escaped the fire and gotte into the largest part of the porch; yet inuironed round about with Iewes, hauing long resisted, though with many wounds, yet in the end they were all slaine.

A last a yong man named *Longus*, was an honour to all this misery, and notwithstanding that euery one that there perished desired particularly to be remembred, yet he shewed himselfe the most valiant of them all. The Iewes were desirous to kill this man for that he was strong, & willed him to come downe vnto them, swearing vnto him to spare him. But his brother *Cornelius*, who stood on the other side, intreated him not to discredite his owne honour and the Romanes, whom he obeyed: and he lifting vp his sword on high, that either part might see, slew himselfe. Yet one *Artorius* from amidst the fire escaped by this deuise: hee called vnto him one *Lucius* his fellow soldier and chamber fellow; I will (quoth he) make thee heire of all my inheritance if thou wilt catch me in thy armes. *Lucius* willingly endeauiouring to doe it, *Artorius* cast himselfe down vpon him, and so escaped with his life, but *Lucius* vpon whom he fell was brused against the pavement, and so died. This calamitie awhile did greatly grieue the Romanes, yet it made them more warie afterward, and acquainted them with the Iewes subtilties, whereof before beeing ignorant, they sustained great damage; so the porch was burnt vnto the tower which *Iohn* built, during his wars against *Simon*: and the Iewes, after the Romanes that were ascended into it were consumed, pulled downe the rest. The next day the Romanes fired the North porch, euen vnto the foresaid East porch, which contained the corners of the wall builded ouer the valley *Cedron*, so that it was terrible to behold the valley from thence, by reason of the depth.

The intestine
warres of the
Iewes that
were welne
furnished with
hunger.

The Iewes eat
their own gir-
dles, shooes,
the leather of
their Targets
and old hay.

Such were the affaires about the temple, but an infinite multitude perished within the ci-
tie through famine, so that they could not be numbered: for in euerie place where anie
shew or signe of fooode was, presently arose a battell and the dearest friends of all flou-
fought one with another, to take the fooode from other poore soules, neither did they beleue
them that were now a dying for famine, but the theues searched them, whom they saw yeelding
vp the ghost, thinking that they dying for famine, had hid about them some fooode: but they were
deceiued of their hope, beeing like mad dogges, greedie of meate, and fell against the doores like
drunken men, searching the selfe same houses twice or thrise together in desperation, and for very
penury they ate whatsoeuer they light vpon, gathering such things to eat, as the most filthy liuing
creatures in the world would haue loathed. In brieft, they did eat their girdles and shooes, and
the skins that couered their shields, so that a little of olde hay was solde, for foure Attiques. But
what need is it to shew the sharpnes of this famine by things that want life? I will recount an act
neuer heard of, neither amongst the Greekes, nor any other barbarous people, horrible to bee
reheard, and incredible, so that I would willingly omit this calamitie, least posteritie should
thinke I lie, had not I many witnesses hereof, and perhaps should incur reprehension, not fully
recounting all accidents of them that are dead.

CHAP. VIII.

Of a woman that for famine killed her sonne, and dressed him for meate.

Certaine woman named *Mary*, dwelling beyond Iordan, the daughter of *Elezar* of the
towne of *Vitezokia*, which signifieth the house of *Myhope*, descended of noble and rich
parentage, flying with the rest vnto Ierusalem, was there with them besieged, her other
goods the tyrants had taken from her, which shee had brought from beyond the riuer into the
Citie: and whatsoeuer being hid, escaped their hands, the theues daily came into her house and
tooke it away: whereat the woman greatly moued, curst them, and with hard speeches anima-
ted them the more against her, yet no man either for anger, or compalsion would kil her, but suf-
fered her to liue to get them meate: but now could she get no more, and famine inuaded her, with
rage and anger more then danger. Wherefore by rage and necessitie shee was compelled to doe
that which nature abhorred, and taking her sonne vnto whom she then gaue sucke, O miserable
child (quoth she) in warre, famine, and sedition, for which of these shall I keep thee? If thou con-
tinue amongst the Romans, thou shalt be made a slaue, yet famine will preuent bondage; or else
sedition worse then them both. Be therefore meate for me, a terror vnto the seditious, a tragi-
call storie to be spoken of by posteritie, & that which is only yet vnheard of amongst the calami-
ties of the Iewes. Hauing thus spoken shee slew her sonne, and did seeth the one halfe of him, and
ate it, the rest shee reserued couered. Presently came the seditious, smelling the sent of that exce-
crable meate, threatening presently to kill her, except shee forthwith brought some of that vnto
them which she had prepared. Then she answered that shee had reserued a good portion thereof
for them, and presently vncouered that part of her sonne which shee had left vneaten, at which
sight they trembled, & a horror fell vpon them. But the woman said, This is truly my sonne, and
my doing, eat you of it, for I my selfe haue eaten thereof. Be not more effeminate then a woman,
not more mercifull then a mother. If religion make you refuse this my sacrifice, I haue already
eaten of it and will eat the rest. Then the seditious departed herat onely trembling, and scarcely
permitting this meate to the mother. Presently the report of this hainous crime was bruted all
about the citie, & euery man hauing before his cies this execrable fact, trembled as though him-
selfe had done it. And now all that were vexed with this famine, hastned their own deatnes, and
hee was accounted happy that died before he felt this famine. This vnnatural fact was soon after
recounted vnto the Romans, and some of them would not beleue it, others pitied them within
the citie, and many herat encreased their hatred towards that nation.

The calamitie
recounted to
the Romans.

Cesar before Almighty God protested, that hee was not the cause of this, hauing offered the
Iewes peace, free pardon and forgiuenes for all their offences past, and that they did rather make
choyse

A choyce of warre then peace, of sedition then quiennesse, of famine rather then wealth & plen-
tie, hauing with their owne hands begunne to set on fire the temple, which hee had preferred
for them, and that therefore such like meate was fit for them, and that hee would bury this ab-
hominable crime of eating their own children in the ruines of their countrey, and that he would
not in any part of the world suffer the sunne to shine vpon such a citie, wherein mothers did eate
their owne children, and that such fooode did more beleeue fathers then mothers, who for all
their miseries would not yet cease from armes. Hauing thus spoken he considered the despera-
tion of the enemies, and that they would not recall themselues, who had already endured all
such calamities, which might if it had been possible haue altdred their opinions rather then haue
endured them.

B

CHAP. IX.

How the wall was taken, and the temple burnt.

The eight day of August, two of the Romane legions hauing finished their mounts, they
began to place their rammes against the East galleries without the temple, hauing fixe
daies together without intermission already beaten the wall with their strongest rams,
and nothing preuailed, the stones beeing so strong, that the rams could not mooue them: others
of the Romans laboured to dig vp the foundations of the porch, that was on the North side; &
after much toile, they onely could pull away the outward stones, and the inner stones did still
support the porch. At last the Romanes seeing themselues not preuaile by their iaulines and o-
ther instruments, they set ladders to ascend into the galleries. The Iewes did not greatly labour
to hinder them from getting vp, but when they were within the galleries, then they came and
fought with them, and cast some of them downe headlong, forcing them to retire; others they
slew that stood in it; and others that were vpon the ladders going downe before they could de-
fend themselues with their shields, were with swords stricken downe, and they also thrust downe
some ladders full of armed men. So that there was a great massacre of the Romanes, some fight-
ing for their enignes, which the Iewes had taken from them, esteeming the losse thereof a great
shame vnto them. At last the Iewes got their ancients, & slew them, that came vp to rescue them,
and the rest terrified with their deaths that were slaine went downe againe, and no one of the Ro-
mans died, who before he was slaine did not some valiant act; and those seditious people that in
the former battels did shew themselues valiant, did now also fight valiantly, & beside them *Elea-
zar* sonne vnto the tyrant the brother of *Simon*. Then *Titus* perceiving that he spared the temple
of the Iewes to his losse, and to the death of his souldiers, he commanded fire to be put vnto the
temple gates: presently *Ananus* of Emmaus the most cruel of all *Simons* followers, and *Archelaus*
the son of *Magadatus*, fled vnto *Titus*, who for their cruelties committed, determined to put them
to death: yet they hoped for pardon, for that they had now forsaken the Iewes when they had
gotten the better hand. But *Titus* affirmed they came not of goodwill, but for necessitie, & that
they did not deserue to liue forsaking their countrey now set on fire for their offences: yet his
promise bridled his wrath, and hee dismissed them, but they were not so much esteemed as the
rest. The Roman souldiers did now put fire vnto the temple doores: and the siluer plate where-
with they were couered being molten, the flame quickly fiered the wood, and encreasing rooke
hold presently on the next porch. The Iewes seeing themselues inuironed with flames, were now
altogether discouraged, and their strength failed them, and beeing amazed no man fought to ex-
tinguish the flame, and so they stood still beholding the fire, yet not lamenting that which was
set on fire, more then desiring to saue the rest: and so that day and all the next night the fire en-
creased, for the porches were burnt by little and little, and not all at once.

The next day *Titus* caused part of his army to quench the fire: and calling vnto him his cap-
taines, and six that were the chiefest amongst them, to wit, *Tiberias Alexander* Generall of the
whole army, *Sexsus Cerealis* commander of the sixth legion, *Largius Lepidus* of the tenth, *Titus
Frigius* of the fifteenth, with whom was also *Aeternius Fronto* commander of the two legions
that came from Alexandria, & *Marcus Antonius Iulianus* Gouernour of Iudæa, and with them
the colonels and captaines, hee deliberated with them what was to be done concerning the tem-
ple. Some counfelled to vse the custome of warres, for that the Iewes would neuer liue peacea-
bly their temple standing; all their nation wheresoeuer liuing assembling themselves thither at
certaine

Bbbb 2

The Iewes
ouercome the
Romanes and
seize their
enignes.

Two of Simons
guard reuolt
from him.

Titus promise
restraineth his
wrath.

None of the
Iewes gorth
about to extin-
guish the fire.

Titus calleth
the chieftains
before him.

The year of the
world, 403, after
Christs birth
73.

Titus counsel
as concerning
the temple.

Titus with his
chosen horse-
men cometh
to rescue the
Romans.

The Temple
was burnt by
the Romans
the tenth of
the month of
August, on
which day
before time
it was burned
by the King of
Babylon.

certaine times. Others perswaded *Titus* that if so be the Iewes yeelded their temple, and fought not for it, then to saue it: but if they fought for it, to burne it: for now it seemed a castle and not a temple: and if any man were offended hereat, it should not be imputed to the Romanes or to their general, but to the Iewes who constrained them to do it; & he offended not, they forcing him to fire it. But *Titus* affirmed that although the Iewes fought for their temple being men without conscience, yet it should not be destroyed: for he would not so be reuenged of their iniquities: neither would he euer fire so goodly a building, for so it would redound vnto the losse of the Romanes; as also it would be a credit vnto them, if it were left remaining. And now *Alexander*, *Fronto*, & *Cerealis*, perceiuing *Cæsars* minde were of his opinion, and so he dismissed the conuocation, and commaunded the souldiers and captaines to rest, that they might be more able to fight when neede required: and presently hee appointed certaine chosen men to make the waies euen, and easie for the armie to passe by the ruines, commaunding them to quench the fire; and that day the Iewes being fearefull and wearie did make no resistance. The daie following taking heart and assembled together, they assaulted the watchmen that kept without the Temple, the second houre of the day. The Romanes valiantly resisted their first assault, so defending themselves with their shields as though they had a wall before them; yet sure it was that they would not long abide, for that they were fewer in number then their enemies, and not so desperate as they were. Then *Cæsar* before his men retired (beholding the fight from *Antonia*) with certaine chosen horsemen came to succour them: whose force the Iewes not sustaining, but the first of them being slaine, the rest fled: and the Romanes departing, they returned, and fought against them; and when the Romans returned againe, presently they fled, till about the fift houre of the day the Iewes were forced to betake themselves into the temple, and there they were shut vp. Then *Titus* returned into *Antonia*, purposing the next day to assault them with all his armie, and winne the temple. But the sentence of God had already determined, that it should be consumed with fire: and now the fatall day was come after many yeeres, which was the tenth of August: vpon which day also the king of Babylon did once before fire it, yet was it now first set a fire by our owne conntimen, who were indeede the cause thereof. For the seditious being quiet till *Titus* was departed, then againe they assaulted the Romanes, and so fought with the guard that were without the temple, labouring to extinguish the flame; who putting the Iewes to flight, came vnto the temple.

CHAP. X.

How the temple was burnt, against the will of Titus.

WHen a certaine souldier, who expected no commaund, nor feared to doe so execrable a fact, being moued with some diuine fury, & lifted vp by his fellow, tooke in his hand a flaming firebrand, and cast it into the golden gate which entred into the routes on the North part of the temple, and the flame presently arose: which caused a great crie amongst the Iewes, expressing their calamitie, and euery one hastened to extinguish the fire; now neither accounting of their liues nor forces, hauing lost that for which they fought. News hereof was presently brought vnto *Titus* by one who came from the fight, who then was resting in his tabernacle, and he presently arose and ran vnto the temple to hinder the fire, and all the captaines after him; whereat the souldiers being terrified followed, and there arose a great cry and tumult in that army being vnordered. *Cæsar* both with voice and hand made a signe vnto the souldiers, that were fighting to quench the fire. But they did not heare him; there was so great a noise, neither did they perceiue the signe hee had made vnto them with his hand, because that some were distracted with fight, others with anger: & the souldiers issued in, nor restrained either by commaunds or threatnings, but euery one went whither furie carried him; and thronging together at the entrance, many pressed one another to death; and many being amongst the fierie ruines of the galleries perished as miserably as those that were overcome. When they came vnto the temple euery one counterfeited himselfe not to heare *Cæsars* commaund, and so exhorted his fellows that were before him to fire the Temple. The seditious now had no hope to withstand them, but either fled or were slaine; and many vnarmed & vnable people wherefoeuer they were found, were slaine: so that about the altar was an innumerable company of dead bodies heaped together, and their blood flowed down the temple staires: & their bodies that there

The burning
of the temple.

Great laughter
at the burning
of the temple.

The year of the
world, 403, after
Christs birth
73.

A were slaine roused down, *Cæsar* seeing he could not restrain the fury of the madbraine souldiers, and that the fire encreased, entred into the temple with his nobles, & beheld all the holy things there, and whatsoeuer else was there, farre surpassing all report which straungers had giuen of it, and equall to that report which the Iewes made of it. And the flame not hauing yet pierced into the inner part of the temple, nor yet consumed the houses and rooms about it, he deemed that as yet it might be preferred: wherefore himselfe came & intreated the souldiers to extinguish the fire: commaunding *Liberalis* the Centurion of his guard to beate those with a truncheon that would not be obedient, and drue them away. But their furie and the rage of warre, and the hatred they bare against the Iewes, ouercame in them all *Cæsars* commaunds, and feare of them that forbade them. Many were incited so to doe hoping of some bootie, thinking that all the temple within was full of money, because they saw the gates of golde. Moreover a certaine souldier, when *Cæsar* sought to quench the flame, fired the poastes about the doores: and presently the flame appearing within, *Cæsar* and the Captaines departed, and to euery one stood looking vpon it, and no man sought to extinguish it. Thus the temple was burnt against *Titus* his will. And although euery man will iudge it a lamentable case, in such a building surpassing all that euer was seene or heard of, both in greatness, workmanship, costliness and plenty of all things; in this yet we may comfort ourselves, in that the destinies had so determined. For neither liuing creatures, nor places, nor buildings can auoide their destinie. One may also admire the exact and iust reuolution of time: for it was now destroyed in the same moneth, and on the same day that the Babylonians first destroyed it: and from that time that *Salomon* began the first temple vnto the destruction of the second temple, which hapned the second yeere of *Vespasians* raigne, were a thousand, a hundreth and thirtie yeeres, seuen moneths, and fifteene daies: and from the building of the latter temple which *Aggeus* built in the second yeere of the raigne of King *Cyrus*, vnto the destruction thereof now in *Vespasians* raigne, were sixe hundreth thirtie nine yeeres and siue and forrie daies.

How many
yeeres there
were between
the first building
of the temple vnder
king Salomon
and the destruction
vnder Titus.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Priests: the treasure house: and the porch.

WHen the temple was thus consumed with fire, whatsoeuer the souldiers found therein they caried away, and put all to the sword that were in it, which was an infinite number: neither did they shew any pitie to olde age, or infants: but olde, young, priests, and common people all were slaine without respect, and all sorts of people tasted the calamitie of warre, whether they resisted, or intreated mercie. And now the flame encreased, which grieved euen them that were yeelding vp the ghost: and by reason of the height of the hill, and the building together, one would haue thought the whole Citie had bene on fire. Then a most lamentable crie was raised betweene the Roman legions, and the seditious now enuironed with fire and sword, and of the people that were taken in the higher part of the Citie, and had fled vnto the Romanes, lamenting their calamitie; and they of the Citie answered the teares and cries of them in the hill, and many whole eies death by famine had already closed, tooke strength awhile to bewaile the Temple, which they now opening their eies beheld on fire. The country beyond Iordan, and the mountaines about did eccho with their lamentations: and yet the calamitie surpassed that tumult. For one would haue iudged the hill whereon the temple was situate, to haue bene burnt vp by the rootes, it was so full of fire: Yet the multitude of bloud there shed surpassed the fire. Many that were slaine were covered with them that slew them, and all the ground was overspread with dead bodies, so that the souldiers ranne vpon the dead bodies to pursue them that fled. At last the theemes hauing driuen the Romanes without the temple, they ranne into the citie; and the rest of the people that were left, fled into the outward porch. And many of the priests first vied spits, & then their teares made of lead, in stead of darts against the Romans; at last nothing at all preuailing, and the fire falling vpon them, they went vnto a wall eight cubits broad, and there staid. Yet two of the nobles, when they might either haue fled vnto the Romans, and there haue bene saued, or else haue endured like fortune with the rest, they notwithstanding cast themselves into the fire, and so were burnt with the temple: one of them was named *Meierus* the sonne of *Belga*, the other *Ioseph* the sonne of *Dalens*.

The crie and
howling of the
murthered
Iewes.

The temple
filled with fire
and bloud.

Two noble
men cast them-
selves into the
fire.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

Size thousand in the porch consumed by fire.

False prophets suborned by the seditious.

The Romans thought it in vaine to spare the buildings about the temple, seeing the Temple was alreadie consumed, and so set fire on them all, the porches, galleries and gates; two onely excepted, one on the East side, and the other on the South side, both which afterward they raised vnto the ground: they burnt also certain chests called Gazophylacia, or money boxes, wherein was great store of coine, and rich garments, and other precious things, and indeed all the Jewes treasure, for the richest of the Citie had brought all their wealth thither. There came into the porch that was left standing, many men, women and children to the number of six thousand. And before *Caesar* and the capitaines did determine any thing what should be done with them, the furious souldiers fired the porch wherein they were, and so they all perished in the flames; saue a few, that leaping downe to auoide the fire, were slaine in the fall, so that no one escaped of all that multitude. A certaine false prophet was cause of all their deaths, who the same day preached in the Citie, and commanded them to goe into the temple, and behold signes of their deliuerance: for many false Prophets were then suborned by the tyrants, to periwade them to expect Gods helpe, thereby to hinder them from flying vnto the Romanes, and to cause the souldiers to fight more valiantly to defend their citie. Men easily beleue and are credulous in aduersitie, so that if any deceitfull person promise deliuerance out of calamitie, he that suffereth miserie is full of hope thereof.

CHAP. XII.

Of the straunge signes and tokens that appeared before the destruction of Ierusalem.

The blindness of the people. The first prodigie. A comet like vnto a sword. The second prodigie was that a bright light shined about the altar and temple by night. The third prodigie was a cow that brought forth a lambe in the midst of the temple. The fourth the brazen gate of the temple opened it selfe.

The fif, armed chariots and men seene in the ayre. The sixt a voice in the inward temple. The seauenth prodigie Iesus a countrymans crye and death.

THese miserable people were thus easily perswaded by impostors who did belie God, yet would they not beleue, nor giue any care or regard vnto certain tokens, & signes of the ruine of their city: but as it were blinded, neither hauing eyes nor soules, they counterfai-
Themselfes not to see what God foreshewed them. One while there was a comet in forme of a fire sword, which for a yeere together did hang ouer the city: another time before the first reuolt and warre, the people beeing gathered together to the feast of vnleavened bread (which was the eight day of Aprill) the ninth houre of the night, there was so much light about the altar and temple, as though it had been bright day, which remained halfe an hower: this the ignorant people interpreted as a good signe, but they that were skilfull in holy scripture, did presently iudge, what would ensue before it came to passe. The same festiuitie a cow led to be sacrificed at the altar brought forth a lambe in the midst of the temple: and the inner gate of the Temple on the east side being of massiue brasle, which at night time had alwaies at least twenty men to shut it, and was bound with locks of yron, and was barred with bars, the ends whereof went into mortise holes in the stones on either side the dore (the foresaid stones being on each side, one whole stone) was seene at the first houre of the night to open of his owne accord: which being presently related vnto the Magistrate by the keepers of the Temple, he himselfe came thither and could scarcely shut it, & this also to the ignorant seemed a good signe, affirming that God opened vnto them the gate of his blessings: but the wiser sort iudged that the defence of the temple would decay of his owne accord, and that the opening of the gate foretold, that it should be giuen to the enemies, affirming one vnto another that this signe signified desolation. A little while after the feast daies, on the one and twentieth day of May there was seene a vision beyond all beleefe, and perhaps that which I am to recount might seeme a fable, if some were not now alieue that beheld it, and that calamitie worthy to be so foretold ensued: for before the sunne set, were seene in the ayre yron chariots all ouer the country, and an armie in battell aray passing along in the clouds, and beginning the citie. And vpon the feast day called Pentecost, at night the Priests going into the inner temple to offer their wonted sacrifice, at first they felt the place to moue & tremble, and afterward they heard a voice which said, Let vs depart hence. And that which was most wonderfull of all, one *Iesus* the son of *Ananus* a country man of the common people, foure yeeres before the wars began, when the Citie flourished in peace and riches, comming to the celebration of the feast to Ierusalem, which we call the feast of Tabernacles, sodainly began to crie out thus; A voice from the East: A voice from the West: A voice from the foure winds: A voice against Ierusalem and the Temple: A voice against men and women newly married: A voice against all this people: and thus crying night and daie, hee went about all the streets of the city.

Some

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

A Some of the nobilitie disdaining misfortune, tooke him & scourged him with many stripes: but he neither secretly speaking for himselfe, nor vnto those that did beate him, persevered crying as before. The Magistrates then thinking (as indeed it was) that the man spake this through some diuine motion, led him vnto the Generall of the Romans, where beeing beaten till his boones appeared, he neuer intreated nor wept, but as well as hee could, framing a weeping voice, hee cried Woe, woe vnto Ierusalem. *Albinus* (beeing then Iudge) asked him what he was, or of whence, or wherefore he said so, but he made him no answer. Yet he ceased not to bewaile the miserie of Ierusalem, vntill *Albinus* thinking him to be out of his wits, suffered him to depart. This man euen vntill the time of warre neuer went to any Citizen, nor was seene speake to any one: but still as it were studying of some speech, hee cried Woe, woe vnto Ierusalem. Neither did he euer curse any one, though euery day one or other did beate him, nor thanke any one that offered him meat. All that he spake vnto any man was this haueie prophecie. He went crying as is aforesaid, chiefly vpon holy daies, so doing continually for the space of seauen yeeres and five moneths, his voice neuer waxing hoarse nor wearie, till in the time of the siege, beholding that which hee foretold them, he ceased, and then once againe vpon the walls going about the citie, with a loud voice he cried; Woe, woe vnto the Citie, Temple and people: and lastly he said, Woe also vnto my selfe. Which words were no sooner vttered, but a stone shot from out an engine smote him, and so he yielded vp the ghost, lamenting them all.

Ietus for seauen yeeres space & five moneths cried about the citie. A stone shot from an engine killeth Ietus.

If any one doe diligently consider all these, he shall find that God hath a care of mankind, and doth euery way fore-shew betime, what is most expedient for them, and they through their own madnesse, to haue voluntarily perished in their wickednesse. For the Jewes when the Castle Antonia was taken, made the Temple foure square: notwithstanding that it was written in the holy Scripture, that the Citie & Temple should be taken, when the Temple was made foure square. But that which chiefly incited them to war, was the doubtfull prophecie like a life found in the holy Scriptures: That at the same time, one in their dominions should be Monarch of the whole world; and many wifemen were deceived in this interpretation, making account that he should be one of their owne nation, yet indeed thereby was foretold *Vespasians* Empire. But men cannot present destinie, though they foresee it. Thus the Jewes interpreted some of the signes as they pleased, and at others they laughed, till by the ruine of their country, & their owne wofull overthrow, their iniquitie appeared.

The Iewes in the morning began to their owne goods, but in the evening they sawe the cause of their own calamity.

D

CHAP. XIII.

How Titus was made Emperour: and of the death of the Priests.

AFTER the seditious were fled into the Citie, all the Temple and places thereabout beeing set on fire, the Romanes placed their Ensignes in the Temple ouer against the East gate: and there celebrating sacrifice, with great cries declared *Titus* Emperour, and the Romanes got such preyes and booties, that they sold gold in Syria for halfe the valew. And amongst those Priests that kept on the wall, a child being thirstie, desired peace of the Roman watchmen, saying, that he was thirstie. So they pitying both his yeeres and his need, gaue him their hands that he should haue no harme, and then he came downe and drunke, and filled a bottle which he brought with him: and when he had done, hee ranne vp againe to his fellowes, and none of the watchmen were able to ouertake him and they vbraided him with falsehood. But he answered, that he had done nothing, but that which hee and they intended: for they did not giue him their hands to secure him to remaine with them, but onely to come downe and take water, which hee had done. The Romane watchmen greatly admired the subtiltie of him that was but a child. The fifth day, the Priests beeing almost famished came downe, and the watchmen caried them to *Titus*, who they besought to grant them their liues: But hee answered them, that the time of pardon was past, seeing that was destroyed, for the which he might haue pardoned them, and that it was meet that the priests should perish with the Temple: and so he commanded them to be put to death. Then the tyrants with their followers being on euery side beset with wars, and having no way to flie, they beeing thus beleaguerd round, requested to parley with *Titus*, who for his naturall meeknesse, his friends also perswading him thereto, thought at least to saue the Citie (iudging indeed that now the seditious had altered their minds) and so he stood in the west part of the inner Temple: for there was a gate built about a gallerie, and a bridge that ioyned the Temple

Gold was sold for halfe the price.

The craft of a boy.

The Priests craue pardon, but Titus commandeth the to be led to execution.

The seditious Iewes Ietus to a parley.

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72. Titus oration to the Iewes by an interpreter.

The Romans humaneitie incited the Iewes against them.

Temple and Citie together, which was then between *Titus* and the Tyrants. Many souldiers on both parts flocked about their rulers; the Iewes about *Simon* and *John*, hoping for pardon: the Romans about *Titus*, desirous what he would say vnto them: and *Titus* by an Edict commaunding the souldiers to be quiet, and to shoote no arrowes, spake vnto them first by an Interpreter, thereby shewing that he had the vpper hand, and said, O yee men of Ierusalem, are yee not now grieved with the calamities of your country? Neither calling to mind our power, nor your own infirmities, but with a rash furie haue destroyed your people, citie and temple: your selues also haueing iustly deserved to perish, who since *Pompey* first conquered you, haue neuer ceased to be sedicious, and at last haue openly borne armes against the Romans. Did you trust vnto your multitude? You haue seene that a small parcell of the Romans army hath sufficiently resisted you. Did you expect forraigne aide? What nation is not vnder our dominion? and who would rather make choice of the Iewes then of the Romans? Did you trust in your strength of body? Why, you know that the Germans serue vs. Or in the strength of your wals? what wal, or what greater hinderance then the Ocean, wherwith the Britaines inuironed, haue yeelded vnto the Romane forces? Or to your courage, & politike counsell of your capitaines? You haue already heard that the Carthaginians haue bene by vs surpris'd. It was therefore the Romanes humaneitie that incited you against them selues, who first of all permitted you to possesse your country, and gaue you Kings of your owne nation: and after all this, we kept your lawes inuiolate, and suffered you to liue as your selues desired, not onely in your owne countrey, but also amongst other nations; & which is the greatest of all our benefites bestowed vpon you, wee permitted you to gather tribute and gifts, to the maintenance of your Temple and sacrifices to GOD; of all which wee neither forbade any to be brought vnto you, neither hindered any that would offer vnto your Temple, but suffered you our enemies, to be made more rich then our selues, so that you haue used our own money against vs. Wherefore, haueing receiued so many benefites at our hands, you haue now disgorged your selues vpon vs, and like spightfull Serpents, spet your poyson vpon them that made much of you. Let vs omit that by *Alexander* his negligence you became forgetfull of your dutie, and like some member in the bodie broken or shrunk, you being still tumultuous, at last were taken in a greater offence, and were encouraged with immoderate desires to hope for vnlawfull liberty. My father came into your country, not to punish you for your misdemeanors toward *Cestius*, but by good counsell and warning to reprehensive and quier you. And whereas if hee had come to destroy your nation, hee ought first to haue cut downe the very roote, and to haue come vnto this citie and destroyed it, with the inhabitants: hee rather chose first to waste Galilea, and the places adioyning, that in the meane time you might repent you, and consider of your estate. But this his mercie towards you was held for cowardlinesse and infirmities in him, and by our long suffering, you were emboldned against vs: and when *Alexander* was dead, you did as treacherous subiects are wont to doe, taking occasion by our ciuill dissension, to reuolt from vs: and whilst my father & I were gone into Egypt, you prepared your selues to war against vs; neither were you ashamed to trouble them that were designed Princes, whom notwithstanding you had found most gentle captaines vnto you. At last, when the Empire fell vnto vs, and all things beeing now quieted, all nations with gifts & presents came to congratulate vs: Behold againe, the Iewes shewed themselves our enemies, and you sent an Embassadour beyond Euphrates, onely to nourish your rebellion, walling and fortifying your towns anew; and contending like sedicious and tyrants one with another, for abroache ciuill warres: all which none but impious people would haue committed. Wherefore beeing commaunded by my father, who was now vrged thereunto, I came against this Citie with a heauie charge; yet did I reioyce when I heard that the people desired peace. Before I warred against you, I exhorted you to peace: after war was begun, I desired awhile from vsing seueritie: I spared all them that of their own accord fled vnto mee, and kept my promise vnto them, pittying those that were captiues. I with strokes restrained them that hastened the war against you against my will; and euen forced so to do, I set the Romans against your wals, and alwaies restrained my souldiers so much desirous of your blood. How often did I ouercome you, so often did I exhort you to peace, as though I had bene vanquished. Againe; when I approached vnto the Temple, I willingly omitting the law of armes, requested you to spare your temple and holy things, offering you leaue to depart, and promising you safetie, or else I gaue you leaue to fight another time in another place, if so you thought good. All these my offers you refused, & with your owne hands fired your temple. And now you wicked wretches vrge me to a parly. What thing can you now preferre so excellent, as that which is already perished? What pardon can you

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

Titus granteth the Iewes liue, on condition they should lay aside their weapons and submit themselves.

The souldiers set the citie on fire.

Cesar constant in his resolution.

A you expect, seeing your temple is destroyed? nay, euen now you stand armed, not so much as counterfeiting submission in the last cast. O wretches with what hope? Is not your people dead, is not your temple destroyed, and your citie now in my hands, yea your liues also? But doe you thinke death the renoune of fortitude? I will not strue with your obstinacie: yet if you will cast downe your weapons, and yeeld your bodies, I will spare your liues: And like as in a priuate house I will shew my selfe vnto you a gentle master; and after I haue punished that which otherwise is incurable, I will reserue the rest for my selfe.

To this they answered, that they could not receiue pardon at his hands, haueing vowed the contrary: wherefore they requested licence to depart with their wiues & children by the campe, which he had enuironed with a wall, and so to goe into the wilderness, and leaue the Citie vnto the Romans. *Titus* was hereat greatly enraged, that they being in a manner captiues, should impose vpon him conditions, as though they were victors; and commaunded a crier to tell them, that henceforth they should not flie vnto him; nor hope that hee would pardon them: for hee would spare nothing, willing them with all their forces to fight & saue themselves as they could, for he would now in all things vse the law of armes: and so he permitted the souldiers to sack the Citie, and set it on fire. And that day they did nothing: but the next day following, they fired the councill-house, the palace *Acra*, and *Ophla*, and the fire came vnto *Queene Helens* palace, which was situate in the midst of *Acra*: also the houses and streetes of the Citie full of dead bodies were set on fire. The same day, the sonnes and brethren of king *Alexander*, and with them many nobles of the people, assembled together, besought *Cesar* to pardon them: and he though incited against them all; yet not changing his manner, receiued them to mercie, and put them all in prison, and afterward carried them bound to Rome for hostages, that were the kings sonnes and kinsmen.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the prey of the sedicious, and how the inner part of the Citie was fired.

D He sedicious went vnto the kings palace, where many had left all their wealth, because it was a strong place; and driuing the Romans from thence, they slew all the people there assembled, amounting to the number of eight thousand and foure hundred, & carried away all the money, and they tooke there two Romane souldiers aliue, one a horseman, and another a footman; and they slew the footman, and drew him all along the citie, as it were in the body of that one, reuenging themselves vpon all the Romans. But the horseman affirmed that hee had something to say vnto them, which would greatly profit them, and saue their liues: who was caried vnto *Simon*; and not haueing there any thing to say, *Simon* deliuered him to one of his captaines called *Ardala* to be slaine, and hee brought him where the Romans might behold him with his hands bound behind him, and a veile before his eyes, meaning there to behead him: but he whilst the Iew drew out his sword, fledde vnto the Romans. And *Titus* would not put him to death, because hee had escaped from the enemies: yet deeming him unworthy to be a Romane souldier, who suffered himselfe to be taken aliue, he tooke from him his armes, and discharged him from bearing them any more, which to a wise man was worle then death. The next day the Romans putting the sedicious to flight that were in the lower citie, they fired all vnto *Siloua*, reioycing that the towne was destroyed: yet they got no booties, because the sedicious had already robbed and spoiled all, and caried it into the higher citie. For they nothing repented them of their wickednesse, but were as arrogant, as though they had bene in prosperitie: so that they with ioy beheld the citie on fire, affirming that they desired death; for that the people beeing slaine, the temple destroyed, and the citie on fire, they should leaue nothing vnto their enemies. Yet *Ioseph* in that extremitie laboured to saue the reliques of the citie, much inuighing against their crueltie, & earnestly exhorting them to saue themselves: yet hee nothing profited in all this, but was derided for his labour: for neither would they yeeld vnto the Romans for their oaths sake, neither were they able to fight with the Romans, beeing now as it were besieged round by them; yet their accustomed murders did encourage them to stand out.

Thus dispersed all ouer the Citie, they lurked in the ruines, lying in wait for those that sought to flie vnto the Romans, and many of them were taken, and all of them were slaine; for famine had so weakened them, that they could not flie, & they cast their dead bodies vnto dogs. And any death

The sedicious resorting to the kings house take away the treasure.

The punishment of a Roman souldier taken by the Iewes.

The Iewes are arrogant in the midst of their calamitie.

The Iewes refuse to submit themselves to the Romans, yet are they unable to wage war with them.

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death were eaſie in reſpect of famine. So that many fled vnto the Romans, hauing no promiſe, no G
nor hope to be pardoned by them, and vpon purpoſe fell into the hands of the ſeditious, who ne-
uer ceaſed from murder: and now there was no place in the whole citie void, but was filled with
dead bodies, who either periſhed by famine or ſedition. But the tyrants and factious thieues put
their laſt refuge in the vaults, where they hoped whatſoeuer hapned to ſaue themſelues, hoping
that there they could not be found, and ſo after the citie was deſtroied, to eſcape, which was one-
ly their vaine fantaſie. For they could neither be hid from God nor the Romans: yet at that time
they truſted in thoſe caues, from whence they fired the citie more then the Romans, and cruelly
murdered them that hauing eſcaped the flames, came and fled into ſecret places, & ſpoiled them:
alſo if they in any place found any meate, though all bloudie, yet they tooke it, and did eate it, and
now one of them began to fight with another about the ſpoile they gotte. And I verily perſwade H
my ſelfe, that had they not been prevented by the deſtruction of the citie, their crueltie vould
haue been ſuch, that they would haue eaten the bodies of dead men.

CHAP. XV.

*How the higher part of the Citie was aſſaulted: and how many Iewes
fled vnto Titus.*

Cæſar, perceiuing that the higher part of the Citie would not be won without mounts, I
being ſituate in a ſoile, round about the which were high and deep places, on the twen-
tith day of Auguſt he let all his ſouldiers on worke, and the carrying of wood for that
purpoſe was very painefull: all trees within a hundredth furlongs off the citie were already cut
downe, and vſed in the former worke as is before ſaid. So the ſoure legions raiſed a mount on the
weſt ſide of the Citie, and all the reſt made a mount againſt the porch, bridge and tower, which
Simon during his warres with Iſſa had built. About this time, the capitaines of the Idumæans aſ-
ſembling together, deliberated to yeeld themſelues, and ſent ſiue of their company vnto Titus,
beſeeching him to confirme a peace vnto them: and he hoping that the tyrant would yeeld after
them, who were the greateſt part of his army, with much adoe granted them life, & ſo ſent them
vnto their fellowes: but Simon had notice of their departure, and preſently ſlew thoſe ſiue that
were ſent vnto Titus, & taking the captiues (the nobleſt of whom was Iames the ſonne of Joſa) K
he put them in priſon, and alſo kept and guarded the Idumæans, who now hauing no gouernours,
knew not what to doe, yet the guard could not hinder them from flying: for although manie of
them were killed, yet diuerſe fled and eſcaped, and all were receiued by the Romans. Titus curte-
ſie beeing ſuch, as that he remembred not his former ediſt to the contrarie, and now the ſouldi-
ers hoping for gaine, and hauing already gotten ſufficient, abſtained from murders: for leauing
onely the common people, they ſold the reſt with their wiues and children for a ſmall price, ma-
ny beeing expoſed to ſale, and few comming to buy them: ſo that hee hauing made an edict that
none ſhould flie vnto him alone, intending thereby to bring their families with them, yet he now
receiued them alſo, appointing ſome to enquire who had deſerued puniſhment, & to inſiſt it on
them. And an infinite number was ſold, & more then fortie thouſands of the people were ſaued, L
whom the Emperour diſmiſſed and permitted to goe whither they pleaſed. The ſame time a cer-
taine Prieſt the ſonne of Thebathus, named Ieſus, was promiſed pardon vpon condition that hee
ſhould deliuer certaine holy things giuen vnto the Temple, and ſo he came and brought out of a
wall two candleſticks, like vnto them that were in the temple, tables, goblets, cups, all made of
ſolide and maſſiue gold: alſo, the veile and the ornaments of the prieſts, and the precious ſtones
about them, and many veſſels made for ſacrifice. Moreover, the keeper of the holy treaſure, cal-
led Phineas, brought forth the garments, and all things that did belong vnto the prieſts, & much
purple and ſcarlet, which were laid vp in ſtore to make tapeſtry or hangings, amongſt which al-
ſo was ſome Cinamon, Caſſia, and many other odoriferous things, whereof were compounded
ſweet odors to be offered to God. He alſo deliuered him much wealth of other mens, and much
ſacred treaſure: for the which notwithstanding that he was taken by force, yet he was pardoned, M
as they were that fled vnto Cæſar.

CHAP.

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

CHAP. XVI.

How the reſt of the Citie was taken.



HHe ſeuenth day of September, the mounts beeing finiſhed, which was the eighteenth
day after they were begun, ſome of the Romans placed their rammes & engines to bat-
ter them; and ſome of the ſeditious who now deſpaired to keep the citie, left the wals,
and fled into Acra, others hid themſelues in certaine vaults, and many hindered the Ro-
mans and reſiſted them for placing their rammes againſt the wals, who were overcome by them,
beeing both more in number then they were, and alſo ſtronger and more valiant. The Iewes be-
ing now all diſcouraged and ſorrowfull, ſo ſoone as any part of the wall was broken downe, or
ſhaken with the force of the rammes, ſtraight waies fled, and now the tyrants were ſurpriſed with
a greater feare then needed. For euen before ſuch time as the enemies had entred the vvall, they
ſtood in doubt whether they might flie or no, and they who a little before were proud and arro-
gant malefactors, did now tremble and quake, ſo that it was pittifull to ſee ſuch a change in them,
though they were wicked perſons. And they endeouored to aſſaile the wall that Titus had built,
to compaſſe the whole citie withall, but ſeeing themſelues forſaken of all thole that were wont to
be truſtie vnto them, every one fledde whither neceſſitie did driue him. Preſently newes were
brought them that all the weſt wall of the citie was beaten downe, others affirmed that the Ro-
mans had entred, and that they had ſcene the enemies in the towers, feare dazeling their eyes: &
proſtrate vpon the ground, they bewailed their miſfortune; and as though they had been lame,
they ſtood ſtill and ſought not to flie. From whence one may chiefly perceiue Gods iuſtice to-
wards the impious, & the Romans fortune: for the tyrants deſtroyed themſelues of their ſtrong
holds, and voluntarily departed out of their towers, wherein they could neuer haue bene taken
but by famine: and the Romans hauing ſo much laboured at the lower wals, did now by ſudden
take theſe, which their engines could neuer haue ſhaken, for there were three inexpugnable tow-
ers that could not be battered with the engines, whereof before we haue made mention. So the
tyrants hauing forſaken theſe, or rather beeing by Gods will driuen from hence, preſently they
fled vnto the valley Siloa, after the feare was paſt they againe tooke hart, and went vnto the wall
that was in that place: yet not vſing ſuch courage and violence as their need required, they were
beaten by the watchmen that guarded it; their ſtrength now failing & wearied with labor, feare,
famine and calamitie. And ſome were driuen one way, and ſome another, and ſo were forced to
hide themſelues in vaults and ſinks. The Romans hauing obtained the wall, placed their colours
in the towers, and clapping their hands, and ſinging for ioy, they cried victorie, finding the end
of the warre nothing ſo terrible as the beginning. Yet did they not beleeue that was the end, be-
cauſe they gotte the wall without any bloudſhed, but admired, ſeeing no man did offer to reſiſt
them. And now iſſuing into euery ſtreet, they ſlew whomſoeuer they found without any reſpect;
and fired houſes, and all the people that had fled into them, and deſtroyed many whereas they
entred for to get a prey, and they found whole families dead, and houſes full of dead bodies, con-
ſumed by famine. Thus terrified with that heauie ſight, they departed out, not taking any thing
away, yet for all that they pittied not them that were left aliue, but ſlew whomſoeuer they met,
wherby they filled the narrow ſtreets ſo full of dead bodies by them ſlaine, that none could paſſe
that way for them: all the whole citie flowed with bloud, ſo that many things ſet on fire, were
quenched with the bloud of them that were ſlaine. At euening they ceaſed from killing, but all
the night long the fire increaſed: and ſo in the morning, which was the eight day of September,
all was now on fire, the citie in the time of the ſiege hauing endured more miſery and calamitie
then euer it receiued ioy and happineſſe, from the time of the firſt foundation, notwithstanding
that they were ſo great that all cities might iuſtly enuy it, & it no wiſe deſerued ſo to be oppreſ-
ſed with ſuch miſery, ſaue onely for that it foſtered & bred ſuch impious perſons as wrought the
ouerthrow thereof.

Titus entring into the Citie, amongſt the reſt admired the ſtrong holds thereof, and the rockie
towers which the Tyrants like madde men deſtroyed themſelues of: and ſeeing the height, firm-
neſſe, bigneſſe, and the ioyning of the ſtones together, and their breadth & height, he ſaid: Surely
God hath aſſiſted vs in the fight, and he it was that did withdraw the Iewes from theſe fortrefſes.
For what could mens hands and engines preuaile againſt them? And hauing ſpoken much to this
effect

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72. These munitions of the citie and defence of the tower which the tyrants abandoned for feare, impregnable. Fortunes monument. The old and weake Jewes are slaine, and the strong and lustie relieved.

Titus distributed both the Jewes.

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effect, comming with his friends, hee set them at libertie who the tyrants had left bound in the Castles; and when he destroyed the rest of the citie & wals, he left those towers standing as a monument of his good fortune and victorie, by the which he had gained them, though vnexpugnable. The souldiers now being wearie with killing the miserable Jewes, & yet a great multitude remaining alieue, *Cesar* commaunded, that onely the armed Jewes and they that resisted should be slaine, and the rest left alieue. But the souldiers also killed old folkes and weake persons, and taking all able men and lustie, they caried them into the temple, & shut them there in the place appointed for the women. *Cesar* left one *Fronto* a libertine and his friend to keepe them, giuing him also charge to make inquirie, who had deserued punishment; who slew all the theiues and seditious, one of them bewraying another, and reserved certaine chosen young men of large stature and beautifull withall for the triumph, and all the rest that were aboute seauenteene yeeres old, he sent bound into Egypt, to be imployed in certaine works there, as digging, deluing, & manuring the fields, and to be viced in other publique busines. *Titus* also sent many of them vnto diuers provinces to be slaine in the Theaters with beasts, or words: and they that were vnder seauenteene yeeres of age were sold. And during the time that *Fronto* kept them, ten thousand died for hunger; partly for that their Keepers hating them, would not giue them any meat; partly for that some refused meat when it was offered them. For there was now scarcitie of corne by reason of the great multitude of the people.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the number of the captiues, and them that were slaine.

The number of the captiues, & such as died during the siege of the citie.

The number of all the captiues that were taken during the whole time of warre, was fourescore and seauenteene thousand: the number of all that died and were slaine during the siege, was eleuen hundredth thousand, the most of them beeing Jewes by nation, but not inhabitants of that place. For beeing assembled together from all parts to the feast of vneleuened bread, presently & on a suddaine they were enuironed with war, & first of all a plague fell amongst them by reason of the straightnesse of the place, & immediatly after, famine, worse then it. And that the Citie was capable of so many men it is eident, for that *Cestius* before numbred them; who desirous to signifie the flourishing estate and strength of Ierusalem vnto *Nero*, who contemned our nation, requested the high priests, that if possibly they could, they should number all the people in their citie: and that vpon the feast of Easter, when they killed offerings from the ninth houre of the day vntill the eleauenth: and to eate a lambe not fewer then ten persons were assembled, for it is not lawfull for any to feast alone, yea many times 20 are in a company: they numbred two hundredth fifty & six thousand, & 500 oblations or lambes to be killed, so that if we reckon to euery lambe ten men, the number amounteth vnto 27 hundredth thousand men, all purified whole and sound: For it was not lawfull for any that were lepers, or had a fluxe of seed, nor women that had the monthly tearmes, to eate of that sacrifice, nor for any stranger, except he came thither for religion sake. And this multitude was assembled together from other places, and was there by the prouidence of God shut vp as it were in a prison. And the citie being filled with men of war was besieged, that the number of them that were slaine, passed all that euer perished, either by any plague sent from God, or by the meanes of men; who were partly openly slaine, partly taken by the Romans: who searching the vaults, and opening the sepulchers, spared none they met withall. There also were found more then two thousand, whereof some slew themselves with their owne hands, other some killed by others, the rest perished with famine. The stinck of dead bodies was so great, that many minding to goe and search the foresaid places, and being entred into them, were forced to retire: yet others for lucre sake treading on the dead carcasses, searched the dead bodies, if they could find any thing: for much riches were hidden in the vaults, & couetousnesse omitted no way to gaine. Moreover, many were taken out from thence, whom the tyrants had bound, who euen in their extremitie ceased not to tyrannize: yet God plagued them both according to their deserts: for *Iohn* being now almost famished with his brethren in a vault, besought the Romans to saue his life. And *Simon* hauing long stricken with necessitie, as we shall hereafter make mention of, at last yeelded himselfe, who was kept for the triumph, and *Iohn* was condemned to perpetuall prison. Then they destroyed the walles, and fired the outward parts of the Citie.

CHAP.

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

CHAP. XVIII.

A brieue historie of the Citie of Ierusalem.

A

THus was Ierusalem taken the second yeere of *Vespasians* raigne, on the eight day of September, and hauing bene alreadie fise times before surpised, it was finally againe destroyed. First, *Aiochams* king of Aegypt, and after him *Antiochus*, then *Pompey*, and after them *Herod* with *Susius* tooke the Citie and yet destroyed it not. But before them the King of Babylon destroyed it, when hee had inioyed the same, a thousand three hundredth and threescore yeeres, eight months and sixe daies after it was first built: but hee that first built it was one of the Princes of the Cananeans, in his owne language called the iust king. For he indeed was so, & therefore was the first Priest that sacrificed vnto God, and dedicating a Temple, called the Citie Solyma: but *Dauid* the king of the Jewes hauing driuen out the Cananeans, gaue it vnto his people to bee inhabited, and after foure hundredth threescore foure yeeres and three moneths, it was destroyed by the Babylonians: and from king *Dauid* who was the first Iew that reigned there, vntill the time that *Titus* destroyed it, were a thousand one hundredth seuentie and nine yeeres, and from the time that it was first erected vntill it was by him destroyed, were two thousand one hundredth and seuentie seuen yeeres: yet neither the antiquitie nor riches, nor the fame thereof now spread all ouer the world, nor the glorie of religion did any thing profit or hinder it, from being destroyed. Such was the end of the besieging of Ierusalem. When there was none left to kill, nor any thing remaining for the soldiers to get, & that now there was nothing, against which the soldiers could shew their outrage (for they would haue spared nothing that they could haue spoyle) *Cesar* commaunded them to destroy the Citie and Temple, onely yet leauing standing certaine towers, that were more beautifull and stronger then the rest, to wit, Phasaclus, Hippicos, and Mariamme, and the wall that was on the West side, meaning there to keepe a garrison, and that they should be monuments of the Romans vertue, who had surprised a Citie so well fortified as it appeared by them. All the rest of the Citie they so planned, that they who had not seene it before, would not beleue that it had been euer inhabited. This was the end of their madnesse, who were alwaies giuen vnto sedition in Ierusalem, a most worthie Citie & famous amongst all nations.

Ierusalem being fise times spoiled was at that time once more taken.

The Romans wholly ruinate both the Citie and the temple

CHAP. XIX.

How the souldiers were rewarded.

C*esar* determined to leaue the tenth legion for a garrison in Ierusalem, with some troupes of horsemen and other companies of footmen: and all wars being now ended, hee purposed to thanke the whole armie for their valiant acts, and reward the most courageous for their deserts. And placing a great tribunall in the middle before the campe, standing in it with the chiefe peeres about him, for whence the whole armie might heare him, hee gaue them heartie thanks for that of their good will towards him, they had patiently abode with him during those wa-res, praying the for their loyaltie during all the foresaid time, and that in many skirmiges they had shewed themselves valiant, and by their valour had enlarged the dominions of their countrie: likewise they had now giuen al nations to vnderstand, that neither the multitude of enemies, nor strong holds, nor greatnesse of Cities, nor rashnesse, nor barbarous crueltie of their aduersaries could euer resist the forces of the Romanes, nor escape their hands; notwithstanding, that in manie things fortune fauoured them, adding that it was a credite for them to haue ended those wars that had continued a long time, which was all that they hoped for at their comming; and which was most glorie of all vnto them, that those Capitaines whom they had elected to be the Romane Emperours, were well liked and imbraced of al men, all standing to their appointment; and acknowledging themselves beholding to them that elected them. Moreover that hee admired them and loued them all, for that euerie one shewed himselfe valiant and courageous, affirming that he would now recompence those with honours, and due desert, who had behaued themselves most valiantly, & most hazarded themselves, & effected worthie deeds, & whosoever was more forward then the rest should haue a reward according to that desert. And that he would be more diligent in honouring the that had bin his companions in that

Titus thanked his souldiers for that they had continued their loue towards him.

Titus promised recompence to his valiant souldiers.

Cccc

warre

The yeere of the world, 4034. after Christs birth, 72.

that he requested them to permit him to informe *Cæsar* of all that was past. For *Vespasian* had already sent *Cæcilius Pontus* to be gouernor of Syria, but he was not as yet arriued there. Then *Collega* making diligent enquirie of the matter, found out the truth, and not one of the Iewes accused by *Antiochus* was guiltie: for certaine impious people had done all this mischief, being indebted, thinking that if they had burnt the market place, and the publike writings, that then their debts could not be required at their hands. Yet the Iewes liued in great feare, and expected the euent of those forged accusations.

The year of the world, 4034, after Christs birth, 72.
A sort of wicked men by means they were indebted, burnt the market place and the publike records.

CHAP. XXII.

How Vespasian at his returne was received by the Romans.

The year of the world, 4035, after Christs birth, 73.
The Citie of Rome entertained Vespasian with all willingesse and pompe.

After that *Titus* had receiued letters from his father, that hee was arriued in Italie, and all Cities wherein he as yet came, welcommed him verie ioyfully, and that especially Rome had entertained him with great pompe and triumph, he was now eased of the care hee had before, and verie ioyfull for his fathers wellfare, and good fortune. For all the people of Italy did reuerence *Vespasian*, though absent, as though hee had beene present with them, desiring to see his expected arriual, whose comming they so hartly wished for. For the Senate remembering what calamities had befallen the Citie in the change of Princes, desired to receiue their Emperour dignified with the honour of olde age, and martiall renowne, whose presence only would bee to his subiects profite and safetie. And the vulgar sort also troubled before with ciuill wars, long expected his arriual, assuring themselves thereby to haue an end of their calamity, and to recouer againe their wonted affluence. Especially he was expected by the souldiers, who knowing his skill in martiall affaires by that which himselfe had already done, and finding their other captaines, vnder whom they warred, ignorant and vnskillfull, they wished for his comming, thereby to be deliuered from the disgrace, wherein they liued, desiring to receiue him by whome they might both be honoured, and preferred from danger. The nobilitie seeing him so beloued of all men, could no longer waite his comming, but went and met him, hee being farre from the Citie, and accompanied him, and no man staied his comming, but in whole multitudes they went to meete him, they were so desirous to see him: so that more went to meete him then staied at home.

The Romans issue out to meete with Vespasian.

Vespasian celebrated gratularie sacrifice for his late arriual.

When newes was brought that hee approched neere vnto the Citie, and how friendly and curteously he had entertained all men, the people with their wiues and children staied in the way hee came, to salute and see him: and whereloeuver he came, with ioyfull applauses and acclamations they cried, calling him their conseruer and benefactor, and he who onely was worthy to see the Romane Emperour, and the whole Citie was as it had been a temple all hung with garlands, and full of sweete odors and perfumes: and the multitude of people being such that hee could scarcely get into the palace, he offered sacrifices vnto his household gods for his safe returne, and all the people were feasted by their tribes, kindred and neighbours, sacrificing vnto God, and requesting that *Vespasian* might long continue their Emperour, and his sonne after him, and that the Empire might neuer depart from his linage. The Citie of Rome hauing thus receiued *Vespasian*, it presently was blessed with all happinesse and felicitie.

CHAP. XXIII.

The exploits of Domitian against the Germans and Frenchmen.

The causes of the enuie of the Germans and French against the Romans.

Before such time as *Vespasian* was gone to Alexandria, or that *Titus* besieged the City of Ierusalem, a great part of Germanie was reuolted, with whom the Frenchmen that bordered vpon them renouncing their allegiance they were in great hope to free themselves from the yoke and gouernment of the Romans. The first motives that caused the Germans to reuolt, and to warre against the Romans, was their temeritie and rash natures prone to fight, hauing but a verie little hope of successe, then the hatred of their nobles, who knew that none could by force bring them into subiection but only the Romans, and chiefly thereunto encouraged by the opportunitie they had. For they seeing the Empire greatly afflicted with ciuill wars, by reason of the often changing of Emperours, and knowing that all the world vnder their dominions was

now

A now in suspence, they thought that by reason of their troubles and ciuill wars fit opportunitie was offered them, and they were hereunto perswaded by one *Cassius* and *Civilis* two of the most potent amongst them, who long before desired alteration, and now finding opportunitie, shewed what minds they bare: who now taking courage, made triall what the common people thought of this point, and the greatest part of them manifestly condescended hereunto, and perhaps the rest were not vnwilling. At this time as it were by Gods providence, *Vespasian* sent letters vnto *Petilius Cerealis* (who before time had beene gouernour of Germanie) and declared him Consull, commanding him to go into Britaine and take the rule of the countrey. Hee forthwith obeyed *Vespasians* command: and hearing that the Germans had reuolted, hee came against them, they hauing now leued an armie, and gaue them a great overthrow, killing many of them, and forced them to their due obedience vnto the Romans. Notwithstanding if he had not come thither, not long after they had assuredly beene punished for their offence. For so soone as newes of their rebellion was brought to Rome, *Cæsar Domitianus* hearing of it (not as one of his yeeres would haue done, being verie young) vnderooke that expedition to go and conquer them: but hauing his fathers courage, and being more skillfull then his age required, hee presently went against them, who terrified with the report of his comming, yeilded vnto him, thereby gaining this, that without bloodshed they were brought vnder subiection as before. Now all things in Gallia being well disposed of, so that it was not easie for them although they would, to rebell any more, *Domitian* returned againe to Rome, being a credite vnto his age and countrey.

The year of the world, 4035, after Christs birth, 73.
C. iulius com-pelleth the Germans to subiecton.

Domitianus Titus brother.

C At the same time also the Scythians rebelled, and the Sarmates assembled in great multitudes, and passed ouer the riuer Istrum, and with great violence and crueltie comming vnto Alexandria, slew manie of the Romane garrisons, whom they found in strong holds: and *Fonteius Agrippas* Lieutenant, who had been Consull, meeting them, bade them battell, and fought verie valiantly: which done, they went all ouer the countreies adioyning, wasting, robbing, and spoiling them. When *Vespasian* heard thereof, and how *Mæsia* was all wasted, hee sent *Rubrius Gallus* to be reuenged vpon them: who hauing slaine manie of them in fight, hee forced the rest to retire into their owne countrey. The generall of the armie hauing thus ended that warre, prouided to preuent them, if hereafter they did attempt the like, for he built farre more stronger forts then were before, so that the enemy could no way passe out of their owne countrey: by which meanes the wars in *Mæsia* were quickly ended.

The Scythians and Sarmates rebellion against the Romans.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Riuer Sabbaticus, and the famous triumph of Vespasian and Titus.

Thus the Emperour hauing some while remained at Berytus (as is before said) and being returned from thence, hee shewed many spectacles in all the cities of Syria, wherein hee came, reseruing for that purpose the Iewes, that were captiues, to let all men vnderstand of their overthrow: in his journey, he beheld a riuer worth the recital, which runneth in the midst betweene Arcas and Raphaneas, two Cities of the kingdome of Agrippa, which hath a miraculous nature, for when it floweth, it is verie full of water, and runneth with a swift stream; yet hauing flowed fixe daies, it is on the seuenth day so drie, that you may see the bottome, and so continueth his course, which for this cause the Iewes call Sabbaticus, taking the name thereof from the Iewes Sabbath, which is the seuenth day. When the Antiochians vnderstood that *Titus* was comming to their citie, they could not containe themselves within their wals for ioy, but all went out to meete him, and not onely men, but also women and children, expecting his comming thirtie foulds off: & when he approched neer vnto them, they holding vp their hands to him saluted him, with great ioy, and hauing receiued many courtesies from him, they returned with him, and amongst other acclamations, they often besought him to banish the Iewes out of their citie. But *Titus* returned no answer, making as though he heard not what they requested. Yet the Iewes doubtfull what he would doe, and what his intent was, were all in exceeding great feare. For *Titus* did not tarry at Antiochia, but passed fro thence to Zeugema towards Euphrates, where *Vologesus* the king of Parthians messenger came vnto him, bringing him a golden crowne for his conquest of the Iewes: which he receiuing, feasted the kings Embassadors, and

Titus celebrateth many sumptuous pastimes in all the cities of Syria.

The flood Sabbaticus.

Titus coming to Antioch. The prayers of the Citizens against the Iewes.

Titus lamen-
teth the loss
and desolation
of Ierusalem.The Romans
find no small
part of their
riches of Ierusa-
lem.John & Simon
and Leuiticus
offer goodly
treasures refer-
red by Titus to
be sent into
Italy.The triumph-
ant
attire of Vespasian
and Titus.Their vowes
and dinner
before their
triumph.The magni-
tude of the
triumph.The most
precious
garments.

so returned to Antiochia, where the senat & people besought him to com into the theater, where G
all the people were assembled expecting him, & he accorded so to do, & again they besought him
to expel the Iewes out of their city, but he answered that their country whereunto he might haue
banished the, was now destroyed, & there was no place that would receiue the: so the Antiochians
seeing that they could not obtaine their former petition, they requested an other thing of him, to
wit, that he would take away the brazen tables, wherein were engrauen the Iewes priuiledges:
but Titus would not grant that, but leauing the Iewes in the same estate he found them, he departed
from thence into Aegypt: and as in the way he passed by Ierusalem, comparing the desolation of
that place with the beautie and goodly buildings that were before it was destroyed, he lamented
& pitied the ouerthrow thereof, not insolently reioicing as an other would haue done, for hauing
destroyed so faire and strong a citie, but cursing the seditious who forced him to destroy it, not H
purposing to make his vertue knowne by the calamitie of wretches. For as yet great part
of the treasure of the Citie was found in the ruines, and some the Romans found of them-
selues; but the most they got, the captiues told them of, which was gold and silver and other
precious things buried by the owners in the earth, being vncertaine what would betide them.
Titus going forward in his iourney speedily past the wildernesse, and came to Alexandria, and
determining now to saile vnto Italy, he sent the two legions that accompanied him vnto the pla-
ces, from whence they came, the first into Mæsia, the fiftenth into Panonia, commanding John
and Simon captiues of the prisoners and others to the number of seuen hundred all of goodly
stature, and beautiful, to be carried presently into Italy, meaning to vse them in his triump. When
he was now arrived at Rome as he desired, the people were so affected towards him, as if hee had
bene their father, & came to meet him. *Vespasian* also honoured his sonne *Titus*, meeting him in
his owne person with great ioy: all the citizens likewise receiued him with exceeding ioy, seeing
that now the father and his two sonnes were met: Within a few dayes after, they purposed to
make a triumph in common, but the Senate had decreed them a priuate and peculiar triumph,
for their valiant deedes, and in the day prefixed for the same, no man in all the citie remained at
home, but euerie one got a place to stand in that they might see the Emperours, leauing onely
roome betwene them for their passage. All the soldiers before it was day-light, euerie one with
his captaine in companies, came and expected the Emperour, not at the palace gate, but
nere the temple of Isis: for the Emperours that night lodged there, and at day brake *Vespasian*
and *Titus* came forth both crowned with lawrel, & in purple garments made after their country K
fashion, and they went vnto *Ostians* walks, where the Senate, captiues and knights expected
their comming. Before the porch was made a tribunall, and in it placed seats of Iuorie, which
they ascending sate downe in, and presently all the souldiers with loud voice declared their valour
and fortitude. The Emperours were vnarmed and cloathed in silke, and crowned with lawrell.
Vespasian hauing receiued their praises, they offering still to speake now in his commendations,
he beckned with his hand, and made a signe vnto them to be silent: which being done, he arose vp,
and couering the greatest part of his head with his garment, he performed his solemn vowes, and
Titus also did the like. That done, *Vespasian* spake vnto them all in generall in fewe words, and
so dismissed the souldiers to goe to dinner, which according to the custome the Emperour was
to prouide for them: himselfe departed from them to the triumphal gate so called, for that all L
triumphs passed that way, and they did eate meat and put on triumphal apparell, hauing offered
sacrifices vnto the Gods that were placed by the gate, and so went in triumph all along the
place, where people strided to see them, to the ende that all people might haue a better view of
them. But the spectacles there exhibited, both for number, varietie, and costlinesse, cannot be
described sufficiently, being excellent in all things, which any man could deuise, both workeman-
ship, riches, and varieties, and nouelties of nature. For almost all things that euer were in any
place amongst men that liued in felicitie, either rich or beautiful, and pleasant to beholde; all of
them were that day shewed and scene in that triumph, giuing a testimonie of the large domini-
ons of the Romans. For there was such store of works of gold, silver and yuorie, that one would
not haue deemed them, to haue bene made onely for the pompe of that day: but to haue been so
plentiful, as if they had flowed all about the citie: some carried fine tapestrie made of all sorts of
purple, other some carried others, diligently wrought with pictures and Babylonian worke, and
there were so many gemmes and precious stones, some set in crownes of golde, some in other
workes, that it appeared, that without reason we iudged them to be rare and scarce. Moreouer the
pictures of their Gods were carried with them, which were admirable both for greatnesse and
work-

The building
of the Page-
ants.The year of the
world, 4037. af-
ter Christs birth,
75.A table of
gold of the
weight of a
great talent.The last of the
spoiles of the
law of the
Iewes.Simon the
sonne of Gio-
rias drawne
with a halter
about his necke,
through the
market place.Vespasian build-
eth and dedi-
cates a Tem-
ple to peace.

A workmanship, and all of pretious matter. And diuers sorts of liuing creatures were there to bee
scene, all adorned with some attire, agreeing and alluding vnto their nature. There was also an
infinite multitude of men, in purple garments ouer wrought with golde, which carried all
these things, and they who were separated from the rest to bee scene, were attired in such gar-
ments, that as many as beheld them admired. The captiues went not without their gorgeous at-
tires, but the varietie and beautie of the garments hid all the deformitie of their bodies, which
happened through their bad vsage. The Pageants that were born in that triumph, were of an ad-
mirable bignesse, so that the people that behelde them wondered how it was possible that men
should carrie them, for many were builded with three or foure lofts one aboue another, surpas-
sing all that can be imagined of them for worke and cost, for many of them were hanged about
B with Tapestrie of gold; and all things annexed vnto them, whereon they were carried, were made
of wrought gold or Iuorie. Therein was curiously represented the manner of war, and all strata-
gemes, and manners of fighting, that could bee deuised; some in one part of the Pageant, some in
another. There might one haue behelde a most fertile and fortunate land destroyed, and all the
armie of enemies to be slaine, and some flying, others taken prisoners, and strong and huge wals
battered downe with Rammes, and Castles and strong holds destroyed, and the wals of populous
Cities to be ruined, and the armie entering the wals, all places filled with massacred men, and how
those that were not able to fight, yeelding themselves, asked mercie, the temples set on fire, and af-
ter all else was wasted, the houses thrown downe vpon the owners heads, and a riuer representing
sorrowe, not flowing as it was wont into tilled places, and to serue the vse of man nor for cat-
tell to drinke, but into a Countrey which was in euerie part burning, and enuironed with flames,
C all which the Iewes in their warres endured. These things were so artificially represented vnto
their viewes, that had not scene them, as though they were now a doing: Before euerie Pageant
went the Captaine of the Citie, representing the maner how it was taken. After all these follow-
ed many ships, and in euerie place were carried the spoiles taken in warre: amongst all which,
those that were taken in the Temple of Ierusalem, were most excellent, for there was a golden ta-
ble weighing many talents, and likewise a golden Candlesticke, the vse whereof was now not
such as we were wont to put it vnto, for in the middelt of the stem thereof was fixed a bale, and
out of it proceeded many small branches, framed like a three forked spear, euerie one being at the
top made like a Lampe, which were seauen in number, shewing the honour of the seauenth day, which
D was the last of all the spoiles. Then followed many carrying the image of Victorie, all made of
gold and Iuorie. Afterwardes, came *Vespasian*, and after him *Titus*, and with him *Domitian*,
gallantly adorned and mounted vpon an excellent horse, and so they went all to the Temple of
Iupiter Capitolinus, and there was the end of all this pompe, where they made some abode.
For it was an auncient custome of their Countrey, to repose themselves there till some came
and brought newes vnto them, of the death of him, who was Generall of their enemies. This as
then was *Simon Giora*, who was also carried in the triumph, and hauing a rope fastned about
his necke, was drawne all along the market place, where they that drew him did kill him. For it is
the custome of the Romanes, thereto put malefactors to death that are condemned. After
E word was brought that he was dead, all the people made ioyfull exclamations, and so they began
to sacrifice, which done according to the custom, they returned into the palace, and they feasted
some, other some had prepared banquets for themselves at their owne houses. For this day was
sacred amongst the Romanes, in ioy of the victorie ouer their enemies, and an ende of ciuill ca-
lamitie, and the beginning of good fortune, and hope, which they had in their newe princes.
When the triumphs were ended, and all the Romane Empire quieted, *Vespasian* built a Temple
and dedicated it vnto Peace, which he did in so short a space as it was admirable: and hauing be-
stowed great cost vpon it, hee also beautified it with diuers pictures, and carued workes. And hee
placed in that Temple all things that men of former ages had come to see, from the vttermost
F parts of the earth. And he placed there all the golden vessels, and other necessaries that the Iewes
vled in their Temple, doing them great reuerence. But their law and the Tapestrie or purple
veiles of the Sanctuarie hee commanded to be kept in the palace.

How Herodium and Macherus were taken by Bassus.

Cæsar sent *Lucius Bassus* into Iudæa to bee Lieutenant there, who receiuing an armie of *Cerealis Vettilianus*, hee tooke the Castle and garrison of Herodium, being yeelded vnto him. After this, gathering together all his armie, who were dispersed in diuers places of the Countrey, he with the tenth legion purposed to warre against *Macherus*, for he thought it necessarie to destroy that castle, least that for the strength it might moue many to rebell: for by reason of the situation of the place, they that were in it, had certaine hope of their safetie, and those that sought to assault it, were in great daunger, for it was built vpon a rocke that was exceeding high, which made it almost inexpugnable; and nature had so deuised, that it is hard to come vnto it, who hath enuironed it round about with vallies, so deepe, that the bottome thereof cannot bee descried, neither could one passe ouer them, nor fill them vp: for that which is on the West part is threecore foulds large, and endeth at the lake *Asphaltites*, & on this side *Macherus* hath a verie high prospect, and it is enuironed on the North & South with vallies of the like measure that the former is, whereby it is impossible to winne the Castle: but that vally which is on the East side, is at least a hundred cubits deepe, and it endeth vpon a mountaine neere vnto *Macherus*. King *Alexander* seeing the nature of the place did there build a Castle, which afterward *Gabinus* in the warre against *Aristobulus* destroyed. But *Herod* when he was King, iudged this place worthie to be fortified, as a principall defence against the neighboring Arabians. For it was aptly situate vpon a mountaine, where one might behold their borders: wherefore making a large wall, hee builded a Citie there in the place that men doe enter vnto the Castle, he also compassed the verie top thereof with another wall, and in the corners he placed towers that were threecore cubites high, and in the verie middelt of all hee built a palace, for largenesse and beautie admirable, and made many Cisterns to receiue water in conuenient places, which serued the people abundantly, as it were struing with nature, that the places which he had made inexpugnable, he by Art might make places more strong then that was. He also laid vp there in store, arrowes and engines, and made all prouision wherewith the Inhabitants might bee able to hold out a great siege.

Herod inuironeth Macherus with a great wal & towers.

Wonderfull store of arrowes and other engines in this tower.

Rue of admirable greatnes.

How Baaras is to be gathered.

Another fashion how to dig the roote.

Hot bathes.

In the Kings palace, there grew the herb called Rue, which was verie admirable for the greatnesse, for there was no figge tree taller or broader then it, and it was reported that it had continued euer since *Herods* time, and had endured longer, had not the Iewes, Inhabitants of the place cut it downe. In the vally that lieth on the North side of the Citie, there is a place called *Baaras*, where also groweth a roote of the same name, the colour wherof resemblen the flame, and it shineth at night like the Sunne beames, and is not easie to bee pulled vp, till that one cast vpō it the vrine of a woman or her flowers: which done, who soeuer toucheth it is sure to die, except he carrie the roote hanging on his hand. It is also gathered another way without danger, after this manner. They digge all round about it, so that they leaue a verie little of the roote covered with earth, & then they tie a dogge vnto it, which struing to follow his master, who maketh as though he would goe away, he easily pulleth vp the roote, and the dogge presently dieth as it were in his stead that seeketh to get it, so that afterward none that handleth it or taketh it, neede to stand in any feare therof. This herb notwithstanding al this danger, is diligently sought out for the vertue it hath. For it driueth away diuels (which are the spirits of wicked men) out of mens bodies: if it be but applied vnto them, whereas otherwise if they had no helpe, these diuels possessing their bodies would kill them. Out of that place also doe spring certaine hot waters, verie different in taste one from another, for some are bitter, some sweete, there are also sources of colde waters, one neere vnto another in a Plaine: but which is most admirable, there is a caue hard by, not verie deepe, enuironed with an eminent rocke aboue, frō the which there commeth as it were two dugges or paps, hard by one another, and out of the one of them there floweth verie colde water, out of the other verie hot; which mingled together make a pleasant bath, and serue to cure many diseases, and especially helpeth all paines of the sinnewes. In the same place also are mines of Sulphure and Alumē.

Bassus hauing viewed this place on euerie side, resolved to besiege it, and endeouored to fill vp the valley that was on the East side, and so make a way vnto it: which he began to doe, hastening

Astening to raise a verie high mount, and so make it easie to be taken. Those that were inhabitants, constrained Iewes that were strangers, to go into the lower citie, iudging them an vprofitable multitude, and so caused them to endure the first brunt of the enemies, and they themselves kept the Castle both for that it was strong, and also to preserve themselves, hoping that by yeelding the place vnto the Romans, they might obtaine pardon of them; yet first they purposed to make triall if they could auoide the siege: and therefore verie courageously, euerie day they made excursions, and fought with them they found, and many were slaine on both parts. Fortune and opportunitie sometime caused one to bee victors, sometime another: for the Iewes got the best when they could assault the Romans at vnawares, and the Romans ouercame, when they were aware of the Iewes comming and armed themselves. But the siege was not ended by these skirmishes: yet a chauce befell, that forced the Iewes to yeelde their Castle. Amongst them that were besieged was one *Eleazar* a young man, and verie hardy and bold in any enterprise, who oftentimes made excursions and sought to hinder the Romans worke, who alwayes in euerie fight did greatly endamage the Romanes, and by his valour and aduenturous courage, hee gaue them that were his fellowes opportunitie to assault the Romans, and to flee againe and retire in safetie, himselfe being alwaies the last that so retired. It happened one day that the fight being ended, and both parts parted, hee as it were contemning all men, and thinking that none of his enemies durst undertake to combate with him, staid without the gate speaking to them that were vpon the wall, & giuing great attention vnto this. Then one *Rufus* an Aegyptian one of the Roman army, espying this opportunity ranne vpon him so suddenly, that he at vnawares tooke him all armed as he was, and they vpon the wals stood amazed, whilest *Rufus* led him vnto the Romans campe. Then the Generall of the Romans caused him to bee led into a place, where they in the Citie might see him, & there to haue all his cloathes taken off him, and whipped; and the misfortune of this young man did greatly discourage the Iewes, and al the citie was resolved into teares for the calamitie of that one man. *Bassus* seeing this, hee deuised this counsell against them; for hee sought to moue them so to compassion, that for to saue him they should yeeld their castle, which fell out as he desired. For he presently commanded a crosse to be erected, as though he would presently haue crucified *Eleazar*: which sight greatly moued them in the Castle to sorrow: so that now with lowd cries they lamented, saying that this calamitie was insupportable. Then *Eleazar* besought them not to despise him, who was now to die a most miserable death: and moreover to prouide for their owne safetie in yeelding the castle vnto the Romans vertue and fortunate successe.

753
The year of the world, 4037, after Christ's birth, 75.
The Iewes that were strangers dwell in the lower Citie.

The consist of the Iewes with the Romans.

Eleazar a few strong in hand and fierce in bold attempts.

Eleazar is taken, and stripped naked and whipped.

Eleazars calamitie moueth the Iewes to submit themselves.

Then they moued with his words, and many also within the Citie intreating for him (for hee came of a great parentage and had many kinsfolks) though contrarie to their natures, compassion tooke place in them: and so sending some of their companie speedily, they desired to parley, affirming that they would yeeld their castle vpon condition that they might safely depart away, and *Eleazar* might be likewise restored vnto them. Which offer of theirs the Romans accepted, and the Iewes in the lower part of the citie hauing intelligence of this couenant, resolved themselves to flee away in the night: but so soone as they had opened their gates, those that had agreed with *Bassus* gaue him intelligence thereof, either enuying that their countremen should escape, or els fearing that *Bassus* would punish them for their flight: yet for all this the most valiant of them that fled, escaped, who were gone before the rest, and the rest were slaine to the number of a thousand and seauen hundred men, for the women and children were made bondslaves. And *Bassus* thinking it meete to keepe his promise vnto them of the castle, permitted them safely to depart, and restored *Eleazar* vnto them.

One thousand seuen hundred Iewes slaine by the Romans.

CHAP. XXVL

Of the Iewes that Bassus slew: and how he sold Iudæa.

FHis done, hee prepared to carrie his army into the pasture called *Iardes*, for hee had notice that manie Iewes were there assembled together, who had escaped from *Ierusalem* and *Machæra* during the siege. So comming vnto the place and finding it to be as it was reported vnto him: he first of all enuironed it with horsemen, that if any one of the Iewes sought to escape, the horsemen might withstand them, and hee commanded the footmen to cut downe the wood, into the which they fled to hide themselves. And so through necessitie they

Iardes a wood inuironed by the Romans.

754
The yeere of the
world, 4037, af-
ter Christs birth
75.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

Three thousand
Iewes slaine.

A tribute im-
posed by Caesar
on all the
Iewes.

they were constrained to fight, hoping by a courageous fight to finde opportunitie to flie: where-
fore they all together with a crie violently assaulted them by whom they were inuironed, and they
did valiantly withstand them, and by their valour, and the Iewes desperation the fight endured a
long time: yet the euent of the war was not like vnto the rest of the fight, for onely twelue Ro-
mans were slaine and verie fewe wounded, and all the Iewes were slaine in that fight, being in
number three thousand, and their captaine *Iudas* the sonne of *Iairus* (of whom we haue already
made mention, who during the siege of Ierusalem was commander of a company there) hid
himselfe in a certaine caue, and secretly escaped from thence. At that time *Caesar* writ vnto
Liberius Maximus his Gouernour, and vnto *Bassus*, to sell Iudæa: for hee did not build in all
the countrey any Citie but appropriated it vnto himselfe, leauing there onely eight hundred
souldiers, and giuing them a place to dwell in called *Emaus*, thirtie foulds distant from Ierusalem,
and he imposed a tribute vpon all Iewes wheresoeuer they liued, commanding euerie one of
them euerie yeere to bring two drachmes into the Capitole, according as in former times they
were wont to pay vnto the Temple of Ierusalem: and this was the estate of the Iewes at that
time.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the death of King Antiochus: and how the Alanes invaded
Armenia.*

Cesennius Pe-
tus president of
Syria accuseth
Antiochus
before Caesar.

Antiochus is
sollicitly inua-
ded by Cese-
nius.

Antiochus
chuleth rather
to depart out
of his countrey
with his wife &
children then
to fight with
the Romans.

Antiochus flie-
th with his
wife into
Cilicia.
Epiphanes
flyeth to Volo-
gesus the king
of Parthia.

Antiochus
taken.

IN the fourth yeere of *Vespasians* raigne, it happened that *Antiochus* king of the Coma-
genes with all his family fell into great miserie vpon this occasion. *Cesennius Petus* go-
uernour of Syria (either for enuie, or for that indeed it was so, for it is not well knowne)
sent letters vnto *Caesar* declaring vnto him that *Antiochus* was determined to reuolte from the
Romans, together with his sonne *Epiphanes*, and had made a league with the king of the Par-
thians, and that therefore it was necessarie to preuent them in time, least that if they first began
to reuolt openly, they might trouble all the Romane Empire with warres. *Caesar* did not neg-
lect these news, for that the neerenesse of both the kings countries one to another, seemed to
require that they should be quickly preuented: for Samosata the greatest Citie of Comagena
is situate vpon Euphrates, which might both easily receiue the Parthians, and be a strong hold for
them, and also there they might easily passe over the river. Wherefore *Vespasian* beleeuing it per-
mitted him to doe what he thought expedient: and he forthwith, *Antiochus* thinking nothing,
suddenly entred into Comagene, with the sixth legion, and certaine other companies of footmen
and troupes of horsemen, accompanied with *Aristobulus* king of Chalcidias, and *Sohemus* king
of Emesa, who came to assist him. So they entred the countrey without any fight, for none of
the inhabitants offered to resist. *Antiochus* daunted with these v unexpected newes, did not so
much as thinke of any warre against the Romans, wherefore hee determined to leaue the whole
kingdome in that estate that then it was in, and with his wife and children depart from thence,
hoping hereby to cleare himselfe vnto the Romans, from that which they suspected of him: and
going almost a hundred and thirtie foulds from the Citie into a field, there hee placed a taber-
nacle. And *Petus* sent men vnto Samosata to take it, and left them to keepe the Citie, and hee
with the rest of the souldiers purposed to go against *Antiochus*. But for all this the king though
by necessity vrged thereunto, yet would he not fight against the Romans, but bewailing his mis-
fortune, endured patiently all whatsoeuer; but his sonnes being lustie strong young men, and skil-
full in martiall affaires, could not easily abstaine from fight in that their distresse. Wherefore
Epiphanes and *Callinicus* his two sonnes had recourse vnto their forces, and in a great fight that
dured a whole day they shewed their valour, and departed receiuing no losse. But *Antio-
chus* after this fight would not any longer abide in his countrey, but taking his wife and daugh-
ters he fled into Cilicia, and thereby discouraged his souldiers, who despairing to keepe the king-
dome for him, reuolted vnto the Romans. But *Epiphanes* and the rest were forced to seeke to
saue themselves, before such time as they were left destitute, and so accompanied with ten horse-
men, hee passed the river Euphrates: and thus being out of daunger they came to *Volagesus*, of
whom they were receiued, not as fugitiues, but with great honor, and according to their degree,
as though they yet possessed their auncient dignitie. And *Petus* comming to *Tarsus* of Cilicia, he
sent a Centurion to carrie *Antiochus* bound vnto Rome. But *Vespasian* permitted not a king
to

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

755
The yeere of the
world, 4037, af-
ter Christs birth
75.

A robe so brought vnto him, thinking it meete to consider the olde friendshippe betweene them,
then to persecute in danger, and nor to be pacified by reason of warre. Wherefore hee comman-
ded that in the way as he came, he should be vnbound, and awhile to liue at Lacedemon, and
leauie his journey towards Rome, allowing great store of mony, sufficient to maintaine a kingly
dignitie.

Epiphanes, and they with him hearing this, were eased of the great care they tooke for their fa-
ther, whom they greatly feared to be fallen into some danger, and now they also conceiued some
hope to be reconciled vnto *Caesar*. Whereof *Volagesus* writing vnto *Caesar* (for they were not
contented to liue out of the Roman Empire, notwithstanding that they were honorably entertai-
ned) *Caesar* courteously gaue them leaue, & they came to Rome, & their father was presently sent
for vnto them from Lacedemon, & so they remained at Rome in great honour. The nation of the
Alans being Scythians, inhabited about Tanais, & the marshes of Mæotis, as in another place
we haue recounted. Who conspiring with the king of the Hyrcans to passe into Media, and sack
it (for he was king of that passage) which king *Alexander* had made in such wise, that it was shut
vp with yron gates, obtained leaue to passe, and so came into Media, the Medes nothing fear-
ing any such matter, and sacked and spoiled all their populous and wealthie borders, being full
of carrells, none daring to resist them: for *Pacorus* king of that country, for fear fled into the stron-
gest hold he had, and left all his goods behind him, and with much adoe redeemed his wife, and
concubines whom they had taken, for one hundred talents. Having therefore licence to rob and
spoyle, for that no man resisted them, they came into Armenia, & waited all the countrey therea-
bout: and *Tyridates* was then king of that country, who with an army comming to fight against
them, was almost by them taken aliue in the battaile; for one cast a halter about him, and began to
draw him amongst the enemies: & so had done, but that he with his sword did quickly cut the rope
and fled: and they being more enraged, by reason he fought against them, waited all the coun-
treys, and carying with them a huge multitude of men and cattell out of both countries, they re-
turned into their owne.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How Massada a most strong Castle was taken.

D*IESSUS* dying in Iudæa, *Flavius Sylva* succeeded in his place, and now perceiuing that al-
the countrey else was conquered save one only castle, he with all the forces he could make
went against it. This castle is called Massada. The captaine of the Sicarians named *Ele-
azar*, who first inuaded it, was a verie strong and valiant man, borne of the tribe of Iuda, who per-
twaded a great many Iewes as is before said, not to intole themselves when *Cyrenus* was Cenfor
and sent to tax Iudæa. For at that time the Sicarians had conspired against them that obeyed the
Romans, and in all things vsed them like enemies, taking and driuing away their goods, and firing
their houses, affirming that they did not any thing differ from straungers, who betrayed the liber-
tie of their countrey rather than they would fight for it, and that they had rather haue them warre
on the Romans side. But that was onely an excuse to hide their auarice and inuiolous dealing, as
the proole made manifest, for they themselves reuolted and bare armes against the Romans, and
their enterprises against the Romans were worse then the rest, and when their first forged pretence
was known and confuted, they did rage more then before against those that vpbraided them with
it. For that time amongst the Iewes abounded with all manner of iniquitie, so that none was left
vndone: yea though one inuadored to inuent some new villanies, yet could hee deuise none that
was not then practised: all laboured with this maladie, both in particular and in common, and
euerie one did strive with other, to surpass his fellow in impietie against God, and in iustice to-
wards his neighbour. The mightie vexed the weaker sort, and the meaner sort destroyed the po-
tentates, and tooke their riches away from them; they gaped after rule and dominion, these af-
ter mischiefe.

The Sicarians were the first that were so cruell and inuiolous against their neighbours: for not
prouoked thereunto, neither by deede nor word, they slew and inuiolous all men without cause, but
John shewed them to be verie moderate. For hee did not onely say all that counselled that which
was good and profitable, as his greatest enemies, and especially dealing thus with the citizens,
but also many waies inuiolous his countrey, like one who had impiously also contemned God him-
selfe.

John Giscala.

The yeere of the world, 4038, after Christs birth 76.
Simon sonne of Giora.

IOSEPHVS OF THE WARRES

The Idumæans.
The Zealous.

The end of the Iewes answerable to their liues.

Silua the captaine of the Romanes besieged Massada.

The Generation of Massada.

The journey by the rocke called the Snake.

The top more fruitful and fatter soyle then the plaine.
Herods palace.

selfe. For hee did eate forbidden meates, and violated his countries temperance, so that it was no wonder to see him obserue no iustice nor fidelitie towards men, who had now infringed the laws of God. Again what villanie did *Simon Giora* leaue vndone, or what iniurie did he abstain from to offer vnto their bodies, who had chosen him for their ruler? What did kindred and friendship then preuaile any man, saue onely this, that it made them be more cruelly vsed, and euerie day to be more tyrannously butchered, then otherwise? For they thought it a hainous offence to abuse strangers, and a glorie to exercise cruelty vpon their most familiar friends. The Idumæans were followers of this furie, who killed the high priests, and left not any one of note in the Citie, whereby God might be honoured, and induced all iniustice possible, wherein the Zealous excelled. For they committed all mischiefe, leauing nothing vnattempted that had euer before that time beene practised: yet theyooke their name from them that imitated good and goodlines, but in truth it was to mocke and flout them that did well, so saueage and cruel was their nature, or else accounting the greatest impietie to be goodnes. But their end was as they deserved, and God punished their desert with his iust vengeance. For euen vnto the latter end of their liues, they endured all the miseries that is possible for mans nature to abide, being killed with diuers sorts of torments. Perhaps one will say that their punishment was not so great as they deserved: but what punishment could bee deuised sufficient for their deserts? But I cannot now stand to lament those who perished by these mens crueltie, wherefore I will returne to that where I left.

The Roman captaine came against *Eleazar*, and them that kept Massada with him, who were Sicarians, and he brought an armie with him, and presently subdued all the confines and borders round about, and he placed in euerie fit place garrisons, and enuironed the Castle with a wall, least anie of them that were besieged should escape, and that they that besieged them might there keepe a continual guard. Moreover he placed his campe in a fit place for the siege, euen there where the rocke that the castle was built vpon, ioyned vnto the other mountain, which was an vnfit place to get necessaries in. For not onely victuals were fetcht farre off by great labour of the Iewes who were commaunded to doe it, but also water for the whole armie somwhere else, for there was no fountaine neere that place. This done *Silua* attempted the siege, wherein it was requisite for him to vse both art and labour, by reason of the strength of the castle, which is thus situate. It is enuironed round with a huge stone verie high on euerie side, and the valley vnderneath is so deepe, that one cannot see the bottome, all rockie, and inaccessible to all liuing creatures, saue onely that in two places there is a difficult passage vnto it, one of them is from the lake Asphaltites towards the East, and the easiest of the two is the West side: the first is called a Snake, taking his name of the straitnesse and crooked turnings, for the rocke that is eminent seemeth as it were broken in sunder, and by little and little often returneth againe vnto it selfe, and it is by little & little extended in length, so that he that goeth that way, can make no halte but must step with one foot first vpon them, and the other vpon another, & must stand vpon one foot whilest he remoueth the other, and he that falleth is sure to be slaine in the fall: for there is such a hollow place on either side between the rocks, that it is able to terrifie the boldest man aliue. When thou hast gone thirtie stoundes by this way, then thou comest to the top of the hill, which is not steepe at the top, but hath a Plaine aboue it, and *Ionathas* the high priest was the first that built a Castle in this place, and called it Massada: and *Herod* after him bestowed great labour and cost in building that place, for hee enuironed it all with a wall, seven stounds circuit all of white stone, twelue cubits high, and eight cubits broad, and placed vpon it seven and twentie towers, that were fiftie cubits high, by the which men passed into the houses that were round about the wall within, for the king appointed the top of the hill for tillage because it was a more fertile and fatter soyle then any ground else, so that if at anie time they within the castle wanted prouision from other places, yet they might not be famished, hauing this to finde them. He also builded in this place a palace for himselfe, the way to which was on the West side within the castle wall, whose prospect was toward the North, and enuironed the same with a most strong wall, and in the corners thereof he built foure most firme towers three score cubits high, verie sumptuous within, hauing diuers roomes and galleries and bathes, supported in euerie place with pillars, euerie one of which was one onely stone, the wals thereof were of solide stone of diuers colours: and to euerie house, and in the top of the hill, and round about the palace, hee hewed certaine cisterns out of the rocke for to beare water, so that by this meanes water was as plentifull, as though they had fountaines within the castle. There was a way vnto the castle vnder the ground and

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from the kings palace, which they that were without could not perceiue, the way about ground was inaccessible, for as we haue already said, the way on the East side no man could passe, and as for that on the West side, it was stopped vp with a tower built in the street thereof, distant a thousand cubits from the Castle, by which it was impoissible to passe, and it was not easie to get it by force, and the more leafully they went, the neerer they were to danger. And thus was this fortress strengthened both by art and nature.

The prouision within the Castle was admirable both for the magnificence thereof, and also for the long time it had continued, for there was corne sufficient for many yeeres, and Wine and Oyle and diuers other prouision and heapes of dates. All which *Eleazar* found readie thereto, hauing deceitfully obtained the Castle with his Sicarians, which prouision was all as sound and as fresh, as though it had newly beene laid vp in store: notwithstanding, that from the time it remained there, vnto the time that the Romanes tooke it, were a hundred yeeres, and the Romanes found the reliques of the fruit incorrupted: and one may iustly thinke that the cause hereof is the ayre about the Castle, which, by reason of the height of the place is most pure, and free from all earthly corruption. There was also found all maner of Armour in great quantitie, which *Herode* made, and would haue armed ten thousand men, also vnwrought yron, brasle, and lead, so that one may iudge that prouision to haue beene referred for some great cause. It is reported that *Herode* prepared that Castle for his refuge, when hee doubted two great dangers, first that the people of the Iewes would depose him, and make them Kings whole auncestors had before reigned.

The other which was more dangerous then the first, was, for that he feared *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, who not concealing her intent, did often request *Antonius* that *Herode* might be slaine, and that shee might haue the kingdome of the Iewes giuen vnto her. And it was a great maruaile that *Antonius* doring so vpon her, did not fulfill her request. *Herode* for these occasions hauing builded Massada, left it furnished as the last bulwarke for the Romanes to make warre against the Iewes. For the Generall of the Romanes, hauing now compassed all the place without it with a wall, (as is before said) to the end that none might escape, hee did very wisely, and to began to assault the Castle, finding one onely place that would beare a mount. For behind the tower that on the West side stopped vp the passage into the Castle and palace, there was a great rocke verie large and long, yet not so high as Massada by three hundred cubits. The rocke was called Leuce, which signifieth white. When *Silua* had gotten this rocke, and ascended it, hee commanded his souldiers to build a mount thereupon; and they chearefully labouring, raised a sodaine mount two hundred cubits high: by reason of the height it seemed not firme nor sufficient enough to beare the engines, but vpon it was built a Tribunall with great stones fiftie cubits high, and as many cubits broad, and the engines were such as first *Vespasian*, and after him *Titus* deuised to batter walles with, and so they made a tower three score cubits high all plated about with yron.

Now the Romans with many shot did driue the Iewes off from the Castle wals, not suffering them to lift vp their heads. And *Silua* hauing builded a mightie Ramme, caused the wall to be continually beaten therewith, but it could scarcely enter vpon it: and the Sicarians quickly preuented that, building another wall within, which could not bee broken with the Ramme being yet soft, and so would breake the force thereof, for they did sawe timber in peeces, and as it were made two rayles, and then filled the space betweene the two rayles with earth, and with other planks they kept the earth from falling downe, so that they made a worke like the wall of a house, and for that it yeilded vnto the blowes of the Ramme (being soft earth) the Ramme could not preuaile against it, but rather made it more stronger then before by ramming the mortar together.

Silua perceiuing this, iudged that hee might sooner destroy the wall with fire then with his engine: and so hee commanded the souldiers to cast vpon it many burning firebrands, and the fire did quickly take hold of the wall, because it was for the most part built with wood, and easily also pierced through it, by reason it was not cleane wrought together, and there vvas a great flame.

At the verie beginning of the fire, the North wind did greatly annoy the Romans, for the fire blowing furiously from aboue against them that were Romanes, it did driue it extremely vpon them, so that they were in great despair, fearing their engines would be burnt, and presently

Dddd

Great store of prouision in the Castle.

Profit for a hundred yeeres kept vnconsumed.

Herod suspecting a double perill, builded this place for a refuge.

There was but one place about Massada to raise a mount to batter on.

The Citie battered with a large Ramme, and by Siluas appointment.

Firebrands darted against the walles.

The North wind diuerting the flame, turneth it vpon the Romans.

the winde chaunging and blowing from the South, (as it were by Gods providence) it turned G the fire againe vpon the wall, and now all of it euen vnto the foundation thereof, was there most cruelly on fire. And the Romanes hauing Gods assistance, returned againe vnto their Campe ioifully, purposing the next morning betimes to assaile their enemies, and that night to place stronger watches, least any of the enemies should escape. But *Elezar* thought not to flie, neither would he permit any one of his companie so to doe. And seeing now the wall was fierd, and not knowing any way else to helpe himselfe, considering likewise what the Romanes would doe vnto their wiues and children if they should take them, hee deliberated of all their deaths, which hee in that extremitie iudged to bee the best way they could take. And so he assembled the most valiant of all his companie, and exhorted euerie one of them thereunto after this manner.

*Elezars Ora-
tion to his
companions.*

*Elezar con-
fesseth Gods
wrath to be
kindled a-
gainst the
people.*

Valiant companions, wee long agoe resolued our selues neither to serue the Romans, nor any other saue onely God, for he alone is the true and iust Lord of all men. Behold, the time is now come, that exhorteth you to shew your resolute minds: let vs not therefore dishonour our selues, and besides our slauerie, suffer also intolerable torments if we be taken aliue by the Romans. For we were the first that revolted from them, and the last that war against them. And I verily thinke that God hath giuen vs this benefit, that we may die wel and in our own liberty, which he denied to others who were overcome contrarie to their expectation. We are certaine to bee conquered as soone as it is day light: but to die valiantly with our dearest friends, is a glorious resolution vnto valiant men, and of this our enemies cannot debarre vs, who doe labour to take vs aliue, and carrie vs away captiues, & we are not able to vanquish them in fight. For cruelly at the first (when we who coueted libertie, suffered all miserie at the hands of our owne countrie men, and worse at the hands of our enemies) we should haue considered that God who was some time favorable vnto the nation of the Iewes, had now condemned them vnto perdition: for had he yet bene favourable vnto vs, or had hee bene but lightly offended at vs, hee would not haue permitted so many men to haue perished, and haue deliuered his holy Citie into the hands of the enemies to be consumed with fire. And we onely amongst all our nation, hoped to liue in libertie, as though we had no waies offended the diuine maiestie, nor been guiltie of any offence who indeed taught others iniquitie. So you see how we are checked for longing after vaine hope, being brought in to greater extremitie then we expected. Neither hath our Castle by nature inexpugnable, any thing profited vs to our preservation, but wee hauing store of victuals and armour, and al other necessities, haue lost all hope of safetie, God himselfe openly taking it from vs. For the fire that once was carried against our enemies, did not of it selfe returne against vs and vnto the wall wee built. But it was the punishment of our offences, who furiously raged against our owne nation. For the which I request you, let vs not bee punished by the Romans; whose forces are inuincible, but by our selues let vs satisfie the ire of God, and so it will be more tolerable for vs; euen by that meanes our wiues shall die vndeiled, and our children shall not taste of seruile captiuitie. After whose deaths, we will one helpe another to die with credite, conseruing our libertie, which is the best sepulture of all: yet let vs first fire our Castle, and burne our treasure: for it will bee no small griefe vnto the Romanes, if they neither get our bodies aliue, nor can finde any one iot of our riches for recompence of their labour. Let vs onely leaue our victuals as sufficient testimony, that famine did not at any time cause vs to be conquered, but that we as at the first wee resolued, preferred also death before bondage.

The punish-
ment of these
crimes which
the Iewes in
Iury attempt-
ed against the
Gentils
The best graue
is when libertie
is main-
tained.

Elezar hauing thus spoken, they that were present did not all accord vnto him, for some joyfully hastened to execute his aduice, thinking it so glorious a death. But they who moued with compassion towards their wiues and families, were something effeminate, or else abhorred to kill themselves, one looking vpon another with teares, did shew his minde to disagree from that which *Elezar* perswaded. Which when *Elezar* perceiued, and that his counsel through feare was defeated, fearing also that they who courageously had accorded thereunto, should bee withdrawn by the teares of others, he did not so end his exhortations; but standing vp, and with a vehement spirit hee began to speake vnto them of the immortalitie of the soule, and fixing his eyes M vpon them that wept, he vied a vehement exclamation, saying.

*Elezars Ora-
tion touch-
ing the im-
mortalitie of
the soule.*

How much am I deceiued, who thought that valiant men fighting for their libertie, would rather chooseth to die then to liue, but yee doe shew your selues nothing to excell any ordinarie men, who feare to die, notwithstanding that thereby you may escape great miserie, and calamity,

A calamitie, when in this point you ought not to haue expected any admonition thereunto, nor to haue made any delay to doe it. The ancient customes which haue endured euer since men had reason, the diuine doctrine of our nation, which hath continually been confirmed by the deeds of our predecessours, doe instruct vs, that it is miserie to liue, and not to die. For death freeth our soules from prison vnto their most pure and proper place, where neuer after they shall be touched with any calamitie. Which whilst they are bound in a mortall body, and do participate of his miseries, may probably bee affirmed to bee dead. For it is an vnseemely coniunction for that which is diuine, to bee coupled and connexed vnto that which is mortall. True it is, that our soules can doe much being ioined to our bodies, for they vse the bodies as their instruments secretly producing in them motion, and many other actions paising the nature of mortall things. B But when the soule is loosed from that heauy burthen which doth weigh it downe euen vnto the earth, which hangerth vpon it, and hath receiued his proper habitation, then it enioyeth free and perfect felicitie, and remaineth inuincible to our mortall cies as God himselfe is, neither is it visible in our bodies. For it commeth secretly into them, and so departeth from them againe, that no man can perceiue it, hauing onely a nature incorrupt, and causing a change in our bodies. For whatsoeuer the soule toucheth, that presently liueth and flourisheth; and what it forsaketh, that incontinently withereth and dieth: so much doth it participate of immortalitie. The sleepe maie bee an euident argument vnto you of this which I speake, where the soule not distracted taketh a most pleasant and sweete repose; and communicating with God, it is with him present in euerie place by reason of affinitie, and foretelleth many future euent. Wherefore C should we then feare death, who loue the rest that we take in sleepe? were not he a mad man that for a shorfe life would hinder himselfe of eternall life? It were necessarie that wee who are instructed in the law of our nation, should giue example to other to despise and contemne death. But if wee seeke confirmation hereof from strangers, let vs see the example amongst the wiser sort of the Indians: for they beifig iust men doe tolerate his life as a necessary office of nature for a certaine time, though against their wils; yet do they hasten to vnloose the soule bound in this mortall body, though not urged thereunto by any calamitie or necessitie, but onely for desire of immortalitye, telling others that they will depart out of this life; neither doth any one seeke to hinder them, but all men esteeming them most fortunate, send by them commendations and other messages vnto their friends departed: so firme is their beliefe that the soules of them that are dead D haue communion and conuersation together: And so they hauing all instruction what to say to the soules departed, doe with great applause leape into the fire, that thereby their soules may be purified from their bodies. And their friends go more ioifully with them when they go to their deaths, then any doth that bringeth his friend on the way when hee is to go a great iourney, and they bewaile themselves, not those who are dead and haue attained mortalitye. Shal not wee then be ashamed not to beleue so firmly as the Indians do? despising through our own sloath our countrey lawes which are to be emulated of all men? Nay, supposing that by our law we had bin instructed contrariwise, to wit, that to liue in this life is blisse, and to die is calamitie: yet notwithstanding this present necessity, this present time had bene a sufficient motive to cause vs to embrace death rather then life, seeing that by Gods appointment, and of necessity wee must now E die. In times past it appeareth God so provided, that he shortened their daies of our own nation that would not vse their life as they ought to haue done. I dare not ascribe it vnto the Romans, nor report of our selues that their warres consumed vs all. For this did not happen through their forces, but a more potent cause hereof there was which made them conquerours. Which of the Romans slew the Iewes that inhabited at *Cæsarea*? whom the inhabitants thereof vpon the Sabaoth day, they beeing assembled in one place together with their wiues and children, did massacre, notwithstanding that they had no intent to reuolt from them, nor neuer lifted vp their hands in their owne defence, nothing fearing the Romans, who only accounted them of our nation their enemies that reuolted from them. But some may obiekt, the Iewes at *Cæsarea*, and the inhabitants thereof were alwaies at variance, and that now they reuenged their olde quarrell F hauing gotten opportunitie. What then shall wee say of the Scythopolitans? who bare armes with the Græcians against vs, and denied to assist their owne kinned against the Romans. What profit did they receiue by this their goodwill and fidelitie? for they were altogether with their whole families cruellie slaine, and this was the reward they had for their labour, for hauing withstood vs to haue done the like vnto them; it were too long to recount all things seuerally to this effect. For as ye know there is no Citie in all Syria that hath not massacred the Iewes there inhabiting,

A soule tied in
a mortall body.

The power of
the soule.

Sleepe the
argument of
the immor-
talitie of the
soule.

The professors
of wisdom
among the
Indians burne
themselves.

An exhortati-
on to contem-
ne death drawne
from the time
and place.

Example taken
from the
Iews that were
slaine in
Cæsarea.

The calamity
of the Iews in
Scythopolis.

The year of the world, 4038, after Christ's birth 76.
Eightene thousand Iewes slain in Syria, & threescor & thousand in Egypt.

The calamitie of those Iewes who were taken by the Romans.

Jerusalem the Metropolitane city razed from the foundations.

We are borne to die, and the most strongest cannot avoid the same.

Eleazar telleth the Iewes of the Romans tyrannie. It is a happiness among the Iewes to die free.

biting, being more our enemies then the Romans were, where they of Damascus although they could not deuise any probable cause for it, yet did they massacre all the Iewes living amongst them, who amounted to the number of eightene thousand beside their wiues and families. And as we haue heard it reported, the number of the Iewes slaine by the Egyptians, were about threescor thousand: It may be that finding no aduersitie in a strange country, they were put to death by their enemies: but they that in their owne countrey fought against the Romans, wanted nothing that might haue caused a perfect hope of a full victorie ouer the Romans, they had weapons, armour, walles, and strong holds inexpugnable, their valorous courage in fighting for libertie shunned no daunger, and encouraged men to reuolt: which all, hauing awhile seru'd their turnes, at last was a cause of their greater misery. For all were taken and subdued by the enemies, as though they had been built and made to make their enemies victory more famous, and not to doe them seruice. And we may iustly deeme them happy who were slaine in the warre, for they died in libertie. Yet who doth not pite the multitude of them that fell into the Romans hands; or who would not hasten to die, rather then endure the like misery that they suffered? Some of them being tortured, and some with fire and stripes perished; and others halfe eaten of wilde beasts, were reserved alieue for their second foode: and they are most miserable of all that are yet alieue, who often wish for death and cannot finde it. Where is now that gorgeous Citie? where is it that was once the mother Citie of all the nation of the Iewes? so strengthened with such strong walles, so fortified with towers and castles to defend the walles, scarcely able to containe the prouision made for war, hauing in it so huge a multitude of men to fight for it; what is it now become, wherein God himselfe was thought to dwell? It is now razed downe euen vnto the very foundations; and no other memory or reliques thereof is left standing; their campe is destroyed, onely a few olde men and vnhappy suriue, who sate amongst the ashes of the temple and a few women whome their enemies reserved to satisfy their filthy lust. And will any amongst vs considering all these things, desire to behold the light of the sunne, although hee could liue without molestation? Who is such an enemy to his native soile? who is so effeminate or desirous of his life, that doth not grieve to haue liued till this time? Would God wee had all bene in our graues before wee had seene that sacred citie fired by a hostile hand, before we beheld the holie temple destroyed by impietie: & seeing that the hope we had to be reuenged vpon our enemies is now vanished away, and that we are left alone in miserie & necessitie, let vs hasten to die wel, and take compassion vpon our selues, our wiues, & children, and that whilst we haue time, to compassionate our selues. For both we are borne to die, and all that are begotten by vs, and the strongest men liuing cannot auoid it: but iniurie, and bondage, and to see our wiues and children abused before our faces is no necessitie, proceeding from mans nature, but they onely are forced to endure it, who when they might haue died without it, did refuse for feare. Wee first of all trusting to our strength, rebelled against the Romans; now lastly they exhorting vs to obedience, we denied: which of them then will not be enraged against vs, if they can take vs alieue? Most miserable shall those young men be, whose strength will endure many torments, and those olde men will moue compassion whose aged yeeres cannot suffer tortures; one shall see his wife carried away from him, and another his sonne, hauing his hands bound behind him, crye out vnto his father for helpe: who now whilst they are free from the thraldome of their enemies, may gloriously assist vs with their swords. Let vs with our wiues and children die freemen, let vs altogether depart out of this life. This our religion commandeth, this our wiues and children perswadeth; God himselfe hath driuen vs vnto this necessitie for this purpose. The Romans would haue it otherwise, who feare least any of vs should perish, and not fall into their hands alieue. Let vs therefore hasten, that in steed of their expected hope, whereby they verily perswaded themselves to take vs alieue, we may contrarie to their expectation daunt them with a sodaine admiration of our glorious deaths.

Whilst Eleazar was yet speaking, and desirous still to continue his exhortation, they all interrupted him: euery one now in a fury bent to follow his aduice, made haste to effect it, and as though they had bene vrged by some spirit thereunto, euery one laboured to prevent one another in the execution thereof, iudging him to shew most valour and fortitude, that first dispatched himselfe. They were also desirous to kill their wiues and their children with themselves. And which is most strange, their mindes were nothing altered when they came to effect this bloody worke; but with the same resolution that they had, when they heard Eleazars speech, euery one retained his good affection towards his friends: yet permitting reason to take no place, and

The year of the world, 4038, after Christ's birth, 76.

A and perswading themselves that thus they had well provided for their children, they all at once embraced their wiues and children for their last farewell, and tooke their leaues of them kissing them with teares, and then at once slew them, as though it had bene done by the hands of other men, and not their owne, comforting themselves being forced so to doe, in that hereby they should escape the tyranny and cruelty of their enemies. Finally, no man was so cowardly, who durst not presume to this action; so euery one of them killed his dearest friends. O miserable people whom necessitie forced to slay their wiues and children, accounting the action thereof to bee the very least of all their miseries. Wherefore now not enduring the griefe that ensued vpon this fact, & thinking that in liuing any while after them, they should iniure them whom they had slaine, they with all speed possible gathered all their riches together and set them on fire: which

B done, they elected ten by lot, who should slay the rest, euery one prostrating himselfe vpon his wife and children, & embracing them in his armes, and was so slaine willingly by them that executed that wretched office: who hauing without feare dispatched them, they cast lots whose fortune it was to kill all the rest, and he vpon whom the lot did fall, should kill the other nine, and lastly himselfe vpon them all, euery one so encouraging one another, that there was no difference between them that were to be killed, and them that were to kill, & so the rest offered themselves to death: which done, one who was the last of all, being yet alieue, went amongst the dead bodies & searched to see if none liued that needed his hand in so great a multitude of slaine people, and finding all of them dispatched, he went and fired the palace: which done, hee with all his force thrust his sword into his owne body vp to the hiles, and so fell downe by his dearest friends.

C In this manner they died, thinking they had left no one alieue to haue fallen into the Romanes hands, but one certaine olde woman, and another that was Eleazars cousin, who in learning and wisdom surpassed all other women, and five children, who all hid themselves in a caue wherein water was reserved to drinke, whilst the rest were busied in this massacre, who were in number 900 and 60 beside women and children. This calamitie hapned the fifteenth day of Aprill. In the morning the Romanes expecting that the Iewes would fight with them, made bridges from their mounts vnto the wals, and so assaulted the walles: and seeing none of their enemies appeare, but all the walles wasted & on fire, and deepe silence in euery place, they could not coniecture what was done, and at last they made a crie at once, as though they had been beating the walles with a Ramme, thereby to see if they could make any enemies come out. The women in the vaults heard this crie, and coming forth, they declared vnto the Romanes all that had hapned, one of them relating vnto them the euent of all the whole matter: yet for all this the Romanes did not easily beleue her words, by reason of the greatnes of that fact, but they endeauored to quench the fire, and passing through it, they presently came into the palace, where they beheld all the dead bodies, yet they did not insult ouer them as their enemies, but admired that so many should be so obstinately minded to despise death.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the death of the Sicarians that were fled vnto Alexandria and Thebes.



HE Castle being thus taken, the generall of the Romanes leauing a garrison there, went vnto Cæsarea, for there was no one enemy left in all that country, but now all Iudæa was destroyed through continuance of long wars, and many of that nation though far distant from it, tasted of those troubles: for it so fell out that afterward many Iewes perished in Egypt at Alexandria: for those Sicarians who had escaped thither, were not content to be safe and free from daunger, but there also they attempted alteration, and to defend their liberty against the Romanes, esteeming themselves nothing inferiour vnto them, and that onely God was their Lord. And some of the noble race of the Iewes, seeking to withstand that their enterprise, were by these Sicarians slaine: which was no sooner done, but they exhorted the people to reuolt. The chiefe and elders of the Iewes seeing this, and that they could not repress them without daunger, they assembled all the Iewes together, and declared vnto them the temeritie of these Sicarians, shewing them to be the authors of all the misery that had befallen the Iewes, and that now notwithstanding they were escaped, yet they were not certaine of their liues; for that if they were knowne, the Romanes would presently put them to death, and draw them also

The murderers assemble and consult about the murderers.

The Iewes assemble and consult about the murderers.

IOSEPHVS, OF THE WARRES

Diuers sorts
of torments
and tortures
inflicted on
them who
refuse Cæsars
soveraigntie.

into the like miserie, who were not partakers of their wickednes. Wherefore they admonished G the multitude to beware lest they drew themselves into the same danger, wherein they were, and to make satisfaction vnto the Romans for themselves by deliuering such people vnto them. The Iewes were perswaded by these speeches: and foreseeing the danger that might ensue, they furiously assaulted the Sicarians, & tooke of them six hundred: & shortly after those who there escaping, fled into Egypt and Thebes, were taken and brought backe againe; whose hard hearted obstinacie was so great, that none can without admiration, heare of. For notwithstanding that all torments & tortures that could be deuised were inflicted vpon them, only to force them to confesse that *Cæsar* was their Lord, yet no one of them would say so, nor make any shew thereof, but all persevered in their former opinion, as though the bodie tormented had beene dead, and not aliue. Moreouer their children were most to be admired, for not one of them could bee H constrained to call *Cæsar* Lord. So much did their boldnes overcome the torments inflicted vpon their bodies.

CHAP. XXX.

How the temple of Onias at Alexandria was shut vp.

That time *Lupus* was gouernour of Alexandria, who with all speed by letters gaue *Cæsar* notice of these troubles. And *Cæsar*, seeing that it was necessarie to beware of the Iewes, who were naturally enclined to ledition and vnquietnes, fearing also that they would once againe gather themselves together, and cause some to ioinc with them, he commanded *Lupus* to destroy the temple, which *Onias* erected in Egypt, which was builded and named vpon this occasion. *Onias* the sonne of *Simon* one of the high priests, being driuen out of Ierusalem, *Antiochus* king of Syria then warring against the Iewes, he came vnto Alexandria, and was courteously entertained by *Ptolomeus* who was then also enemie vnto *Antiochus*, affirming that he would annex vnto his countrey the people of the Iewes, if hee would agree to that which hee required. The king according to all that could be granted, hee requested him to permit him to build a Temple in some place of his countrey, and that hee might worship God therein according to the custome of their countrey: for so the Iewes would hate *Antiochus* the more, who had destroyed their temple at Ierusalem, and be friendly vnto him, and many of them did K flie vnto him for religion sake. *Ptolomeus* agreed so to doe, and gaue him a peece of ground for that purpose, a hundred and fourescore stounds from Memphis, in that place which was called the way to Heliopolis: where *Onias* building a castle, made also a temple vnlike to that of Ierusalem; but he erected a tower like that of Ierusalem, with stones, that was threecore cubits long, and he built an altar after the fashion of that of his countrey, and adorned it with all manner of gifts (saue onely a candlesticke) which had in steede thereof a lampe to giue light, which he caused to be hung before the Altar in a golden chaine, and he inuironed all the temple with a wall made of bricke, and the gates he made of stone, and the king granted vnto it great reuenues of money and ground, to the intent that the priests might haue abundance of all things vvch they required.

Onias temple
built in Egypt.

But *Onias* did not this with a good conscience, but for that hee was at variance with the Iewes of Ierusalem, for that they forced him to flie: and hee perswaded himselfe that by the building of this temple, he might withdraw all men from Ierusalem thither; and of this, there was a prophetic nine hundred threecore and ten yeeres before, and *Esaias* foretold that a certaine Iewe should build a temple in Egypt. And thus that temple was built, and *Lupus* hauing receiued the Emperours letters went vnto the temple, & taking away certaine gifts from it, he shut it vp: And after him *Paulinus* who succeeded in his steed, left not one gift there (for he threatened the priests if they did not bring forth all) and permitted not any that came thither for to sacrifice to come neere it; but shutting vp the gate thereof, hee left no signe of diuine seruice there, and from the time it was built till the time it was shut vp, were three hundred thirty and three yeeres.

Lupus shut-
teth the Iewes
out of the
temple.

CHAP.

OF THE IEWES. THE VII. BOOKE.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Massacre of the Iewes at Cyrene.



He boldnesse of the Sicarians, like some infectious disease infected also the townes about Cyrene. For one *Iohn*, a weauer, and a wicked man hauing escaped, perswaded manie simple people to follow him, and led them into the wilderness, promising to shew them signes and visions, and thus he deceived the simplest sort of the Iewes: but the noblest of them of Cyrene vnderstanding his deceit, gaue *Catullus* notice of his preparation and departure, who was then Gouernour of Lybia; who sending horsemen & footmen, did easily surprisethem being vnarmed, and the most part of them were slaine, yet some were taken aliue, and brought to *Catullus*. But their leader *Ionathas* at that time escaped: yet being diligently laid and sought for, ouer all those Countreies, he was at last taken, and being brought vnto *Catullus*, he sought to delay his owne punishment, in offering an occasion of iniquitie vnto *Catullus*. For hee accused the richest amongst the Iewes, to haue beene his aduersers to doe this matter. *Catullus* was glad of those allegations, and exaggerated his accusations very much with tragicall tearmes, so that he seemed to haue made an end of the warres against the Iewes, and which was worst of all to be content to credite whatsoeuer was maliciously spoken: hee himselfe instructed the Sicarians to frame scandalous accusations; and commanding them to nominate one *Alexander* a Iew, whom he had long hated, and his wife *Berenice*, he put them first of all to death, and after them all that were well monied, who amounted to the number of three thousand, and this he thought he did without controule, because he confiscated their possessions vnto *Cæsar*. And least that any Iew liuing in any other place should complaine of his iniustice, he extended his malicious lies against others further off, and perswaded *Ionathas* and certaine others that were taken with him, to accuse the most trustie and faithfull Iewes at Rome and Alexandria: one of them who were thus falselie accused, was named *Ioseph*, who writ this Historie. But this deuise of *Catullus* had not such successe as he hoped: for hee came to Rome, and brought *Ionathas* & the rest bound with him, thinking that no more inquirie would be made of the falsse accusations inuented by himselfe.

A part of *Ionathas* companions were taken & slaine, the rest kept captiue aliue & brought to *Catullus*.

Three thousand Iewes slaine by *Catullus*.

Ioseph by *Catullus* perswaded is accused by *Ionathas*.

Ionathas being first beaten, is burnt aliue.

The conclusion of the seauen bookes of the warres of the Iewes.

D But *Vespasian* suspecting the matter, made diligent inquirie to know the truth: & finding these crimes iniuriously imposed vpon those men, at *Titus* intreatie, hee acquitted them, and punished *Ionathas* according to his desert; who being first whipped, was afterward burned aliue. And *Catullus* at that time, by reason of the mildnesse of the Emperour, had nothing said vnto him, but not long after he fell into a grieuous disease, and was cruelly tormented, not onely in body, but also in mind. For he was greatly terrified, and still imagined to see the ghosts of them whom he had so vniustly slaine, ready to kil him; so that he cried out, and not able to containe himselfe, leapt out of his bed, as though he had been tortured with torments and fire. And this disease daily increasing on, his guts and bowels rotting and issuing out of him, at last he died in this manner, leaving behind him an euident argument, that the diuine iustice doth punish impious malefactors.

E And this is the end of the Historie, which we promised to be set downe with all fidelitie, for them that are desirous to know the euent of the warres, between the Iewes and the Romanes. And as for our stile, we leaue it to the iudgement of the Reader: but touching the veritie of the Historie, it is such, as no man need to doubt of; for I doe affirme that to be the onely scope, which I aimed at in this whole worke.

The end of the seauenth and last Booke of Flauius Iosephus, of the Warres of the Iewes.

THE



THE FIRST BOOKE OF FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS THE SONNE OF MATTHIAS, WRITTEN AGAINST APION, AS TOVCHING THE ANTIQVITIE OF THE IEWES.



The historie
of the anti-
quity containeth
the e-
uent of 5000
yeeres.

The causes
that moued
him to write
this booke.

All things a-
mong the
Greekes are
moderne, but
such things as
were done a-
mong the E-
gyptians, Chal-
dees & Phœ-
nicians, are of
happy memo-
rie and vene-
rable antiqui-
tie.

Suppose (O thou worthiest amongst worthy men, *Epaphroditus*) that I haue sufficiently testified vnto them, who shall reade those bookes which I haue written, as touching the autentique historie of the Iewes, that our nation is most auncient, and that they haue had their originall from themselves, and haue from the first beginning inhabited that Countrey, whereof they are now possessed at this present. To which effect I haue gathered out of our sacred writings, and published in the Greeke tongue, a Historie containing the occurrences of fise thousand yeeres. And for that I see there are diuers, who (beeing too much addicted and seduced, by the scandalous blasphemies and reports,

which some of those who are lewdly affected towards vs, haue misconceited and misbelieved that which I haue written of our antiquitie, & labour to approue our nation to be moderne, because none of the most auncient and most renowned Historiographers among the Grecians, haue thought our ancestors worthy to be enrowled in their writings: I haue for these causes held it a part of my dutie to write some short treatise hereupon; both to reprove the euill intent and affected lying of those our calumners, as also to correct their ignorance, by teaching those who are desirous to know the truth, what the originall of our nation is. For prooffe wherof, I will produce no other testimonie then those, who from antiquitie haue bene iudged worthy of credit among the Greekes, laying open before their eyes, that they who haue slanderously and falsely written against vs, are conuicted by their owne mouthes: I will also enforce my selfe to expresse the causes, wherein very few Grecians haue made mention of vs in their Histories; and moreover, I will make it known to those that are ignorant (either in effect or in pretence) who they haue bene that omitted not our Historie. First of all therefore, I doe not a little maruaile at those (who in respect of antiquitie) suppose that the truth ought onely to be gathered from the Greekes: and that they iustly may claime the honour and knowledge of faithfull writing, whereas they neither vouchsafe either vs, or any others, the credit or truth in that wee set downe, although I am able to proue, that all things haue fallen out quite contrarie. For vvhich cause it behoueth vs not to looke vnto mens various opinions, but to examin that which is right, and gather the same by the effects. For all that whatsoever is set downe by the Greekes is new, & of late memorie, and hath bene brought to execution, in a manner but yesterday: I meane the foundations of Cities, the inuentions of Arts, and the descriptions of Lawes, & the latest practise amongst them, hath been, and is, the diligent trauaile in Historie.

But among the Egyptians, Chaldeis and Phœnicians (for I presume not to compare my countreimen with them) as they themselves confesse, the memorie of their writings is most auncient and infallible. For all these nations dwell in such countries as are not subiect to the corruption of aire; and haue carefully provided, that none of those things that haue been done by them should

A should sleepe in obscuritie, but should bee kept in memorie in the publike writings of the learnedest men: whereas innumerable corruptions haue crept in among the Greekes, by which the memorie of things forepassed, is defaced. But they alwaies who haue established new estates, haue each of them supposed in their owne behalfe, that whoeuer was of theirs, he was the first of the world. Yet notwithstanding they haue had the knowledge of the nature of letters very late, and haue attained the same with very great difficultie. For they that speake of the most auncient vie of the same, doe boast & glorifie themselves, that they haue receiued the knowledge thereof from the Phœnicians, and *Cadmus*. Yet notwithstanding, there is not any one of them that can shew any record of that time, either in their temple, or in their publike registers: whereas after there arose a great doubt and question, whether those letters were in vie during their time, who since

Innumerable
corruptions
inuaied
Greece.

The Phœni-
cians & Cad-
mus, the first
inuenters of
letters.

Among the
Greekes there
is not any
writing more
auncient then
Homers poem

B haue for the space of many yeeres continued the siege before Troy. And in sooth, their opinion who affirme that they were ignorant of the vie of those letters, which are at this present allowed & accustomed amongst vs, is not to be refused. For it is most manifest that there is not any writing extant among the Greekes that is more auncient then *Homers* poesie, which as it is most manifest, hath been in allowance and continuance since the time of the siege of Troy: and yet it is reported, that hee left no part of that his poesie in writing, which was composed of diuers songs, and onely sung by roat, by which meanes it came to passe, that there are so many contradictions in the same. And as touching those who haue vnderaken to write histories among the, I meane *Cadmus* the Milesian, & *Acusilaus* the Argiue; and after him if there were any others, they were not aliue, but very little time before the passage of the Persians into Greece. Furthermore, they who among the Greekes were the first that introduced Philology; and the knowledge of celestiall and diuine things, that is to say, *Pherecydes* the Syrian, *Pythagoras* and *Thales*, these all of them confesse with one accord, that being instructed by the Egyptians and Chaldeis, they haue published some few writings, which are supposed to bee the most auncient that are among the Greekes, and it is hardly belieued also that they were written by them. What reason therefore haue the Greekes to be so proud, as if there were none but themselves onely, who knew the affaires of antiquitie, and could exactly expresse their truth and veritie? Or who cannot easily coniecture by their owne Writers themselves, that their writings were onely vpon hearefay & supposition, and that their stile was onely tied to their vaine coniectures. Hence commeth it to passe, that in their bookes they cauill and reprove one another, & make no conscience to maintaine and write contradictions in one and the same things.

D But it may be laid, that I taske my selfe to a fruitlesse labour, if I should goe about to informe those who are better experienced then my selfe; in how many points *Hellanicus* differeth from *Acusilaus* as touching the Genealogie: in how many places *Acusilaus* hath corrected *Herodotus*; or how *Ephorus* hath approued that *Hellanicus* was a liar in the greater part of that which hee reciteth. *Ephorus* hath been reproved by *Timaeus*; and in generall, all them haue taxed *Herodotus*. Neither hath *Timaeus* vouchsafed to accord with *Antiochus*, or *Philistus*, or *Callias*, in the Histories of Sicily. Neither haue they who haue written the histories of Athens, or those who haue entreated of the Argoliques, followed others. What need I reckon vp those who in particular haue entreated of Cities, or of succinct and short matters: whereas in the description of the Persian warre, and those exploits that were performed therein, those of greatest authoritie are most

Thucydides
write a most
exact historie
of his time.
The causes of
discord among
the Iewes.

E at oddes. *Thucydides* is accused by some for a liar in diuers places, notwithstanding that hee seemeth to haue described the historie of his time most exactly. But the causes of this discord are diuers, and it may be that they who shall narrowly pry into them, shall find more. For mine owne part those two which I shall heere set downe in my opinion are of greatest weight. The first, and in my iudgement the chiefe, is, that amongst the Greekes, from the beginning wee haue not bene industrious to keepe publike registers of such matters as happened in any time or place, which hath made them erre, and giuen those a priuiledge to lie, who afterwards would looke to write any thing of such matters as were acted long since. Neither are the other Greekes onely to be touched with this negligence for not making account of such registers, but amongst the Athenians also (who are reputed to be glorious for the antiquitie of their countrey, and who are exercised in sciences) there is no mention of them. For it is said, that the most auncient and publike writings which they haue, are those capitall lawes which were set down by their lawmaker *Draco*, who liued but a little time before *Pisistratus* tyrannie. What need wee speake of the Arcades, who vaunt themselves of their antiquities? For they haue learned the vie of letters with verie great difficultie, and sometime after this: whereas therefore there was not any writing published

Another cause
of their dis-
cord recorded
by the Græci-
an Historio-
graphers.

The signe of a
true historie.

lished before that time which might instruct those that would learne or reprehend those that published vntruths, from thence it is, that so many differences haue happened among Historiographers. A second cause is, for that they who addicted themselves to compile histories, did not busie themselves about the inquisition of the truth (notwithstanding that each of them did ordinarilie promise no lesse) but they laboured to expresse how eloquent they were, and fixed their whole studie thereon, as the onely meane whereby they hoped to obtaine reputation about the rest. Some of them therefore addicted their stiles to fables, other some by flattering praises thought to corie fauour with kings and Cities. The rest enforced their studies to accusations by obiecting the worke of the writer thereof, vnder trust to get the more credite thereby. In effect they haue followed that course in composing their historie, that was euery way different from the true nature thereof. (For the assured signe of a perfect and true history is, whereas all men accord both in worde and writing in setting downe the same thing:) and they who haue written diuersly, made men beleue that they were the truest amongst all the rest. We ought therefore to grant the superioritie to the Grecians in all that which concerneth eloquence, and the ornament of language, but not in that which appertaineth to antiquitie or truth of Historie, and especially when the question is, what each man writ as touching his owne nation.

Seeing therefore that both the Egyptians and Babylonians long time since vsed all diligence in writing, inasmuch as their priests were hereunto enioined, who did most curiously entreat of all such points: the same also did the Chaldeis amongst the Babylonians, and the Phœnicians also (inhabiting amongst the Greekes) vsed lawes (both concerning priuate and publike affaires) which because all men confesse it, I will omit to speake of. I let passe also to recount what care our nation had of this point (no doubt greater then those nations about mentioned had) charging our high priests and prophets, to execute this office, which custome hath been obserued euen vntill this our age: yea (and if I may presume so far) will bee obserued in all succeeding ages, as by the scope of my speech ensuing, I will endeour to make manifest. For our nation did not onely depute this office to the most iust men amongst them in the beginning, and vnto such as were alwaies ready to appeale the heauy displeasure, and wrath of God kindled against them; but they also provided to preferue the line and descent of priests from all impuritie, and from being intermingled with others. For no man amongst vs can be a priest, who is not borne of a woman descended from the priests line; neither in this case is any respect made either of riches or honours: but the partie who claimeth the dignitie of priesthood, must by many witnesses proue his Genealogie, and that hee is descended from priests. This custome is not onely of force in Iewrie, our owne cuntry, but wheresoeuer else any of our nation inhabite, as in Egypt, and Babylon, and in any other place, where continuallie the priests in their marriages haue this respect not to marrie with any woman that is not of their own line, & they send vnto Ierusalem the name and pedigree of the woman whom they haue married, and al testimony hereof which they can deduce from her ancestors. Now if warres molest our nation (as often they haue) in the time of *Antiochus* surnamed *Epiphanes*, of *Pompey* the great, *Quintilius Varo*, and especiallie in this our age, then those priests who suruiue make new Genealogies, and pedigrees out of our holy writ for the foresaid women, that are not deuoured by the fury of war. For they come vnto these women, not fearing the company of strangers amongst whom they liue: yea this is an euident token of the priests integrity, that euery priest during the reuolution of two thousand yeeres are registred together with the names of their fathers, and if any one doe erre or falsifie any of the things before said, he is then interdicted from the altar, and from exercising any priestly function. So that in the writings of such men all things must of necessitie be true, and as they ought to be, for that neither all men are permitted to write, nor yet any dissonance and disagreement is found in their writings. For such things as past in auncient times quite beyond the memorie of men, were only written by our Prophets, who had the knowledge therof by inspiration from God himselfe: but other things of latter time are onely recorded by those, who liued in the age wherein the things they writ of were done. The bookes amongst vs containing the histories of all ages, are neither infinit nor one repugnant to another: for all our Chronicle is contained in two and twentie bookes, to which bookes it is impierie to deny credite.

Fiue of these bookes were written by *Moses*, comprehending Genealogies, and the beginning of mankind, and such notable events as hapned euen from the beginning of the world vntill his death, which is little lesse then three thousand yeeres. After the death of *Moses* vntill the time wherein

A custome
which the
Priests obser-
ued.

The priests
amongst the
Iewes are
euery one
registred with
the name of
their fathers:
and this
custome hath
continued
2000. yeeres.

Two & twenty
bookes of holy
writ.

A wherein *Artaxerxes* liued, who was king of the Persians, & sonne to *Xerxes*, the Prophets of our nation euery one writ the historie of his time wherein he liued, so that of these mens writings we haue thirteene bookes: the four other bookes which make vp the number already mentioned, are knowne to containe holy Hymnes dedicated vnto GOD, and whollome precepts for mans life and conuersation. All things which from *Artaxerxes* vntill our time haue hapned, are also set downe in writing: yet the bookes wherein they are registred, do not deserue so much credite, as the former of auncient times, for that there was no certaine iucelusion of Prophets in this age. Moreover, it is euident, that to the former works we giue as great credite, as to the things we our selues write, & notwithstanding they haue been so long written, yet in all that time no man durst presume either to alter or to blot out any thing therein contained. For all Iewes euen from their cradle do beleue these bookes to be sacred, holy, and diuine, and therefore doe giue all credite possible vnto them, and so would willingly suffer death, rather then to doe the contrarie. Many captiues also of our nation haue already been cruelly tormented, and diuers waies put to death in open theaters, only for that they would not commit any thing, either in word or deed against their lawes, nor violate the writings of their forefathers. Now who amongst the Greekes did euer sustaine the like? nay they are so far frō doing it, that none can be found amongst them who would suffer any losse in his goods, or fortunes, thereby to preferue all the writings of their nation from perdition: & the reason heereof is, that euery one esteemeth the veritie of their Histories to depend vpon the vwill of the VVriter. And this they doe also of their most auncient Historiographers and not without cause: for they euery day see men of their owne times, writing Histories of matters past long before in former ages, wherein neither themselves were present, neither yet vouchsafe they to credit the writings of such as were then eye-witnesses thereof, yea some amongst them haue divulged Histories of such things as of late befell our nation, when themselves neuer haue been in the place where such matters past as they did write of were, nor haue liued in any neighbour place, where they might haue probable report how matters past, but onely making a few centones or broken newes, they most impudently arrogate vnto their patcht stuffe, the name of a Historie.

I my selfe haue composed a most true Historie of those warres, and of euery particular thing there done, as well I might, hauing been present in all those affaires. For I was capitaine of the Galileans amongst our nation, so long as any resistance could be made against the Romans: and then it so fell out, that I was taken by the Romans, and being prisoner vnto *Titus* and *Vespasian*, they caused me to be an eye-witness of all things that past. First in bonds and fetters, & afterwa. d freed from them, I was brought from Alexandria with *Titus*, when he went to the siege of Ierusalem. So that nothing could then passe whereof I had not notice. For beholding the Roman armie, I committed to writing all things with all possible diligence. My selfe also did only manage all matters disclosed vnto the Romans by such as yeelded themselves, for that I only did perfectly vnderstand them. Lastly, being at Rome, and hauing now leisure, all businesse being past, I vied the help of some (for the puritie of the Greeke tongue) and so I published a history of all that had hapned in the foresaid wars: which Historie of mine is so true, that I feare not to call *Vespasian* & *Titus* Emperours in those warres to witness for them. I first gaue a copie of that booke to them, afterwards to many noble Romans, who also were present in those warres, I told also many of them to our owne nation, to such as vnderstood the Greeke language, amongst whom were *Iulius*, *Archilaus*, *Herod* the honest, and the most worthy king *Agrippa*, who all doe testifie that my historie containeth nothing but truth: Who would not haue bene silent, if in any thing eyther for ignorance or flattery I had changed or omitted any particular. Yet notwithstanding all this, some ill disposed persons endeour to discredit my historie, as though they were disputing *pro* and *contra* amongst children in schooles, being sometime on a suddaine to forge a feined accusation, and otherwise to feine a slanderous and iuddaine detraction, neuer considering that he who promiseth other men a true relation of matters past, must either bee priuie vnto them by his owne knowledge, as hauing bene present in the affaires, or else haue that which hee speaketh from other mens mowthes by report of them vho knowe them: both which I haue done. For I gathered my other bookes of Antiquitie out of holy Scripture, being my selfe a Priest, and skillfull in our law, and the historie of our wars I haue written my selfe being an agent in many matters therein contained, and an eye-witness of the rest; so that nothing was said or done whereof I had not notice. How then can any man excuse them from impudencie and malice, vho labour against me to proue my relation false? They perhaps alledge that they haue read the com-mentarie

The Iewes &
Grecians are
compared to-
gether.

Some others
haue written
of the wars of
the Iewes.

Ioseph was
present in all
the wars of
the Iewes.

Ioseph did
write the hi-
storie of the
Iewes wars
being at
Rome
Ioseph told
his bookes to
many.

Some do de-
rogate from
Iosephs histo-
rie.

mentarie containing the Emperours acts, yet for all this they were not present in any action, repugnant to that, which my historie recounteth.

Thus haue I (as I thought it necessary) made a digression to shew how they are able to performe their word, who discrediting my historie, promise to set downe truth in writing. I haue also sufficiently (as I think) demonstrated, that the registring of things is more ancient amongst other nations, then amongst the Greekes. I will now first of all dispute against those, who with all might and maine labour to prouoe our nation of no antiquitie, for that (as they say) no Greeke Writer maketh any mention of it. This done, I will bring forth prooffe and testimonie of the antiquitie hereof out of other Writers, & so I will shew that their tongues are no slander, who seeke to discredit our nation. First therefore our nation, neither inhabiteth a country bordering vpon the sea, neither are we delighted in merchandise, nor for this cause wearied with pilgrimages from place to place. But our cities are situate farre from the sea in a most fertile soile, which we till with all industry, and our whole induours are how to get foode for our children, & to keepe our country lawes, and how to leaue vnto our posteritie the knowledge of pietie, which vvorke we thinke all our age ought to be employed in. Beside all this before mentioned, we haue a forme of liuing, different from all other nations: all which concurring together, we had no need to traffike with the Greekes, as the Egyptians and the Phoenicians doe, who giue themselves to bargaining and merchandise onely for the couetousnesse of money. Neither were our ancestors delighted in thefts and robberies, nor did our fathers make war vpon any nation for desire of larger possessions, notwithstanding our country was furnished with many thousands of strong warlike men. Wherefore the Phoenicians sayling vnto the Greekes to traffick with them, they were thus made knowne vnto them, and by them the Egyptians, and all other nations, who sayling vpon the seas, brought merchandise into Greece. The Medes also and Persians were known vnto them, after such time as they openly raigned ouer Asia, and the Persians warred euen vnto the other opposite continent.

Moreover, the Greekes knew the Thracians, because they were their neighbours, & the Scythians by sayling to Pontus, and finally all that were disposed to write, knew all the nations bordering either vpon the Easterne and Westerne seas, but such as dwelt furre from the sea and seacoast, were long time vnknowne, as also appeareth in Europe: for neither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus*, nor any other of that time, maketh any mention of Rome, notwithstanding that so long since it was so mightie, and made so great warres; yet at last, with much adoe the Greekes heard of it. Yea their most curious Writers, and namely *Ephorus*, were so ignorant of the Frenchmen and Spaniards, that they thought the Spaniards to be a people onely denominated of one cite, wherein they inhabited, whereas the whole world now knoweth them to inhabit a vast country, and a great part of the westerne world. Likewise the said Greeke Writers relate the manner of the foresaid people to be such, as neither are, nor were ever vied amongst them. And the onely cause why they were ignorant of the truth, was the distance of the place, and these Writers would seeme to tell something which others of former time had not spoken of. No maruel therefore though our nation was vnknowne, and none of them in their writings made any mention of vs, being both so farre from the sea, and liuing after a different manner.

Put case therefore that I denied the Greekes to be of any antiquitie, and to prouoe my assertion I should conclude their nation to be moderne, for that our histories made no mention of them, would they not laugh at this reason, and vse the testimonie of their neighbour nations to prouoe their antiquity? I therefore will do the like, & vse the testimony of the Egyptians & Phoenicians, whose records the Greekes cannot denie. For all Egyptians in generall are our enemies, and amongst the Phoenicians they especially of Tyre; Which I cannot iustly say of the Chaldeis, who haue been Princes ouer our nation, and because of their affinitie and alliance with our countrymen, haue in their Chronicles made mention of the Iewes. Yet when I haue prouoed what I now asserre, and refelled the slanderous reports against vs, I will then also shew who amongst the Greekes speake of vs, that so the Greekes may also be deprived of this shift, and refuge, to excuse their malicious lies falsely forged against our nation. And first of all I will beginne with the writings of the Egyptians, who as they well know, doe nothing at all fauour vs. Wherefore *Manethon* and Egyptian borne, skilfull in the Greeke tongue, as by his works appeares (for he writ in Greeke) compiling a historie of the customes and religion of his forefathers, collected (as himselfe reporteth) out of the Egyptians holy writings, often reprehendeth *Herodotus*, who being indeed ignorant, did much helpe the Egyptians. This *Manethon*, in his second booke of the

Two things which Ioseph intendeth.

The Iewes care to bring vp their children. The ancient Iewes had no need to traffike with the Greeksians.

The Romans were lately known to the Greekes.

Certain Historiographers report Spaine to be onely one Citie.

Arguments to prouoe the Iewes of more antiquity than the Greekes.

Manethon an Egyptian writer.

A Egyptian customes saith thus (I will set downe his owne words, because I vse them for a witness.) Wee had a king (quoth he) named *Timaus*, in whose raigne God being angry with vs, contrary to all expectation, an obscure people taking courage, came from the East, and pitching their Tents in our countrie conquered it by force, no man resisting them, and committing our princes to bonds, did finally burne our Cities, and destroy the temples of our Gods, and behaued themselves most cruelly against all the Inhabitants, killing many of them, and making slaues of the rest with their wiues and children: finally, they chose a King amongst themselves, who should be then of our Countrie, his name was *Saltis*, who comming to Memphis, made both the higher and lower Prouince tributaries, leauing garrisons in strong holds, and fortifying those places in the East: Likewise foreseeing that the Assyrians were more mighty then hee, and would inuade his countrie, he found out in this Prouince a citie called *Saitre* fit for his purpose, being situate on the East side of the riuer *Bubastis*, which by an ancient diuine was called *Auaris*, hee builded vp this Citie and compassed it with most huge wals, and placed in it two hundred thousand armed men to keepe it. This *Saltis* came in haruest time, to the intent that hee might both paie his souldiers, and be a terrour vnto other people, and after hee had raigned nineteene yeeres hee died.

After him succeeded another King called *Beon*, who raigned foure and fortie yeeres, next to him *Aphinas*, who raigned thirtie six yeeres and leuen moneths, then *Aphosis*, who raigned threescore and one yeeres, and then *Sandas* who raigned fiftie yeeres and one moneth, after them all raigned *Asis*, nine and fortie yeeres and two moneths, and these sixe were the first Kings amongst them, euer destroying and warring vpon the Egyptians, and labouring to extinguishe their race. This nation was called *Hiclos*, which significth kings shepheards, for *Hic* in the sacred tongue, significth a King, and *Sos* a shepheard or shepheards, according to the common speech, and *Hicfos* is a compound word. Some say these people were Arabians, but in other coppies I finde that *Hicfos*, is not interpreted kings shepheards, but shepheards that were captiues: for *Hic* and *Hae* also when it is pronounced, doth in the Egyptian tongue signific a captiue, and this latter exposition seemeth to me to be the truest, for it is more agreeable with the historie. Wherefore *Manethon* reporteth these foresaid kings and shepheards to haue ruled Egypt five hundredth and eleven yeeres: and after these the king of Thebes, and the king of the residue of Egypt, vnting their forces together, inuaded the said shepheards, and held on great and long warres against them, and that the said shepheards were overcome by the king *Alisfragumthosis*, also that then they lost all Egypt which he had in their power, and that they were shut vp in a place called *Auaris* containing ten thousand acres of ground, which as *Manethon* reporteth these shepheards enuironed round about with a huge wall, to the end that all their whole prouision might be fortified, and all their praies which they got, defended. Moreover, that *Themos* sonne of the said *Alisfragumthosis* endeauoured by force to subdue them, and for this cause besieged them with foure hundredth and 80000 armed men: and at last despairing to take them by siege, hee couenanted with them that they should safely depart out of Egypt whether they would; and that they vpon these conditions together with all their families and goods and cattle departed out of Egypt into the wilderness, and so into Syria, being in number two hundredth and fortie thousand, & that E fearing the puissance of the Assyrians who at that time raigned in Asia, they builded a city in the countrie now called *Iudaea*, which they made so large as that it might receiue them all, and this citie they called *Ierusalem*. Further the said *Manethon* in an other booke of the Egyptians affaires saith, that in the holy writings hee findeth the foresaid shepheards called captiues, wherein hee saith most true. For our aunccestors were wont to feede cattle, and so leading a pastorall life, were called shepheards, neither are they vniuistly called captiues for our forefather *Ioseph* told the king of Egypt that he was a captiue, & long time after he called his brethren into Egypt by the kings command; but we will hereafter examine this point more straightly: I wil now cite the testimonie of the Egyptians concerning this point, and also relate the words of *Manethon* touching the time when this befell, who sayeth as followeth.

F After that the nation of shepheards were departed out of Egypt vnto *Ierusalem*, king *Themos* who draue them out of the land, raigned twenty five yeeres and foure moneths, and then dyed: and his sonne *Chebron* succeeded him, who raigned thirteene yeeres, and after him *Amenophis* twentie yeeres and seuen moneths; next, his sister *Amesses* one and twenty yeeres and nine moneths, then raigned *Mephios* twelue yeeres and nine moneths, & *Mephramuthosis* twentie five yeeres and ten moneths, *Thimos* nine yeeres and eight moneths, *Amenophis* thirtie yeeres and

Eccc

ten

Saltis subdued the Egyptians.

Kings shepheards.

ten moneths, *Orus* thirrie fixe yeeres and fixe monethes, after him his daughter *Achemcheres*, G twelve yeeres and one moneth, and the brother of *Rathosis* nine yeeres, *Achencheres* twelue yeeres and fixe moneths, another *Achencheres* twelue yeeres and three monethes, *Armais* foure yeeres and one moneth, *Armejis* one yeere and foure moneths, *Armejesmamus* threescore and fixe yeeres and two moneths, *Amenaphis* nineteene yeeres and fixe moneths. Moreover that *Sethosis* hauing made readie a huge armie both of foote and horſe, and also a Nauie at Sea, left the gouernment of Egypt vnto his brother *Armais*, and permitted vnto him all other kingly authoritie, onelic forbidding him to weare a Diademe, and to oppresse the Queene, mother to his children, commanding him also to abstaine from the rest of the kings concubines. And *Sethosis* himselfe went to Cyprus and Phoenicia, against the Assyrians and Medes, & subdued them all, partly by the sword, partly by feare of his power and greatnes: and being proud of all this his fortunate successe, hee bent himselfe against the Easterne countrie, and destroyed with fire and sword the cities of that place, with whole Prouinces: and spending much time in these wars, his brother *Armais* whom hee left in Egypt, did without feare commit all that hee forbad him to doe, for hee oppressed the Queene violently, and daillie lay with the rest of the kings concubins, and being thereto counselled by his friends, he put a crowne vpon his head and rebelled against his brother. Also that hee who was then chiefe of the Egyptians holy customes, sent letters vnto *Sethosis* containing all that had happened, and how *Armais* had rebelled against him; who returning to Pelusa, came and enioied againe his own kingdome which by his name was called Egypt: for *Menethon* writeth that this *Sethosis* was named *Egyptus*, and his brother *Armais* *Danaus*.

Thus farre *Manethon*, out of whome it is euident by computation of the foresaid times, that our nation was deliuered out of Egypt, three hundred ninety and three yeeres before *Danaus*, and inhabited this countrie of Iudæa so long, before *Danaus* came vnto Argos: notwithstanding the Inhabitants of Argos boast their Citie is most ancient. Wherefore *Manethon* recounteth two things for vs out of the Egyptian letters: first that wee came from another place to them, afterwards went out of their countrie againe, & that so long agoe, as it was almost a thousand yeeres before the Trojan warres. Touching those things which *Manethon* professeth himselfe, not to haue gathered out of the writings of the Egyptians, who did write out of certaine tales and reports, I will hereafter shew, how they are alleadged without any reason for them. For I wil once againe leaue these, and go to the testimonie of the Phoenicians, which they writ concerning our K nation. The Tyrians therefore haue Chronicles of very great antiquitie, which they haue kept with all diligence, concerning that which hath bene done amongst them, and indeed they are worthe of memorie. Amongst these Records it is written, that king *Salomon* built a Temple at Ierusalem, a hundred fortie three yeeres and eight moneths, before the Tyrians erected Carthage. So they haue registred the building of our Temple, for *Hiramus* King of the Tyrians, was our king *Salomons* friend, obliged vnto him for his fathers sake, who for this cause allo of his owne liberalitie, gaue *Salomon* a hundred and twenty talents of golde towards the building of the Temple, and cut downe the most goodly wood called Libanus, which hee bestowed vpon him, to make the rooſe of the Temple withal: for which bounty, *Salomon* gaue him againe many liberal gifts, and among the rest a countrie of Galilee named Zabulon: but *Salomons* wisdom was the chiefe cause of this kings friendship towards him. For they sent problemes one to the other to be answered, and *Salomon* in his answeres appeared most wittie, as also hee did in many things else; & euen vntill this day, many of their Epistles sent one vnto another, are kept amongst the Tyrians. And that I doe not feare the authoritie amongst the Tyrians, I wil proue by the testimonie of *Dius*, a man who by common consent hath faithfully written the Phoenician historie, wherein he writeth as followeth.

After the death of *Abibalus*, *Hiramus* his sonne reigned in his steade, who encreased the number of his Easterne Cities, and enlarged Ierusalem, hee also iointed the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, situate in an Iland, vnto it, filling vp the water with earth, and adorned it with golden gifts. After this ascending into Libanus, he cut downe the wood to build temples, and that the king of Ierusalem named *Salomon*, sent vnto him certaine riddles to be expounded, and he againe the like vnto him, couenāting together, that he who could not tell the meaning of one an others riddles, should pay vnto the other a summe of mony, & that *Hiramus* cōfessing he could not expound *Salomons* riddles, did pay vnto him much mony: Lastly that one *Abdemonus* a Tyrian did expound the said riddles, & writ more vnto *Salomon*, which if *Salomon* could not interpret he should

A should pay vnto *Hiramus* a summe of money, and this testimonie *Dius* beareth vs concerning the foresaid matter. But I will now recount the words of *Menander* an Ephesian, who hath registred the acts of all kings both at home and abroad, endeavouring to make a true historie out of the writings of euery country. This man writing of the Tyrian kings, and comming to *Hiramus* he saith thus of him. *Abibalus* dying, there succeeded in the kingdome his sonne *Hiramus*, who liued 34. yeeres: and this king with a rampire conioined Eurichorus, and created there a pillar of gold in *Iupiters* temple, and went into the woods, and cut downe the Cedars of Libanus to make coverings for the temples; of which, pulling downe the olde; hee erected new and dedicated the temple of *Hercules* and *Astartus*, but that to *Hercules* in the moneth of Peritius, and then the other to *Astartus*, when hee with an armie went against the Tyrians, who did not pay him B tribute, whom when he had subdued, he returned againe.

At this time also liued *Abdemonus* a seruant vnto the king, who was wont to expound the parables, which king *Salomon* of Ierusalem sent vnto king *Hiramus*: now how long it was from this kings time till the building of Carthage, we may thus calculate. After the death of *Hiramus*, his son *Belestartus* succeeded him, who liued forty and three yeeres, & reigned leuen: after him his sonne *Abdastartus*, who liued twenty yeeres, and reigned nine; but this king was treacherously slaine by the foure sonnes of his nurse, the eldest of whom reigned twelue yeeres. Next whom, *Astartus* the sonne of *Belestartus*, who liued fortie and foure yeeres, and reigned twelue: after him ruled his brother *Astartimus*, who liued fiftie and foure yeeres, and saie in the kingdome nine, then hee was slaine of his brother *Phelletes*, who reigned eight monethes, and liued fiftie yeeres, and was slaine by a priest of *Astarta* named *Itobalus*, who liued threescore and eight, & reigned thirrie two yeeres, him succeeded his sonne *Badezorus*, who liued fortie fixe yeeres, and reigned six yeeres, to him succeeded his sonne *Mettinus*, who liued thirrie two yeeres, and reigned nine. After him *Pigmalion* who liued fiftie fixe yeeres, and reigned fortie; in the seuenth yeere of whose raigne, his sister *Dido* builded a Citie in Africa, and named it Carthage: so that from the time of king *Hiramus* vnto the building of Carthage, is by this computation a hundred and fiftie fixe yeeres, and two monethes: and for as much as the temple of Ierusalem was built in the twelfth yeere of *Hiramus* his raigne, the computation of the time since that yeere vntill the building of Carthage is 143 yeeres, and 8 monethes. What neede wee alleadge more, seeing this testimonie of the Phoenicians? The truth is now sufficiently made manifest: for our D ancestors must needs haue come into this countrie we inhabite, before such time as they built a temple in it, as I haue also made manifest in my bookes of Antiquitie, collected out of our holie Scripture.

I will now speake of that which the Chaldeis writ of vs in their histories; which do much agree in all other matters with those of our nation. And first let *Berosus* be my witness, who was a Chaldean borne, yet a man famous & knowne vnto all that loue learning, for hee in the Grecian tongue did write Astronomie, and the Chaldeis Philoſophie. *Berosus* imitating the most auncient Histories writeth of the deluge, and how mankind was therein extinguished, and hee in all things imitateth *Moses*. Hee also speaketh of the Arke wherein our forefather was preferred, and affirmeth that it was carried vnto the tops of the mountaines in Armenia: after this he professeth the Genealogie of all that reigned from *Noe*, vntill *Nabulassar* king of the Babylonians and Chaldeans. Hee likewise setteth down how long euery one reigned, and in prosecuting the deeds of this king he recounteth how he sent his sonne *Nabuchodonosor* into Egypt, and to our country with great power, who finding them rebels, subdued them and burnt the Temple at Ierusalem, and so departed, carrying with him all our nation into Babylon: whereupon our citie was desolate seuentie yeeres vntill the raigne of *Cyrus* king of the Persians. Moreover, he affirmeth that the Babylonian kept Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, exacting more of his subjects then euer any king of Babylon or Chaldea had done before his time. And the words of *Berosus* must needs be to this effect: *Nabulassar* his father hearing that his substitute in Egypt, Coelosyria and Phoenicia had rebelled, he himselfe not being able to take such paines, committed these affaires vnto his sonne *Nabuchodonosor*, and gaue vnto him a part of his army, for that he was in the flower of his age, and sent him against him: and *Nabuchodonosor* fighting with the said Champion, ouerthrew him, and subdued the countrie which of olde belonged vnto them, and at the same time his father *Nabulassar* fel sick in Babylon, and died, hauing reigned twenty nine yeeres. But *Nabuchodonosor* long after vnderstanding his fathers death, hee disposed of Egypt and other prouinces as he thought good, and taking the captiues of Iudæa, Phoenicia, and

The testimony of Menander the Ephesian.

The Genealogie of king Hiramus.

Carthage built in Africke by Dido Pigmaliions sister.

Berosus the Historiographer a Chaldean.

Nabulassar father to Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon and Chaldea. Nabuchodonosor conquered the rebels.

Nabuchodonosor succeeded in his fathers kingdome.

the Syrians that liued in Egypt, hee committed them to certaine of his friends, to bee brought with other cariage and his army to Babylon, and so hee himselfe accompanied with a verie fewe took his journey to Babylon through the desert: and finding that the Chaldeis ruled all, and that their nobilitie reserved the kingdome for him, he was made king, and commanded houses to be built for the captiues that were comming, in the most conuenient places of Bebylon, and he of the spoile beautified the temple of Belus and other places most richly, and built a new citie without the wall of the olde: and prouiding least hereafter the enemies might turne the riuer and so haue access vnto the Citie, hee inuironed the inner Citie with three seuerall walles, and the outmost Citie likewise. The wals whereof were made of brick, but the walles of the inner citie were of bricke and bytumen: this done, he builded most sumptuous gates which might haue become temples: and moreouer neere vnto his fathers palace he builded another farre greater, and more costly then it was, the pompe whereof it were hard and perhaps tedious to expresse. Yet this we will rehearse worth the noting, that this so ambitious and aboute all credit gorgeous palace was builded in fiftene daies: in it hee erected rockes of stonelike mountaines, beset with all sorts of trees: hee also made a famous garden, all supported with pillars, for that his wife being brought vpp in the country of the Medes, desired to haue a prospect into the fieldes and mountaines.

Nabuchodonozor builded a palace.

Semiramis did not build Babylon.

The king of Babylon excelled tiercules in strength and noble valorous death.

The wals of Babylon built of bricke and bytumen.

Cyrus expelled Nabonidus from Babylon.

The testimony of the Phoenicians touching the Iewes Antiquitie.

This hee relateth of the forementioned king, and many things more in his booke of the affaires of the Chaldeis, wherein hereprooueth the Greeke writers, who falsly affirme that *Semiramis* the Assyrian Queene built Babylon, and that they falsly report those wonderful works about Babylon, to haue been by her made and finished. Wee must needs thinke that the Chaldean history is true, seeing it agreeth with that of the Phoenicians, which *Berosus* writ of the king of Babylon, who subuerred both Phoenicia & all Syria: with them also accordeth *Philostratus* in his historie in the siege of Tyria, and *Magasthenes* also in his fourth booke of the affaires of India, where he laboureth to proue, that the said king excelled *Hercules* in strength and valour, affirming that he subdued the greatest part of Affrique, and Spaine, and that the temple of Ierusalem was burnt by the Babylonians, and again reedified by *Cyrus*; & we may proue it out of *Berosus*, who in his third booke saith as followeth. *Nabuchodonozor* hauing begun the third wall, fell sick and died, when he had reigned fortie three yeeres, and his sonne *Eummaradochus* succeeded him, who for his iniquitie and lustfull liuing, was treacherously slaine by his sisters husband named *Nirigissoroor*, after he had reigned two yeeres. He being dead, the traitor *Nirigissoroor* usurped the kingdome, and reigned foure yeeres, whose sonne then a childe was made king, called by name *Laborofardochus*, and he reigned nine moneths; who for that he seemed to be of very corrupt maners, was slaine by his owne friends: after whose death they who slew him consulting together, did make one *Nabonidus* a Babylonian, king. At this time the walles of bricke and Bytumen about the riuer of Babylon were built. In the eight yeere of this kings raigne, *Cyrus* comming with an army out of Persia, conquered all Asia, and came with his forces against Babylon: but the king of Babylon hauing notice of his comming, leuied an army meeting him in the way, and ioined battell with him; but being overcome in the fight, he accompanied with a verie few of his men, was forced to flie into Borsippa. *Cyrus* now besieged Babylon, and purposed to destroy the outward wals thereof: but by reason that it was too strong and too hard to win, he returned to Borsippa to besiege *Nabonidus* the king of Babylon who was fled thither. But *Nabonidus* not abiding the euent of war, yeelded himselfe vnto *Cyrus*, who dealt mercifully with him and gaue him a territorie in Carmania, but expelled him out of Babylon: so *Nabonidus* led the rest of his life in that prouince. This historie agreeth with ours, for in our writings we find that *Nabuchodonozor* in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne did destroy our Temple, and that it so remained threescore and ten yeeres: Also that in the second yeere of king *Cyrus*, the foundations thereof were laide againe, and that it was finished and reedified in the second yeere of king *Darius* his raigne. This done, I will also relate the histories of the Phoenicians, that we may abound with prooue of that we say, for they make a computation of the yeeres after this manner: In the raigne of king *Ithobalus*, *Nabuchodonozor* besieged Tyre thirteen yeeres, after whom *Baal* reigned ten yeeres, next him iudges were appointed, to wit, them that follow: *Ecnibalus* the sonne of *Balachus* iudged two moneths, *Chelbis* the soone of *Abdau* ten moneths, *Abbarus* the high priest thre moneths, *Myttonus* and *Gerasus* sons of *Abdilos* iudged six yeeres, after whom *Balatorus* reigned one yeere, and after his death the Tyrians called *Merbalus* from Babylon, and made him king, and he reigned foure yeeres, and he then dying, they sent also to Babylon for his brother

ther *Iromus*, who reigned twenty yeeres, in whose raigne *Cyrus* obtained the Persian Empire, so that this whole time is fiftie foure yeeres and three moneths: for *Nabuchodonozor* began to besiege Tyre in the seuenth yeere of his raigne, and in the fourteenth yeere of king *Iromus* his raigne *Cyrus* was made Emperour of Persia.

The Chaldeis and Tyrians agree with the Iewes historie.

Wherefore both the Chaldeis and Tyrian Historiographers agree with vs concerning our Temple. So that the antiquitie of our nation aboue mentioned is now made manifest, & without all controuersie. And that which is already alleaged to this end, may be sufficient for them, who are not vpon purpose contradictious. It is therefore requisite (to satisfie them who giue no credit to the writings of other nations, and contend that the Grecian histories onely are to be beleued) to bring many testimonies from the Greeks themselves, who haue as opportunitie

B served, made mention of our nation and knowne it. *Pythionis* a Samian borne both of great antiquitie, and excelling all other Philoophers in holines towards the Gods, is not onely conuincied to haue knowne the customes of our nation, but he did also as it plainly appeareth imitate them in many things. His writings are in no place extant, but diuers haue recorded many notable things of him, and especially *Hermippus* a man most diligent in searching of histories. This *Hermippus* recounteth in his first booke of *Pythagoras*, that the said Philoopher (hauing one of his familiar friends named *Calliphen* dead, who was a Crotonian borne) reported this mans soule to be perpetually with him, and that the said soule commanded him not to passe the place where his aile fell, and that hee should abstaine from vncleane water, and that hee should with all diligence eschue blasphemie: and then it followeth, this hee did also and said, imitating the opinions of the Iewes and Grecians, and applying them to himselfe. For it is certainly reported: that this man gathered much of his philoophie out of the Iewes lawes. Our nation in times past was well knowne to diuers cities, so that many of them doe now obserue our customes, and others esteeme them worth the imitation, as *Theophrastus* doth witnesse in his booke entituled *de legibus*: for he saith that the Tyrian lawes forbid to sweare by any strange sacrament, and amongst these straunge and forraine sacraments, hee reckoneth the oath called Corban, which is vied onely amongst the Iewes, and in our language signifieth the gift of God. *Herodotus* of Halicarnassa knew our nation also, and in a maner maketh mention of it: for speaking of the Colchians, he saith thus in his second booke. The Colchians, Egyptians, and Aethiopians onely amongst all other nations did vse circumcision in the beginning: for the Phoenicians & Syrians liuing in Palestina do confesse themselves to haue learned this custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians liuing neere vnto Thermoodontes, and the riuer Parnenius and their neighbours the Macronians are reported lately to haue learned it of the Colchians, & these are they onely, that vse circumcision, and they doe like vnto the Egyptians, but I am not able to saie, whether the Egyptians or Aethiopians learned it of the other. *Herodotus* therefore affirmeth the Syrians in Palestina to vse circumcision, and it is manifest that of all that inhabite Palestina, the Iewes onely vse it, which hee knowing writeth so of them. *Cherilus* also an ancient Poet maketh mention of our nation, and affirmeth that our countymen warred vnder *Xerxes* against the Greeks, and numbring them of the countries that followed him, hee lastly spake thus of our nation.

Hermippus writings and testimony of Pythagoras.

Theophrastus Corban the gift of God. Herodotus the Halicarnassian touching the Iewes circumcision.

Cherilus an ancient Poet his testimonie of the Iewes.

C that this man gathered much of his philoophie out of the Iewes lawes. Our nation in times past was well knowne to diuers cities, so that many of them doe now obserue our customes, and others esteeme them worth the imitation, as *Theophrastus* doth witnesse in his booke entituled *de legibus*: for he saith that the Tyrian lawes forbid to sweare by any strange sacrament, and amongst these straunge and forraine sacraments, hee reckoneth the oath called Corban, which is vied onely amongst the Iewes, and in our language signifieth the gift of God. *Herodotus* of Halicarnassa knew our nation also, and in a maner maketh mention of it: for speaking of the Colchians, he saith thus in his second booke. The Colchians, Egyptians, and Aethiopians onely amongst all other nations did vse circumcision in the beginning: for the Phoenicians & Syrians liuing in Palestina do confesse themselves to haue learned this custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians liuing neere vnto Thermoodontes, and the riuer Parnenius and their neighbours the Macronians are reported lately to haue learned it of the Colchians, & these are they onely, that vse circumcision, and they doe like vnto the Egyptians, but I am not able to saie, whether the Egyptians or Aethiopians learned it of the other. *Herodotus* therefore affirmeth the Syrians in Palestina to vse circumcision, and it is manifest that of all that inhabite Palestina, the Iewes onely vse it, which hee knowing writeth so of them. *Cherilus* also an ancient Poet maketh mention of our nation, and affirmeth that our countymen warred vnder *Xerxes* against the Greeks, and numbring them of the countries that followed him, hee lastly spake thus of our nation.

D our nation.

E *A people straunge followed this royall throng.
Their language was th' unknowne Phanician tongue:
In the billes of Solymus their dwelling was,
Neere to a lake for greatnes which did passe:
Their heads were shau'd, and for the heads attire,
They were an horf-skin dried at the fire.*

It is euident as I thinke that he speaketh of the Iewes: for the mountaines of Solymus are in our country, & that lake also called Asphaltites, which is the greaest and valsest of all lakes that are in Syria, and thus *Cherilus* maketh mention of vs. And that the Iewes were not knowne only of the Greeks, but also admired of them, it is easy to proue not out of the obscurest writers,

Asphaltites the lake.

F but by the testimonie of their wisest Philoophers: For *Clearchus* discipule vnto *Aristotle*, and the best amongst all the Peripaterickes in his first booke *de somno*, saith that his master *Aristotle* spake thus of a certaine Iewe, and reporting *Aristotles* words hee saith thus: It were too tedious to recount all things else which he alleageth, but I will set downe that onely that may cause the man to be admired. *Hyperichides* answered that they all were verie desirous to heare it: then quoth *Clearchus* according to *Aristotles* precepts in his Rhetoricke I will first recount of what

The testimony of Clearchus discipule of Aristotle touching the Iewes.

natio the man was, least I seem to oppose my self to him, that set down the foresaid precept. Do so quoth *Hyperchides* if so you please. Then he said, this man before mentioned was by nation a Jew (born in Coelosyria) one of the sect of the *Indian* Philosophers, & they are called (as I heare reported) amongst the Indians Calani, and amongst the Syrians, Jewes, taking their name from the place where they inhabite, called Iury; the name of their citie is hard to pronounce, for they call it Ierusalem. This man entertained many strangers, & he came from out of the higher countrey downe vnto the sea coast, and he was very eloquent and of great courage. We at that time liued in Asia, when this diuine man came vnto the place where we were, and began to conferre with vs, and with other Philosophers, making triall of their knowledge: and for that manie learned men were assembled about him, he at last for this cause more willingly imparted some of his knowledge vnto them. Thus saith *Aristotle* in *Clarchus*: recounting moreover at large the admirable abstinence of the foresaid Jew from meate, and his chastitie: all which they that are desirous to know may read in *Clarchus*; for I am loath to write any thing superfluous: So now it is euident how *Clarchus* by the way of a digression speaking of an other matter maketh mention of vs. But *Hecateus* *Abderita* a Philosopher, and one brought vp with king *Alexander*, and dwelling with *Ptolomeus* of *Lagus*, did not only briefly make mention of vs, but also writ a whole booke of our nation the Jewes, out of which I will briefly note some few points that occurre, but first I will shew of what antiquity he is. For he recordeth the time when *Ptolomeus* nerevnto Gaza fought with *Demetrius*, which hapned the eleuenth yeere after *Alexanders* death in the hundreth and seuenteenth Olympiade, as *Castor* writeth, who speaking of this Olympiade saith: that in this time *Ptolomeus* *Lagus* ouercame *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* at Gaza in fight: which *Demetrius* was called *Poliocetes*, and all men confesse that *Alexander* died in the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiade: so that it is euident that at that time wherein *Alexander* liued, our nation flourished. And *Hecateus* saith that after that battell fought at Gaza, *Ptolomeus* was made Lord of the places bordering about Syria, and that many men hearing of the clemencie of *Ptolomeus*, followed him into Egypt, and conuerfed with him: amongst the which one was called *Ezechias* the Jewes high priest, a man about threecore and six yeeres old, and of chiefe notice and dignitie of all his nation, and most prudent & eloquent, one also who in all affaires had more experience than any man else. He likewise reporteth that the number of the Jewes priests who receiue their tenths, and rule all in general, is a thousand and fise hundred or there about; and againe making mention of the same *Ezechias*, he saith, this man being in this reputation and honour, and conuerfing with vs, by the helpe of some about him, declared all things wherein we and his nation differ, and shewed vnto vs the place of his dwelling, and the maner of his conuerfation, which he had in writing.

After this, *Hecateus* sheweth what maner of people we are, and how religious in our lawes, and how that we rather will sustaine all torments & death it selfe then violate them in any thing, and that wee account it a worthy thing so to doe: adding moreover that beeing much hated of our neighbors, & hauing suffered all contumelies both at the hands of the Persian kings & their officers, yet that we could not be forced to change our opinions, but that we are continually exercised to giue a reason thereof. He also recordeth an example of our constant minds: for *Alexander* (quoth hee) beeing at Babylon, and purposing to reedifie the Temple of Bell, he commanded all his souldiers to carie timber to the building hereof, and the Jewes onely disobeyed his commaund, for the which they endured many stripes and torments, till such time as the king freed them from it: and they (quoth he) returning to their owne countrey, destroyed all the temples and altars that they found there, and some of them were by the officers therefore punished, other escaped free; adding that wee may iustly be admired for these things, and that our nation is exceeding populous, likewise that many of vs were caried captiues into Babylon, and there rescued the Persians. Moreover, that many more were dispersed into Egypt after *Alexanders* death, for a tumult begun in Syria: Hee also recordeth the greatnes of our countrey, and the fertilitie thereof; they inhabite (quoth he) a country that hath almost thirtie hundred thousand acres of most fertile ground; for Iury is of this largenes, and that in time past we inhabited a large & very great citie, which was very populous; he speaketh also of the building of our temple in this maner. The Jewes haue many other townes and villages in euery prouince, but they haue one most strong citie, the compasse of whose walls is fiftie foulds; and in it inhabite a hundred and fiftie thousand men, and this citie they called Ierusalem, in the midst of it is a building of stone with foure porches a hundreth cubits about, it hath also double gates wherein is a foure squared Altar

Hecateus *Abderita* brought vp with king *Alexander*.

A thousand and fise hundred priests receiue the Jewes tenths.

The Jewes contumacie against *Alexander*. The largenes of Iurie.

Fiftie thousand are almost fise Germane miles.

A Altar made of vnshewen stones ioyned together, and it is twentie cubits square euery way, and ten cubits high, and about it is a most huge building, wherein is an Altar and a Candlestick both of gold, weighing two talents, and there is kept a continuall light night and day, which neuer goeth forth. Therein is no Image nor gift, no trees nor wood growing there, nor any thing of this sort. Therein inhabite Priests both night and day, celebrating certaine purifications, & they drink no wine in the Temple.

The Priests dwell in the Temple and drink no wine

Moreover, he shewed how our nation warréd vnder *Alexanders* successors, and he reporteth that which he heard of a certaine Jew in the armie, and I will set down the Authors own words. As I went (saith he) to the redde Sea, a certaine Jew, one of the horsemen that conducted vs, named *Mosollamus*, who was a courageous man, and one who excelled all archers else, both Greeks and other nations; This Jew (euery one halting on forward of his iourney, and beeing willed by a Southfayer to stand) asked for what cause the multitude staid and went not forward: presently the Southfayer shewed him a bird which he diligently viewed, & told the Jew, that if that bird did stand still in the place, that then it was expedient for them to stand; and if the bird did mount vp and flie, that then they ought to march on forward; but if it flew towards the place from whence they came, that then it was wisdom to retire. The Jew hereat was silent, yet drawing his bow, he shot an arrow and killed the bird, whereat the Southfayer & certaine other were offended, and cursed him. But hee taking the vnhappy bird in his hand, said vnto them: Are yee so mad, as to thinke that this bird nor hauing the foresight to preserue her selfe from this death, is able to direct vs in the successe of our iourney? Had this bird foreknowne future euents, shee would haue elchewed this place for dread, that *Mosollamus* a Jew should haue strooken her with an arrow. But we will now leaue the testimonie of *Hecateus*: for euery one that list may read his booke, and there vnderstand this more at large. I will not omit the testimonie of *Agatarchides*, a man of no euill in his owne opinion, yet indeed one who hath vsed detraction to our owne nation. This man speaking of *Stratonice*, how leauing her husband *Demetrius*, she came into Syria, and how *Selenus* would not marrie her as she hoped (who hauing an army at Babylon, warred against Antioch, and had taken the Citie) and that she fled into Seleucia, whereas she might haue made a more speedy escape by water, but that she was forewarned in a sleepe so to doe, and that she was there taken & died &c: *Agatarchides* hauing vsed this Preface, & inuighed against *Stratonices* superstition, he vseth an example of our nation in this maner; The people that are called Jewes, inhabite a most strong citie, which they call Ierusalem; these people are wont to rest vpon the seauenth day, and doe neither beare armes nor till their grounds, nor doe any other businesse vpon that day, but their custome is to remaine in their Temple, and there with stretched out armes continue in prayer till night. And so vpon a time they persevering in that foolerie, whilst they should haue defended their citie, *Ptolomeus* *Lagus* entered it with many people and a great armie: who greatly tyrannized ouer them; and so they found by experience, that the solemnitie appointed by their law, was preiudicial vnto them: such like Churches as this, did teach them and all nations else to flie vnto dreames, which their law teacheth, neuer considering that humane policie cannot preuaile against that which must necessarily happen. *Agatarchides* thought this which he reporteth of vs to be ridiculous: but they who weigh it with indifferencie, shall perceiue, that it is a great commendation to our nation, who rather suffer their country and our lastetie to be lost and endamaged, then to violate the lawes of God.

Agatarchides his testimonie of the Jewes.

The Jewes Sabaoth.

I thinke I am thus able to shew, that many Writers omitted to make mention of our nation, not for that they knew vs not, but for enuie. For *Ierome* who writ a booke of succession, in the same time that *Hecateus* liued, who was a friend vnto King *Antigonus*, and beeing president of Syria, neuer mentioneth vs in all his Historie; notwithstanding, hee was brought vp almost in our country. But *Hecateus* writ a booke of vs; so different are the minds of men: for one of them thought our nation worthy to be diligently recorded, the other through malice was hindered from speaking the truth: yet the Histories of the Chaldies, Egyptians, and Phoenicians, may suffice to proue our antiquitie, together with the Greeke Writers: for besides those before mentioned, *Theophrastus* also, *Theodorus*, *Manaseas*, *Ariphanes*, *Hermogenes*, *Euemeus*, *Conon*, *Zopyrion*, and many others, no doubt (for I haue not perused all mens bookes) haue manifestly testified of vs. For many of the foresaid men were blinded with errors, as not hauing read our holy Scriptures, yet they all ioynly testified our antiquity, for which I now alleadge the. Truly *Demetrius* *Phalerus*, *Philon* the elder, and *Eupolemus* did not much erre from the truth, and therefore reason it is that they should be borne withall: for they were not so skilful as to search our writings with

Why certaine Writers omit to speake of the Jewes.

The last part,
against cer-
taine detrac-
tions and
flanders.

The cause of
malice be-
tweene the
Egyptians
and Iewes.

The Egyp-
tians idolatry.

Manethon an
Egyptian Hi-
storographer.

Manethons
fabulous re-
ports of the
Egyptian Le-
pars.

with so much curiositie. Becing come thus farre, it resteth that I now present one point more, G whereof I made mention in the beginning of this booke: to wit, that I declare the detractions & slanderous reports of diuers, concerning our nation, to be false and void of truth; and I will vie the testimonie of those writers, who record, that the lying Historiographers, at such time as they committed to writing the foresaid detractions, did also euen against themselves, register such like flanders as they did against vs. And I doubt not, but that all those who are conuerfant in Histories can testifie, that the like hath bene done by most writers for certaine priuate hatred, or such like respects. For some of the Gentiles haue attempted to deface the honour and reputation of the most renowned Cities, and to defame the manners of their inhabitants. Thus did *Theopompus* to Athens, and *Polycrates* to Lacedæmon; and the author that writ *Tripoliticum* (for it was not *Theopompus* as some suppose) vsed the citie of Thebes very hardly: and *Timæus* in his histories of the foresaid places, doth many times detract both them & others. And this they do, calumniating the most excellent that are, in something or other, some for enuie & malice, others, that their fond babbling may make them famous, and so indeed it dooth amongst fooles, that are knowne to haue no sound iudgement, but wise men will condemne their malice. To be short, this is the cause of so many slanderous reports forged against our nation: Some to gratifie the Egyptians haue attempted to deprauē the truth, and so haue neither reported the veritie concerning our ancestors comming into Egypt, nor touching their departure from thence, and they haue had many causes of malice and enuie vrging them heereto. And chiefly for that our progenitors in their country waxed mightie, and so departing to their owne country, were made happy and fortunate. Secondly, the diuersitie of our two religions, made great discord and variance amongst vs, our religion so farre excelling theirs in pietie, as the diuine essence of GOD excelleth vnreasonable creatures, for they commonly worshippē such brute beasts for gods, and euery one worshippeth diuers kinds: vaine and foolish men vvhom from the beginning haue been accustomed to such sortish opinions, as would not permit them to imitate vs in our diuine religion and conformable to reason: and yet seeing many fauour and follow our religion, they were heereby incited to such hatred, that to derogate from vs, they feared not to falsifie their own ancient records, not considering that in so dooing, they were led through a blind passion, to write against themselves. Moreover, I wil proue all I haue now spoken, to be true by one mans words, whom a little before (beeing a famous Historiographer) wee haue produced as a witnesse of our antiquitie.

Manethon therefore, who confesseth himselfe to haue gathered the Egyptian Historie out of their holy writings, hauing by way of a Preface, recounted how our predecessors came into Egypt with many thousands, and there conquered the inhabitants, he afterwards confesseth that looting all their possessions in Egypt, they got that countrey which is now called Iewrie, and in it builded a citie named Ierusalem, and a Temple; and thus farre he imitateth ancient Writers. And then vsurping to himselfe authoritie to lie, protesting that hee will insert into his Historie, certaine reports divulged amongst the common people, he reporteth things of the Iewes altogether incredible, intending to mixe with our nation the Lepars of the Egyptians, and other sicke people of other countries, who (as he saith) beeing abominable to the Egyptians, made an escape from thence, affirming also that they had a king named *Amenophis*, which is a fained name, L and therefore he durst not presume to speake determinately of the time of his reigne: whereas he speaketh exactly of the reigne of all other kings. Hereupon also he addeth certaine fables, forgetting himselfe that he reported the shepherds departure out of Egypt to Ierusalem, to haue bene almost fūe hundredth and eighteen yeeres before his time: for king *Themusis* reigned when they departed out of Egypt, from whom the time that other kings did reigne, vntill the two brethren *Setho* and *Thermus*, accomplisheth the terme of three hundredth fourscore and thirteene yeeres. Hee also saith, that the eldest of the setwo, *Sethon*, was called *Egyptus*, and the other *Thermus*, was called *Danaus*, whom his brother *Sethon* expelled, and afterward reigned fūtie nine yeeres; and after him *Rampses* his eldest sonne, reigned three score and fixe yeeres. Hauing therefore confessed our aunceltors to haue departed out of Egypt so many yeeres before, now lastlie hee M addeth that *Amenophis* was their King, who was a contemplator of the gods, as *Orus* their king before him was, and that one *Amenophis* a Priest the sonne of *Papius*, did in all things most excellently accomplish his desire, which priest seemed to participate of some diuine nature, for he excelled in wisdom, & could foretell things to come, and that he gaue the king his surname, that he might also see the gods, if so be he would endeavour to cleanse the countrey from Lepars, and

A and other vnclane people. Whereat the king reioicing, gathered together all the impotent people of his land, amounting to the number of fourescore thousand, and sent them and other Egyptians appointed to this worke, into the East part of Nilus; there to heue and square stones. And that amongst them there were also certaine learned priests infected with leprosie, also that this diuine priest *Amenophis* greatly feared, lest the indignation of the gods would fall vpon the king and himselfe (who had perswaded and counselled the king to doe violence vnto the foresaid Lepars) likewise that he said, that because hee vied the helpe of vnclane persons, they should obtaine dominion ouer Egypt for thirteene yeeres; yet durst hee not presume to signifie this vnto the king, but he killed himselfe, leauing this written in a booke, where men might find it: & the king hauing notice hereof, fell into great sorrow and heauinesse. This done, hee speaketh as followeth: So the king being requested for their quietnesse and defence to assigne them a citie to inhabit in, he appointed vnto them a desolate place called Auaris, which had bene the Shepherds citie (this citie the ancient Diuines call *Triphonis*) but they hauing gotten the possession of this place fitte for rebellion, they made choice of one of the priests of Heliopolis to be their captain, whose name was *Osarphis*, and bound themselves with an oath to obey him in all things: and he presently made a law that they should neither worshippē the gods of the Egyptians, nor that they should abstaine from those beasts which the Egyptians count holy, and that they should marrie with none but such as they iudged to be their friends.

Osarphis
captaine of
Auaris.

Hauing ordained this and many things elle contrarie to the Egyptians religion, hee commanded them with great labour to enuiron their citie with a wall, and to make preparation to warre against king *Amenophis*: and he himselfe making choice of some priests, and a few other vnclane persons, sent to Ierusalem to the shepherds which were driuen out of Egypt by king *Themusis*, decking vnto them their owne and their fellowes iniuries, and requesting them to leuie an armie to fight with them against Egypt, promising them free entrance into Auaris, the countrey where their forefathers inhabited, and that hee would furnish them with all necessities; telling them that they should now fight in so happy a time, as that without all doubt they might conquer the country. The shepherds hereat reioicing, all of them armed themselves to the number of two hundred thousand, and leauing their citie they came to Auaris. But *Amenophis* king of Egypt hearing of their inuasion, and remembering what *Amenophis* the sonne of the priest *Papius* had left in writing, was in great feare, & presently assembling together the people of Egypt, and consulting with the princes of his country, he sent all holy beasts, & all that the priests esteemed, before him, giuing the priests especiall charge to hide their Idols: and hee commended his sonne *Sethones* (who also by his father *Rampses* was called *Rameffes*) beeing but fūe yeeres old, vnto the custodie of a friend of his: and then accompanied with three hundred fighting men, he met his enemies, but would not fight with them, fearing lest hee should fight against the pleasure of the gods; and so he retired himselfe vnto Memphis, & taking *Apis* & the rest of the Egyptian gods, he with all his troupses of Egyptians, tooke shippe, and fledde into Ethiopia. For the king of Ethiopia vpon curtesie obeyed him, and for this cause hee entertained him & his followers, and provided all necessities for them, for that fatall thirteene yeeres banishment, & this was done in Ethiopia. In the meane time, the inhabitants of Ierusalem came down into the country with the vnclane Egyptians, and did so tyrannize ouer the inhabitants, that all their beholders iudged their victorie to be full of crueltie: for not contented to fire the cities & townes, & to commit all manner of sacrilege, and to destroy the Idols of the gods, they did also most cruellie teare in peeces the sacred Beasts, and forced the Priestes and Prophets to lay violent hands vpon them, and kill them: after which deed they draue them out of the country naked. It is therefore reported, that a Heliopolitan Priest, *Osarphis* by name, made lawes for them, and statutes to gouerne them. This Priest was called *Osarphis*, taking his name from the god of Heliopolis, called *Osiris*, who beeing now thus conuerfant with this people, changed his name, & called himselfe *Moses*.

The warre of
the banished
against the
Egyptians.

The Egyptian
king fled into
Ethiopia, and
was by the
Ethiopian king
curtesiously
entertained.

Osarphis
was after-
wards called
Moses.

Thus the Egyptians report of the Iewes & many things else, which for breuitie sake I omit. F *Manethon* furthermore writeth, that afterward *Amenophis* the king came with a great power out of Ethiopia, and his son *Rampses* with him, accompanied with a great army, & that ioyning battell with the shepherds and polluted persons, he gaue them an ouerthrow, and pursued them vnto the borders of Syria. And this is *Manethons* report: but for as much as he writeth old wives tales, dorages, and lies, I will by manifest reason conuince him; first distinguishing that whercof I am to speake hereafter. Hee of his owne accord granteth and confesseth, that our aunceltors at first

Manethons
lies are con-
futed.

first were not Egyptians, but strangers, that came thither from another place and conquered the Country, & againe departed from thence. I will now out of his owne writings endeavor to shew, that the weake people of Egypt were not mixed with vs, & that *Moses*, who indeed was our conductor out of Egypt, and liued many ages before, was no Lepar. Hee therefore first of all setteth downe a ridiculous cause of this fore-mentioned faction, which was, that king *Amenophis* was desirous to see the gods. Which gods trow yee? hee could already see the Oxe, the Goate, the Crocodile and the Munkey, but the God of heaven how could he see? And why had *Amenophis* this desire? Forsooth because a certaine king one of his predecessors had seene them; he therefore knowing by him what things they were, and how he came to the sight of them, needed no new deuice to accomplish his desire: but perhaps the foresaid prophet was a man of great wisdom, by whom the king had confidence to attaine his desire: but if so he had bin, how chance it, that he was so vnwise hee could not perceiue, that it was an impossible thing to satisfie the kings desire? for that which he promised was not brought to passe. Or what reason moued him to thinke that the gods were inuisible, because of Lepars and weake people? The gods are offended with mens impieties, nor with the defects of their bodies. And how was it possible that at one instant so many thousand Lepars and infirme persons should be gathered together? or wherein did not the king obey the Prophet? He commaunded that the Lepars and infirme persons should be exiled the country, and the king did not banish them the country, but sent them to hewe stones, as though he had needed workmen, and not purposed to cleanse the country from Lepars. Lastly, he saith, that the Prophet foreseeing that Egypt was to suffer, and fearing the wrath of the gods, he killed himselfe and left his mind in a booke written vnto the king. How chanced it then that the Prophet did not at first foresee his owne death, and so oppose himselfe vnto the kings desire to see the gods? or wherefore did he feare such calamities as were not to fall in his life? or what great misery hanged ouer his head, which might worthily cause him to kill himselfe to preuent it? But let vs heare that which followeth, more sortly then all the rest.

Manethons words repeated.

The king (quoth he) hearing this, and strooken with feare, did not for all this expell those Lepars he ought to haue exiled, but at their request gaue them (as he saith) a Citie, wherein before time the Shepherds did inhabit, called Auaris; wherein: they being come, they made a priest of Heliopolis their Prince, who deuised lawes for them: commaunding them neither to adore the gods, nor to abstaine from offering violence to such beasts, as amongst the Egyptians are sacred, but that they should kill and spoile all things, that they should marie with none but such as were their confederates, that he bound the people with an oath to keep those lawes, and that they fortified Auaris to fight against the king. Adding moreover, that he sent to Ierusalem for helpe, promising to yeeld Auaris vnto them, beeing a place sometime possessed by their ancestors, and that they from that place leading their forces, might easily subdue all Egypt: hee then saith that the Egyptian king *Amenophis* came against them with three hundred thousand, & yet for that he would not strue against the decree of the gods, he fledde into Ethiopia, and caried with him Apis and other holy beasts, and that the inhabitants of Ierusalem comming downe, invaded the land, fired the townes and cities, slew their nobles, vsed all sort of crueltie possible, and that the priests name who made lawes and statutes for them to liue vnder, was one of Heliopolis, *Oarsiphis* by name; deriuing the same from *Osiris* the god of Heliopolis: and that this man changing his name, was afterward called *Moses*.

Moreover, that *Amenophis* hauing liued in banishment thirtie yeeres, came with a strong power out of Ethiopia; and fighting with the shepherds and polluted, he slew many of them, & put the rest to flight, pursuing them vnto the borders of Syria. *Manethon* remembreth not, that heere againe he telleth a very vnskillfull tale, for although the Lepars and impotent persons were offended with the king, for appointing them to hewe stones; yet is it to be thought, that they receiving their owne desire at the kings hands, to wit, a Citie to dwell in, that now they againe became the kings well-willers. Supposing also their hatred still continued towards him, they rather should haue attempted reuenge by treason against him, then towards all their nation, wherein they had many deere friends and alliance. And although they had purposed to war against these men, yet would they not haue been so impious as to haue rebelled against the gods, and to haue violated the lawes wherein they were brought vp.

A confutation of Manethons words alleged.

We haue therefore cause to thanke *Manethon*, in that he cleareth vs, and affirmeth his owne countremen (yea a priest) to be authors of this impiety, & that by oath they bound themselves so to doe. But is it not against all reason, that neither any of their countremen nor kinsmen rebelled

A led with them, but that the poore distressed people were glad to send to Ierusalem for succour? But what societie of friendship had they with the people of Ierusalem, of whom they came to demand help? Why? they were more their enemies then the rest of their countremen, and were all of quite different manners from vs. They of Ierusalem (as he saith) presently did as they were willed to doe, in hope that according as they were promised, they might subdue Egypt: were they ignorant of that countrey out of which they had beene driuen by force? Had they liued in pouertie or miserie, perhaps they might haue beene induced to haue done it: but seeing they inhabited a fortunate and rich citie, & possessed a goodly fertile soile farre better then Egypt, what might moue them thereto? What reason had they, at the request of their ancient enemies (and they also so diseased as they of Ierusalem could not abide their owne friends amongst them that had the like diseases) to thrust themselves into danger? they could not fore-know the kings intent to flie; for as *Manethon* himselfe saith, he met them at Pelusia with three hundred thousand men. And this they that went to warre well knew. But what reason had they to coniecture that the kings mind would change and he flie? Then hee saith the army of Ierusalem getting the Granaries of Egypt into their hands, did much harme: and this he vpbraideth them withall, as who should say they were not requested to come as enemies? or as though these matters be to be cast in souldiers teethes, that are strangers and sent for, from out of another countrey; when as the Egyptians themselves had before their comming done the like, and bound themselves by an oath to performe the same. But short time after, *Amenophis* fought with his enemies, and got the victorie of them, and put them to flight, and pursued them vnto the borders of Syria. As though that Egypt were a countrey so easily to be wonne by any man, that at any place or part thereof invaded it? and that the souldiers of Ierusalem, hauing now by the lawes of armes possessed that, & knowing *Amenophis* to be yet aliue, would not haue fortified that part of the country, whereby he might haue invaded them, hauing all opportunity to doe it? or at least they would haue gotten more helpe from one place or another. *Amenophis*, as hee saith, pursued them euen vnto Syria, through the sandie and dry places: as though it were easie for an armie that had nothing else to doe, but to march on forward, to passe leisurly thorough them. To conclude therefore, our nation, neither came of the Egyptians, as *Manethon* confelleth, neither was it mingled with the disease of that country: for it is probable, that many of those sicke people perished in the stone works, many in the great fight and battaile, & the rest of them in the flight. It now remaineth that I refute that which he speaketh of *Moses*.

The Epilogue that the Iewes canenet of the Egyptians.

D The Egyptians do all agree that this man was a diuine person, and one to be admired, but they commit great impietie in labouering to challenge him for their countremen, saying that hee was a Priest of Heliopolis, banished with the rest for leprosie. For hee is recorded to haue liued three hundred and eightene yeeres before this time, and to haue guided our ancestors out of Egypt, into that countrey wherein we now inhabit; and his owne words testifie his bodie to haue beene cleane from that disease of leprosie: for hee commaundeth all Lepars to be expelled out of the townes and villages, and to liue apart by themselves, also to be clothed in some torne garment, and that whoeuer toucheth them, or cometh vnder the same rooofe with them, is to be accounted an vnclane person. And if so be a Lepar happen to be cured of that disease, hee appointed certain purifications, cleansings, and bathes of fortunate waters, and all his haire should be shaued off; and that then after many and sundry sacrifices, hee should be admitted into the holie citie. But contrariwise, had he been vrged with that misfortune, and calamitie himselfe, he would surely haue been more prouident, and more mercifull to such as should haue been afflicted with that disease.

An answer vnto Manethons slanders touching Moses.

Moses was not a Lepar.

E He did not onely make these seuer lawes against Lepars, but hee also interdicted all that wanted any ioynt or parcell of the bodie from being priests, or exercising any office at the Altar, yea hee also appointed that if any priest should haue any of these defects betide him after hee was a priest, that then hee should be depriued of the dignitie. How can it then be probable, that to his owne prejudice and discredit he would haue enacted such lawes? Also the changing of his name is incredible: for he was called (as he saith) *Oarsiphis*, which nothing agreeth with the transmutation of his name, but his true name berokeneth that *Moses* was faued from the water. For, *Moy* in the Hebrew tongue signifieth Water. But I haue now sufficiently as I think, declared how *Manethon* whilst hee followed the ancient writers, did not much erre, but when hee fell to old wiues tales, he then either absurdly feined them of his own head, or else for hatred hee bare to our nation, belieued the. I now thinke it not amisse to examine a little the words of *Charemon*, who professing

Moses tooke his name of Moy, which in the Egyptian tongue signifieth water.

Against Chæ-
remon the hi-
storographer.

confessing himselfe to write the Egyptian historie, maketh mention of the same king *Amenophis* his G
sonne *Rhameffes* as *Manethon* doth, and he reporteth that *Isis* appeared to *Amenophis* in his sleep,
checking him for that her temple was destroyed, and that *Phiritiphantes* a holy Scribe, told the
king, that if he would expell all polluted and vnclane persons out of Egypt, that then he should
not be any more terrified with these night visions. Moreouer, that heereupon making search
for all sicke and diseased persons, he banished them out of his land, to the number of two hun-
dredth and fiftie thousand, and that their captaines were called *Moses* and *Ioseph*, holy scribes, also
that these Egyptian names were so that *Moses* was named *Tisithes*, and *Ioseph* *Petsephus*, and that
they came vnto Pelusium where they found three hundredth and fourescore thousand left there
by *Amenophis*, whom he would not permit to come into Egypt, also that they all entering into a
league together sodainly inuaded Egypt, and *Amenophis* not biding the brunt fled into Ethio-
pia leauing his wife great with child, who hiding her selfe in caues and dens did bring forth a child
whom they called *Meffenes*, who afterward draue the Iews into Syria, being in number 200000.
and this done he recalled his father *Amenophis* out of Ethiopia. And thus *Chæremon* saith.

Meffenes, son
of Amenophis.

Manethons
historie and
Chæremons
compared to-
gether.

But I imagine, that which I haue already said, to be sufficient to declare the vanitie of both
these two men. For if that which they report were true, it were vnpossible that they should so
much differ: but they labour to deuise lies, and write not any thing agreeable to other mens writ-
tings. For *Manethon* saith that the cause of the banishment of the lepers was the kings desire to
see the Gods, and *Chæremon* saith that it was for that *Isis* after appeared vnto him in his sleepe.
Manethon also saith that *Amenophis* gaue the king that counsell so to cleanse the countrey, and
Chæremon saith that he that counsellled the king was called *Phiritiphantes*: the number also of le-
pers hath very good consonance I warrant you. *Manethon* saith they were almost fourescore hun-
dredth, *Chæremon* saith two hundredth and fiftie thousand. Moreouer *Manethon* writeth how that
these lepers were first sent to a place to hew stones, and afterward came to Auaris to dwell, and
that they hauing already begun wars in Egypt, that then they sent for helpe from Ierusalem. And
Chæremon saith that they hauing left Egypt found at Pelusia two hundredth and fourescore thou-
sand men, whom *Amenophis* had kept there, with whom they ioyning againe, returned and
inuaded Egypt, and then *Amenophis* fled into Ethiopia, and which is worth the noting, he set-
teth not downe what countreymen or to what purpose this great armie was, whether Egypti-
ans or strangers, neither doth hee shew any reason why the king would not carie them into
Egypt. Moreouer *Chæremon* seineth a dreame of the lepers and *Isis*, and reporteth that *Ioseph* K
together with *Moses* was expelled, whereas *Ioseph* liued foure ages before *Moses*, euery age con-
taining at least a hundredth and seuentie yeeres. *Rhameffes* also *Amenophis* sonne according to *Ma-
nethons* historie, being a young man fled into Ethiopia, and was banished with his father, and
afterward assisited him in the wars: whereas *Chæremon* reporteth that he was borne in a caue af-
ter his fathers departure, and that he getting the victorie did driue the Iewes into Syria who were
in number two thousand. O felicitie in lying! for he neither told what nation those three hun-
dredth and fourescore thousand was, nor yet how a hundredth and fourescore thousand of them pe-
rished, neither were they slaine in the fight, or fled vnto *Rhameffes*, and which is most to be ad-
mired, one cannot gather out of his words whom he calleth Iewes, or whether he attribute this
name vnto the two hundredth and fiftie thousand lepers, or vnto the three hundredth and foure-
score thousand which were at Pelusium.

The difference
between Ma-
nethons and
Chæremons
historie.

Lysimachus is
reproued for
lying.

According to
Lysimachus,
the scabbed &
leprous Iewes
were to be co-
ued into the
wildernesse, &
cast into the
sea.

But it is folly to oppose my selfe against them who haue sufficiently contradicted themselves,
for had other men controlled their writings they had been the more to be borne withall. I will
adde Lysimachus vnto the two former, who hath the same lie that they haue, yet farre more ab-
surd a fiction then theirs. For he saith that at such time as *Bocchoris* reigned in Egypt, the people
of the Iewes being scabbed and infected with leprosie, fled into the temples to beg maintenance,
and that so many men were with this disease infected, that a dearth and scarcitie fell vpon
Egypt. Likewise that king *Bocchoris* went vnto *Ammon* to know of the Oracle what caused the
dearth, and that answer was made that if he would expell all lepers and vnclane persons from
out of the temples into the desert, that then the famine would cease, and that he should drowne
these lepers, as if the sunne disdained that they should liue, and that then he should purifie the M
temples, and so the earth would againe yeeld fruit: also that *Bocchoris* hauing this answer
from the Oracle, hee called together the Priestes and sacrificers, and hauing gathered le-
pers and vnclane people together, he deliuered them to souldiers to be conducted into the
desert, and that then they should be lapt in lead and cast into the sea. Moreouer they being
drowned

A drowned, other diseased people there gathered together, and were carried into the wildernesse to
be destroyed, and that they taking counsell one of another what to doe, the night following they
made great fires and lights, wherewith they terrified and draue away the souldiers that kept them,
and that they fasted the day following, requesting God to bee mercifull vnto them, and that the
next day, one *Moses* counsellled them to goe all one way, as thicke together as they could, till
such time as they came to some place inhabited, and that he then commanded them neuer here-
after to bee friendly to any man, but alwayes rather to giue bad counsell then good, and to de-
stroy all Temples, and Altars of the gods they came by: vnto which counsell they all agreeing,
iourneyed together through the wildernesse, and after much sorrow came to places inhabited; vi-
sing men by whom they past iniuriously, firing Temples and robbing them: at last in this manner,
they came vnto that place which they now call Iudea and there building a Citie, they began to
dwell, and of this fact called the Citie Hierosyla, and shortly after growing more potent, they for
auoyding shame, chaunged the name thereof, and called it Ierusalem, and themselves the inha-
bitants of Ierusalem.

When the Iewes
got Iudea and
built Ierusalem

This fellow found not that king, which the two former speak of, but he ioyned a more new
name, and leauing the dreame and the Prophet, hee goeth to *Ammon*, to know an answer of the
old, touching the scabbed and lepers: for he saith, that a multitude was gathered together at the
Temples: but hee leaueth it vnertaine, whether the Iewes onely were infected with this disease:
for he saith the people of the Iewes: which people whether were they strangers or those that were
born in that Countrey, why dost thou call the Iewes, when they were Aegyptians? If they were
strangers, why dost thou not tell of whence they were: Or how came it to passe that the king ha-
uing drowned so many of them in the Sea, and left the rest in the wildernesse, that still so manie
should bee left? Or how did they passe the wildernesse, and get the Countrey wee now inhabite,
and build a Citie and a Temple famous through all parts of the world? Thou shouldest not onely
haue told the name of our law maker, but also what Countreymen he was, and of what parents,
and what moued him in his iourne to make such lawes against the gods, and against men. For if
they were Aegyptians, they would not so easily haue forgiven the religion wherein they were
brought vp: or of what place else so euer they were, they had som lawes or other, which they had
beene accustomed to keepe. If they had vowed to haue borne no good-will vnto them by whom
they were driuen out of their Countrey, they had had some iust occasion so to doe. But to vnder-
take warre against all the world, and deprive themselves from all friendship and helpe of mortall
men, doth not shew their foolishnesse, but the foolishnes of him, who doth thus belie them. VVho
most impudently affirmeth, that their Citie tooke the name of Church spoyle, and afterward
changed it. For what cause forsooth did they change the name thereof? marrie for that the for-
mer name was ignominious to their posteritie. But the Gentleman vnderstood not, that
Ierusalem signifieth others life in our language, then it doth in the Greeke. And
therefore what should I stand to inueigh against a lie so impudently told?

Lyf in this o-
pinion contuted

Nothing is to
be said against
an impudent
lie.

But my book hath now been long enough, making a new be-
ginning: and therefore I will endeavour to finish the
residue of this worke.

F f f f

THE



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE ANTIQVITY OF THE IEWES, WRITTEN BY FLAVIVS IOSEPHVS AGAINST APION OF ALEXANDRIA, AND DEDICATED TO EPAPHRO- DITVS.

Hrice Honoured and beloued *Epaphroditus*, I haue in my former bookes so farre forth as I was warranted by truth, both protested & approued the Antiquitie of our natiō, out of the writings of the *Phœnicians*, *Chaldies* & *Egyptians*: and for the further confirmation thereof, I haue produced the testimonie of diuers Greek Authors. Furthermore I haue opposed my selfe against *Manethon* and *Cheremon*, and diuers others. At this time likewise I will undertake to contradi& all the rest of those writers, that haue published anie thing against vs; for in respect of *Apion*, who pretendeth himselfe to bee learned, I grow halfe suspicious, whether it be a matter answerable to my discretion and iudgement, to vouchsafe him any replie at all. For as touching the one part of that which he hath written, it seemeth to be one and the same, with that which the rest haue written: and as touching the other, it is verie cold and barren. The greater part thereof is farced with follies and detractions, and betrayeth his ignorance, approuing him to bee a man both loose in condition, and turbulent in his life. And for as much as diuers men are so disturnished of iudgement, that they rather suffer themselves to be wonne by these follies, then to bee wearied and wrought by that which is written with better consideration, vainly doating on detractions, and growing discontent to giue care to other mens well deterued prayles; I haue thought it necessarie to examine such a mans labours, the rather, for that he hath written against vs, as it hee intended to accuse vs before a Tribunal, & conuict vs by a publike triall. For I see that it is an ordinarie course for the most part of men, to hug & take heartie pleasure, when as hee that beginneth to blame an other man, is himselfe conuicted and found guiltie of those defaults, which he imputeth and obieð against another.

Truely it is no easie matter to lay open the ambiguous and doubtfull speeches which *Apion* useth, neither to vnderstand perfectly what hee intendeth to ex; resse. But like a man that is grievously distracted and confused in his foolish lying, hee groweth almost to that point, to recapitulate that, which hath bin heretofore set out, & searched for, as touching the departure of our forefathers out of Aegypt: and afterwards he falleth to accuse the Iewes that inhabited *Alexandria*: and thirdly, he intermixeth his blamefull blasphemies, against the ceremonies accustomed in our temple, and depraueth our lawes and ordinances likewise. Now, that our predecessors haue not taken their originall out of Aegypt, neither haue heene driuen from thence for any infirmie or deformitie of their bodies, or for any wound, vicer, or pollution; I suppose that I haue not onely sufficiently approued the same, but also produced far more thē was requisite. I will therefore briefly report and repeat that which *Apion* alleageth: For in the third booke of his Egyptian historie, he writ thus, *Moses* as I haue heard it spoken by the most auncient Egyptians was born at Heliopolis, who being instructed in the fashions of his Countie, conuered such prayers which were wont to be said in open places and abroad, and caused them to bee practised and accustomed, in priuate Cloysters such as were within the Citie, and ordained that in praying they should turne themselves towards the rising Sunne. For such is the situation of the Citie Heliopolis, and instead of *Obeliskes* or *Pyramides*, hee erected certaine pillars, vnder which there were certain images grauen Basens, on which the shadow hapning to fall (the place wherein they stood being discovered and in open ayre) they obserued the same course that the Sunne doth in the firmament. See here what eloquence this learned man vled.

Now as touching this lie of his, there need no words to refute the same, since it is clearly refelled by the effects. For when *Moses* first built that tabernacle in honour of God, he had no such intent,

Apion raileth
against the
Jews, as thereby
rewarding the
Alexandrians.
The sea coast
of Alexandria.The libertie
& priuiledges
granted vnto
the Iewes.

Alexander.

1. Ptolomeus
Lagus.2. Ptolomeus
Philadelphus.

our forefathers, who maketh no bones to belie himselfe: for being borne at Oasie a towne in Aegypt this high vnreputed honour of the Aegyptians forswearth both his country and nation, and counterfeiting himselfe to be an Alexandrian, he ratifieth his nations wickednesse. No maruell then though he tearme them Aegyptians whom hee hateth and raileth against, for if hee had nor been perfwaded that the Aegyptians were wicked base people, hee would neuer haue denied himselfe to be their countiman: for such as proudly boast of their famous country, esteeme it a credit to beare the denomination thereof, & reprehend such as without iust cause make themselves of their nation. Wherefore the Aegyptians are one of these two waies affected towards vs Iewes, for either they claime vs to be their countimen as glorying of vs and their country, or else for that they and their country being infamous, they desire that we should be partakers of their ignominie. But indeede this worthy *Apion* seemeth so to inueigh against vs, as thereby rewarding the Alexandrians for bestowing their Ciues vpon him: and knowing them to bee at variance with the Iewes of Alexandria, hee as it were casteth a bone betwene them, and raileth not onely on the Iewes of that Citie, but on all wheresoeuer: but hee belicth both of them most impudently. But let vs examine thole hainous and enormous matters, and (as hee saith) such as are not to be suffered, of which hee accuseth the Alexandrian Iewes. Comming (quoth he) out of Syria, they seate themselves neere the sea coast, where there was no haueen neere vnto the furies of the water.

Now if this place which they inhabited were ignominious, yet it followeth not that the Iewes owne country was so also: yea herein *Apion* raileth against Alexandria, which hee maketh his owne country: for the sea coast is part of Alexandria, and as all men iudge the best place thereof to dwell in. Now if the Iewes by force of armes so vanquished this place that they could neuer since be driuen out of it: it is no discredit to them, but rather an argument of their valour. But *Alexander* gaue them that place to inhabite, & the Macedonians did allot them as great priuiledges at the Alexandrians had. I know not what *Apion* would haue said, if the Iewes had dwelt about Nectopolis, and not about the kings seate: their tribes being euen at this time called Macedonians. If therefore *Apion* haue read the Epistles of king *Alexander*, and *Ptolomeus Lagus*, or others their successors kings of Egypt, or seene the pillars that are erected in Alexandria, containing the priuiledges that *Cesar* the great granted vnto the Iewes; if I say knew of these, and yet did presume to write the contrarie, then hee was a bad fellow: but if he was ignorant hereof, hee was then an vnlearned person. The like ignorance also discourteth he, where he wonders that the Iewes that were in Alexandria were called Alexandrians. For all that are one Colonie, though verie different people, yet doe they all beare the name of their founder: and that I may shun prolixitie, the Iewes of Antioch are called Antiochians; for *Seleucus* the founder made them also Citizens, the like may also be said of the Iewes of Ephesus, and at the other Ionia, who by the kings gifts enioy the same priuiledges with the rest of the Citizens. The Romans also of their clemencie haue granted the name of their nation which is no small gift, nor only to priuate persons, but to great nations in generall. To be short, the auncient Spaniards, the Tyrrhenes, & Sabines, are called Romans; or if *Apion* will take away this denomination of the Citie wherein men inhabite, let him cease to call himselfe an Alexandrian: for hee being borne in the heart of Aegypt, can in no wise be an Alexandrian, if the priuiledge of the Citie be taken from him, as he would haue it from vs. And the Lords of the whole world the Romans, haue amongst all other nations onely prohibited the Aegyptians from hauing the priuiledges of any Citie: and so this gallant gentleman being himselfe incapable of dignitie, endeuoreth likewise to hinder them from it, who haue true right vnto it.

For *Alexander* labouring with all diligence to build that Citie, did not make choice of vs for want of people to furnish the same withall; but for that he bestowed the libertie thereof vpon vs as a reward and testimonie of our vertue and fidelitie, endeououring indeede to honour and credit our nation thereby: for *Hecataeus* reporteth that *Alexander* for the Iewes good seruice and fidelitie, bestowed vpon them the countrey of Samaria, and freed them from paying tribute for it. The same good affection towards the Iewes of Alexandria, *Ptolomeus Lagus* continued after him, for he deliuered into their hands the strong holds of Aegypt (for that hee iudged that their valour and fidelitie would keepe them) and intending to make himselfe Lord of Cyren and other places in Lybia, he sent certaine Iewes to inhabite the same. After him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus* did not onely release and set free all captiues of our nation in his countrey, but also did manie times remit their payments of money, and (which was the principall point of all) he desired to be instructed

The Iewerie
interpreters.3. Ptolomeus
Euergetes.4. Ptolomeus
Philometor.5. Ptolomeus
Physcon ceased
to persecute
the Iewes.Of Cleopatra
the last queene
of Alexandria.Antonius the
husband of
Cleopatra.

A instructed in our lawes & holy scriptures, & for this cause sent vnto vs, requesting that we would send him some learned men to interpret them vnto him: and that this might be performed with more diligence, he committed the care hereof not to any but *Demetrius Phalerius*, *Andreas* & *Arifseus*, *Demetrius* being the onely mirror of learning in his age, the other two being Elquires of his owne bodie: neither would he haue euer desired to haue beene instructed in our lawes and customes, if hee had despised vs & had not rather admired vs. But *Apion* know that almost all the Macedonian kings his successors in order, did peculiarly affect our nation. For *Ptolomeus* the third which was also called *Euergetes*, conquering Syria by force, did no sacrifice vnto the gods of Aegypt for his victorie, but came to Ierusalem, and there after our manner sacrificed many hostes vnto our God, & to him dedicated gifts worthy of such a victorie. *Ptolomeus* also furnamed *Philometor* and his wife *Cleopatra*, committed the rule of his whole kingdome vnto the Iewes, and *Onias* and *Dositheus* both Iewes, were generals of his army, whole credit *Apion* detractes: whereas he rather ought to haue admired them, & haue thanked them for deliuering *Alexandria* whereof he maketh himselfe a citizen.

For when there was a rebellion in *Cleopatras* kingdome, and all was in perill to be destroyed, these two men deliuered *Alexandria* from ciuill warre: But *Apion* saith that after this, *Onias* came and brought a litle armie into the citie, at such time as *Thermus*, the Romane Embassadour was there present. True it is, and that fact of his was most iust. For *Ptolomeus Physcon* after the death of his father *Ptolomeus Philometor*, comming out of Cyrene, endeououred to expell the Queene *Cleopatra*, and the kings sons, to the ende that he (contrarie to all iustice) might possesse the kingdome: and this was the cause why *Onias* tooke armes against him in *Cleopatras* behalfe, not forsaking his fidelitie vnto kings in the time of necessitie: yet God himselfe did manifestly witnesse his iustice in this action. For when *Ptolomeus Physcon* presumed to fight against *Onias* his armie, and took all the Iewes their wiues and children that were in the Citie (and bound them, and stripping them naked, cast them before Elephants to bee destroyed: and to the intent that the Elephants might the rather tread vpon them, made the said beasts drunken) all things fel out contrarie to his expectation: for the Elephants forsaking the Iewes which were cast before them, did fall vpon *Ptolomeus* his friends that stood by, & slew many of the; which done, there appeared vnto *Ptolomeus* a most horrible vision forbidding him to harme the Iewes: & his chiefeest best beloued concubine also (whom som call *Ithaca*, other *Herene*) came vnto him & besought him to abstaine from such impietie. whereupon he being forrie, did penance for that he had alreadie committed, and that which hee thought to committe; so that the Iewes of Alexandria celebrate this day in remembrance that vpon it God did manifestly deliuer them; yet *Apion* (who speaketh well of no man) accuseth the Iewes of impietie for bearing armes against *Physcon*, whereas indeede he ought rather to haue commended them for it: But *Apion* extolleth *Cleopatra* the last Queene of Alexandria, onely for that she was vnjust, and ingratefull vnto vs; when he rather ought to haue reproued her, in whom all impietie and wickednes raigned, both concerning her owne kinred, and her husbands who loued her, and also generally against all the Romans and the Emperours his benefactors, who killed her owne sister *Arifne* in the temple who had not any wife offended her: shee also trecherously slew her owne brother, and destroyed her auncestors Gods, and sepulchers, and receiuing the kingdome from the first *Cesars* gift, shee ingratefully rebelled against his son and successor, and infecting *Antonius* with her poysoned drinks, and amorous inchantments, she made him rebell against his countrey, and to be vnconstant to his own friends, depriving some of kingly dignitie, and compelling others to be instruments of her impietie. And what else shal we say of her, who in the battaile by sea forced *Antonius* her owne husband (who also had manie children by her) to yeeld himselfe, the Empire, and armie vnto her, and become one of her followers? Lastly, when Alexandria was taken by *Cesar*, shee was so cruelly minded, that not remembering her owne estate, she accounted this her safetie, if with her owne hand shee might kill the Iewes, that she might be cruell and trothlesse to euerie bodie.

F Is it not a glorie thinke you to vs, that (as *Apion* reporteth) in the time of death and famine, wheat was so plentiful in Iury, that it was not sold by measure? But *Cleopatra* was punished as she deserved. And we call great *Cesar* himselfe to witnesse of our fidelitie, and the seruice we did him against the Aegyptians, the Senate also and their decrees, and the writings of *Augustus Cesar*, wherein our deserts are testified. These letters *Apion* ought to haue read, and to haue examined all testimonies of vs, which were left first by *Alexander*, and then by all the Ptolomees, & what the Senate of Rome decreed, and the mightie Emperours. And if so be *Germanicus* could not

get corne to suffice al the inhabitants of Alexandria, that was a token of scarcitie and dearth, and not the Iewes fault. For what all Emperours thought of the Alexandrian Iewes it is manifest enough: for the Iewes want of corne was not onely left vn supplied, but also the want of other Alexandrians. But they haue alwaies kept that wherewith the auncient Princes did put them in trust, to wit, the keeping of the riuer, and whole country, as not being thought vnsit for their purposes. But *Apion* thus vrgeth vs; If (quoth he) the Iewes be citizens, how hap they worship not the same God, nor haue the same religion that the rest of the Alexandrians haue? To whom I thus answer; How hapneth that you Aegyptians do so contend and war against one another onely for diuersitie of religion? Shall we hereupon conclude that you are all Aegyptians, or not all men? because you worshippinge and with great diligence nourish beafts against nature? yet our nation seemeth one and the same. If therefore amongst you Aegyptians such difference of opinions be; why dost thou so maruell of this that we in a strange place, to wit, at Alexandria, do constantly perseuer in our first religion? But hee sayeth that wee are the cause of all sedition: which suppose he speake true of the Iewes of Alexandria, yet are not all Iewes in all places the cause of sedition, for we are knowne to be peaceable amongst our selues. But indeed as euerie one may perceiue, the people like *Apion* himselte are authours of sedition in Alexandria. For whilst the Greekes and Macedonians held Alexandria, they and wee liued peaceably together, and they permitted vs quietly to vse our owne solemnities: but when the number of Aegyptians encreased, by confusion of time, sedition also by their meanes encreased: but our nation remained vnpermixed. They therefore were authours of those troubles, not hauing the gouernment of the Macedonians, nor the wisdom of the Greekes; but vsing their Aegyptian manners, and renewing their olde hatred against vs. And that wherewith all they hit vs in the teeth befalleth them: for most of them not hauing the priuiledges of the citie themselves, call vs strangers that haue them. For none of the auncient kings bestowed the libertie of the citie vpon the Aegyptians, neither haue any of the Emperours of Rome bestowed the priuiledge. But *Alexander* himselte brought vs into the citie, the kings after him encreased more priuiledges, and it hath pleased the Roman Emperours to ratifie and confirme them. But *Apion* detracteth vs for not erecting statues to the Emperours, as though the Emperours knew not heretofore, or that they needed *Apion* to speake for them: whereas hee should rather admire the Romanes magnanimitie, and modestie, who compell not their subiects to violate their auncient lawes and religion, but content themselves with such honours as the giuer may with pietie and equitie giue them. For they account not of forced honours which come of compulsion.

The Greekes and diuers other thinke it not amisse to erect statues; for they delight to haue the pictures of their ancestors, wiues and children, and som of their beleued seruants also: what maruaile then if they accord to yeeld the like honour to Princes and Emperours? But our law maketh not as prophceying the Romanes power not to be reuerenced: but foreseeing that it was neither profitable to God nor man, forbade vs to make an Image of any liuing creature, much more of a not liuing God (as wee will proue hereafter.) But hee permitted vs to reuerence all good men, with any honour elsse not due to God, and all those we giue vnto the Emperours, and people of Rome, and make our continual sacrifice for them; and not onely vpon worky daies do this, at the proper cost of all the Iewes, but vpon such dayes as we offer no other sacrifice, no not for our own children, we then sacrifice for the Roman Emperour, yeelding that honour to the Roman Emperour which wee do to none elsse. And let this suffice to answer that which *Apion* alleageth against the Iewes of Alexandria: yet can I not but admire at them who gaue him this occasion, namely *Possidonius* and *Apollonius Molon*, who accuse vs for not worshipping the same Gods that others do, although they lie all alike, flandering our temple most absurdly: and yet for all this they doe not beleue that they herein commit any impietie: whereas it is a most inominious thing for any free man to lie vpon any occasion: much more of a temple famous ouer all the world for sanctitie. For *Apion* affirmeth that the Iewes in that sacred temple placed the head of an Assie and worshipped it most religiously. And this (quoth hee) was manifestly knowne at such time as *Antiochus Epiphanes* spoyled that Temple, who found that Assies head being of masse gold, and great value. To this first slander I first answer, that were that true which he reporteth, yet an Aegyptian ought not to haue spoken against vs for it: seeing that an Assie is of no lesse worth then a Goate, and other brute beafts that they honour for gods. Was it possible that hee knew not the contrarie of his owne affirmations, by our deedes and Scriptures? For we vse the same lawes that at the first wee did, and remaine in them without change, and for all

The Iewes haue bene alwaies true to their Prince.

The Aegyptians doe worshippinge beafts not agreeable to mans nature.

The discord of the Iewes and the Alexandrians in religion.

The cause of discord betweene the Iewes and Alexandrians.

Apions fiction touching the Iewes being ather of sedition at Alexandria is confuted.

The Romanes magnanimitie toward, the Iewes. The Iewes may haue no Images.

How Emperours and magistrates ought to be honored. The he of Possidonius and Apollonius concerning the Iewes is confuted.

An answer to the objection of the Assies head.

A all that our Citie (as others also haue) hath by the variable euent of warre, bene vexed and troubled, and that *Antiochus* surnamed the god, and *Pompey* the great, and *Licinius Crassus*, and now lastly *Titus Caesar*, haue all vanquished our Temple, yet did they neuer find in it any thing as *Apion* affirmeth, but sincere pietie, not law full for vs to disclose to strangers. And as touching *Antiochus*, manie writers of good credite report, that he neuer had any iust cause to spoyle our temple, but that hee was drawne vnto this fact for want of money; Not for that he was our enemy, but for that as from his friends and fellowes, hee sought supplie, and found nothing in that place that was worthe of derision: and thus doe *Polybius Megapolitanus*, *Strabo* the Cappadocian, *Nicholas Damascene*, *Timagenes Castor* the Chronicler, and *Apollodorus* avow, who all doe witness that *Antiochus* wanting money, brake the league hee had with the Iewes, and robbed and spoyled their Temple being full of gold and siluer. *Apion* ought to haue considered this, had hee not had an Asses heart, and a dogges impudencie, which hee and his Countymen worshippinge for gods. As for vs wee doe neither honour nor reuerence Asses, though the Aegyptians doe their Crocodiles and Alpes, esteeming them that are bitten by Alpes, and deuoured by Crocodiles, to be happie and fit for God.

B But wee esteeme those to be Asses which all our wisemen doe, to wit, them who beare burdens imposed vpon them: and if coming into a fildes they fall to eate, and doe not that which they ought to doe, we vse to beate them with many stripes, and force them to till the ground, and doe other drudgerie. But *Apion* was either the greatest Assie that euer was in telling alie; or elsse hauing begun to doe it, hee could not compasse his enterprises, in that hee found not any iust cause of

C detraction against vs. Hee addeth another fable of the Greekes detracting vs, to the which I will make only this reple, that it is more commendable and agreeing to pietie & lesse vnclannesse, to passe thorow the Temple, then for Priestes to come and seine impious words and speeches: which they not respecting, laboured rather to excule the sacrilegious Kings; then to write the truth of vs and our Temple: endeavouring to corie fauour with *Antiochus*, and to couer & hide his sacriledge, vsed against our nation, for that hee wanted money, beleeuing vs euen in things that are to come. And *Apion* as prophceying of the rest, saith that *Antiochus* found a bed in our Temple, and in it a man lying, and a table set before him, furnished with all foules that vie either sea or land, and that the man was heretofore almightie: And that so soone as *Antiochus* came into the Temple, hee adored him as though hee hoped for great helpe from the King, falling downe at his feete, and with a stretched out arme, crauing licence to speake: which the King graunting, and willing him to declare what hee was, and why hee dwelt in the Temple, and the cause of his meates before him: the man with sighes and teares bewayled vnto *Antiochus* his calamitie saying, He was a Grecian: and that traouailing in the Countrie to get his liuing, he was suddenly seized vpon by certaine Outlandishmen, and brought vnto the Temple, and shut vp therein, and that no man might see him, and that he was there fed or fatted with ali dainties that could be provided: and that at first this daintie fare made him ioyfull, but after ward he began to suspect it, and lastly he was heretofore amazed; and then demanding of a Iewe that administrated vnto him, for what cause hee was there kept; hee vnderstood the Iewes purpose, and law not to be reuealed, for the fulfilling whereof hee was there nourished, and that the Iewes were wont to doe the like euerie yeere vpon a day appointed; and to take a Grecian stranger and feede him a yeere, and then to carrie him to a wood; and there to kill him, and sacrifice him according to their rites and ceremonies, and to taste and eate of his entrailles: and in the sacrificing of the Grecian, to sweare to bee enemies vnto the Greekes, and the residue of the murdered man they cast into a certaine pit. And that then this Greeke reported vnto *Antiochus*, that the time allotted vnto him by the Iewes to liue, was now almost expired, and therefore requested for the reuerence hee bare to the Grecian gods, to saue his bloud from being spilt by the Iewes, and to free him out of that imminent calamitie.

This fable is not only stuffed full of all tragical crueltie, but also mingled with cruel impudencie: Yet for all this the first deuisers hereof doe not scape *Antiochus* from sacriledge, as they hoped hereby to doe, who writ it purposely to flatter him. For that which they report of the Greeke found in a bed, did not moue him to come and sacke our Temple, hee not knowing of it before he came and found it so (as they say.) *Antiochus* therefore was most impious, and not assisted by Gods fauour in that enterprise, (whatsoeuer these lyars mutter) as it is easie to learne of the fact of him committed. For wee doe not onely differ from the Greekes in religion, but a great deale more from the Aegyptians, & other nations: and what nation in the world is there, that sometime doth

not

Who are accounted Asses amongst the Iewes and other wisemen.

Certain Historiographers endeavour to couer and hide Antiochus his sacrilegious and sacrilege.

That the Iewes ought once a yeere to sacrifice a Grecian.

not trauaile through our Countrie? Is it then probable that we onely reue that conspiracie against the Greekes? Or how is it possible that so many thousand peoples are of our owne nation, should all eate of the entrails of one man as *Apion* reporteth? Or why did he not name this man whoseuer he was? Or why did not the king carrie him with trumpets into his Countie? seeing that in so doing he might haue bin esteemed full of pietie, & a great fauor of the Greekes, and greatly strengthen himselfe against the hatred of the Iewes by their aide? But I omit to speake more of this: for vn sensible people void of all reason, must not bee reprehended in word, but by deedes: for all men that haue seene the building of the Temple, canne testifie what it was, and the vndefined puritie thereof. For it had foure porches about, and euerie one of them by our lawes had feuerall keepers: and into the outward porch all people, yea straungers might enter without breach of our lawes, (women onely excepted that haue their monethly course.) Into the second porch it was lawfull for onely Iewes to come: and all Iewes might goe into it, and their wiues also when they were free from pollution of their flowes. Into the third porch, they onely of our nation that were purified and sanctified might come. Into the fourth, might onely Priests enter, who were cloathed with priestly Stoles, and into the secret part of the Temple might onely the high Priest come, attired with a Stole proper to him onely: yea wee are in all things so carefull of pietie, that our Priests are appointed howers when to enter into the Temple.

For in the morning when the Temple was opened, the Priests that were to sacrifice the hostes which were given them, entered into the Temple; and at noone againe when it was shut, yea it was not lawfull to carrie any vessell into the Temple: but there was onely there an Altar, a Table, a Censer, and a Candlestick, as is in our lawe mentioned, and there is no other secret or hidden mysteries done, neither is there in that place any eating, and all the people can testifie this which I haue here set downe, and our writings doe the like. For notwithstanding that there are foure rites of Priests, and euerie Priests tribe containeth about fise thousand men: yet euery one waiteth on certaine appointed dayes in their turne, and their time of waiting being expired, others succede them in sacrificing; and the day before they are to finish their waiting, they deliuer vp vnto their successors the keyes of the Temple, and all vessells belonging thereto, in the full number that they receiued them: and nothing is brought into our Temple, pertaining either to meate or drinke: yea, and are forbidden to bee offered at our Altar, those things onely excepted, whereof we make our sacrifice. What then shall we say of *Apion*, who examining nothing of all this, hath raised such incredible reports of vs? How ignominious a thing it is for a Gram-marian, not to bee able to deliuer the truth of a Historie? Well, hee knewe the pietie vsed in our Temple, but hee purposely omitted it: yet could hee remember to tell a fained tale of the sacrificing of the Greeke, his dainie faire and that hidden foode, that all men also that would, passed through our Temple, whereas the most noble amongst our whole nation, are not permitted to come there, except they be priests.

This therefore is great impietie, and a voluntarie forged lie, to seduce them that will not examine the truth. For they haue attempted to slander vs by those impieties before mentioned, not to bee spoken of. And againe, like one full of all pietie, he derideth the vanitie of these fables, and reporteth that at such time as the Iewes for a long time together, warred against the Idumæans, *Zabidus* departing out of a Citie of Idumæa where *Apollo* was worshipped, came vnto the Iewes, promising them to deliuer vnto them *Apollo* the Dorians god, and bring him vnto their Temple, if so bee that all of them would there assemble themselves together: and that afterwards *Zabidus* did make a most excellent kind of wooden instrument, and placed in it three rankes of candles, and put it vpon him, and so walked like a starre gliding on the ground (for that shape he resembled to them that were as farre off from him.) And that the Iewes hereat (seeing this straunge vision) admired and were astonished, and standing as farre off, they were all silent, and how by this shift *Zabidus* easily got into their Temple, and tooke away the golden Asses head (for so hee writeth plainly) and so to haue returned speedily to *Dora*. Wherefore we may say that *Apion* leadeth an Asse, to wit, himselfe with fooleries and lies, for he nameth places that are not, and setteth downe Cities to himselfe vnkowne: for Idumæa is a Province M neere vnto vs, and bordering vpon *Gara*, and there is no Citie in it called *Dora*: but in Phoenicia neere vnto the hill *Carmelus*, there is a Citie of that name, yet nothing consonant to *Apions* slanders, for it is foure dayes iourney from Iudæa.

Why therefore doth he so rashly accuse vs for not worshipping the same gods that other nations doe, seeing (as hee saith) our predecessors did so easily beleeue that *Apollo* would come vnto them,

A them, and that he walked vpon the earth, with starres vpon his backe? Perhaps indeed they had neuer before seene a candle or lampe, themselves hauing so many: or is it likely that he walking thus quite through our countrey, where so many thousand men are, no one of them almet him? Did he in time of warre finde the townes and villages, by which he past, without any watchmen? Well, I omit the rest. The gates of our temple were three score cubites high, twentie cubites broad, all couered with gold, yea almost all of cleane gold, and these gates euerie day were shut by two hundred men: & it was too impious a thing to leaue them open; is it then credible that this candlebearer could easily open them, who alone was iudged to haue the asses head? So that now it remaineth doubtfull whether *Zabidus* did bring backe againe the asses head, or else *Apion* tooke it of him and brought it againe to our temple, that there *Antiochus* might finde it, and so

B *Apion* might haue another occasion of lying. He also belieths concerning the oath which he saith wee Iewes doe take, swearing by the God of heauen and earth, and sea, neuer to fauour any stranger, and especially the Greekes. This liar might better haue said, not to fauour any stranger, and especially the Aegyptians, and so his former lies and these (should haue had better correspondence with the beginning, if our ancestors had bene expelled by their predecessors out of Aegypt, not for their wickednesse, but for their owne calamitie. But we are so farre from the Greekes, that we scarcely euer thinke of them: so that no man can say that there is any enmitie between vs and the Greekes. But contrariwise many of them haue embraced our religion, and some of them therein perserued: others againe haue forsaken it; yet none of them will say that he heard this oath spoken amongst vs: but it should seeme that onely *Apion* heard of it, in that he himselfe

C indeed forged it. Truly his great wisdom and prouidence is worthe to bee admired (as shall hereafter appeare) for he to proue these his lies to bee true, saith, that it is a certaine testimonie that the lawes we obserue are most iust, and that we worship not God as we ought to do in that we were subiect to diuers nations, and our Citie endured many calamities: Where-as touching themselves they are of a Citie that flourisheth in absolute authoritie, accustomed to gouerne from the foundation thereof, and not to serue the Romans. In effect who canne resist their valour? Truly no man but *Apion* would euer haue flattered vs herewith, seeing that few Cities so flourish and raigne ouer other, that they againe at no one time haue bene brought into subiection. For manie nations are subiect to others: onely the Aegyptians are freed from the captiuitie of such as rule Europe and Asia, for that (as they say) the gods flying into their countrey, were saved

D by entering into the bodies of beasts. Yet haue they not indeed had any one dayes libertie since the beginning of the world, neither vnder the gouernment of their owne princes, nor vnder strangers.

I will not stand to reckon how often the Persians haue wasted their Citie, destroyed their temples, and slaine their supposed gods. For it is not decent that I should imitate herein *Apions* foolishnesse: neither am I calling to memorie what befell the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, the last of which, are recorded to haue bene most valiant, and first to haue bene most deuout and religious: neither will I reckon vp those most godly kings, amongst whom *Crasus* was one, who notwithstanding fell into great calamities. Moreouer I will not recount how the Castle of

E Athens was set on fire, and the temples of Ephefus and Delphos likewise and many others. There is now one *Apion* a new accuser of the Iewes, who vpbraideth them with their calamities: forgetting quite all miserie that hath befallen his countymen the Aegyptians: but hee was blinded with the fable of *Sesostris*, whom (he saith) to haue bene king of Aegypt.) We could report and boast of our kings, *Dauid*, and *Salomon*, who subdued many nations vnto them: but it is not fite here to speake of them. But *Apion* was ignorant of that which all the world knoweth; to wit, that the Aegyptians haue serued first to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, and that as bond slaues: where wee remaining in free libertie raigned ouer all Cities round about vs 120. yeres, euen vnto the time of *Pompey* the great; and when all the other kings were subdued by the Romans, onely our kings for their fidelitie and friendship towards them were deare vnto

F them. Oh but this sticketh vpon *Apions* stomacke, that wee haue not had any famous men of our nation, who haue inuented artes and sciences, and bene excellent in wisdom, such as *Socrates*, *Zeno*, *Cleantes* and others, whom hee setteth downe were: & which is most to be admired *Apion* putteth himselfe in the number of these famous men: and saith that Alexandria is blessed and happy, that hath deserued to haue such a Citizen as he is: and great reason that hee himselfe should testifie that of himselfe, which all men else perceiue in him, to wit, that he is an impudent deceitfull fellow, both of corrupt life, and manners. So that any Alexandrian had iust cause

The description
of the Temple
and porches.

What was in
the temple.

Foure Tribes
of Priests and
of euerie tribes
more then fise
thousand men.

Another tale
devised by
Apion of *Zabidus*.

Dora is a Citie
of Phoenicia
and not of Idumæa.

The gates of
the Temple.

Apions lie
concerning the
oath is con-
futed.

Apion vpbrai-
ded the Iewes
with captiuitie.

Dauids and
Salomons
power.

Apion praifeth
himselfe.

cause to bee forie that they euer had any better opinion of him. But that our nation had men equal at least vnto those whom hee mentioneth, all men know that please to reade the booke of our Antiquitie. The rest that his accusation containeth, it is not amisse to let passe without answere, for that it rather impeacheth the Aegyptians his owne countymen, then vs: for he doth comaine of vs for sacrificing ordinarie beastes, and for abstaining to eat swines flesh, and greatly laughed at circumcision. Touching the sacrificing of these beastes, wee doe as all nations else doe: And *Apion* inueighing against our sacrificing, sheweth himselfe to bee an Aegyptian; for were hee either a Græcian, or a Macedonian, he would not be herewith offended; for both Greekes and Macedonians doe vow, to sacrifice Hecatombes to their gods, and vse priests in the banquetts; and yet for all this, the world is not desolate of liuing creatures, as *Apion* feareth.

Why the Iewes doe sacrifice common beastes and do not eat swines flesh.

The Aegyptian priests, circumcised, and ate no swines flesh.

Apions death

The defence of Moses against Apoloni-
us and Lysimachus.

Wherein Apoloni-
us accuseth the Iewes.

The Iouers of order & com-
mon lawes are
excellēt in
wisdomme and
vertue.

But were all men so mad as the Aegyptians, it would indeede bee desolate of men, and filled with cruell beastes, which they (supposing them to bee gods) doe diligently nourish. If any man should aske *Apion* whom of all the Aegyptians he iudged to be a wise man and most religious towards their gods, no doubt hee would aunswere that the priests are. For they say that their first kings in the beginning gaue them these two commandements in charge: first to seek wisdomme, and next to worshipsse the gods: they also are all of them circumcised, and abstain from swines flesh, and no other Aegyptian sacrificeth with them vnto their gods. *Apion* therefore was surely blinde, when in steede of detracting vs, he speaketh ill of them, to gratifie whom, he tooke all this paines. For the Aegyptians doe not onely vse those customes which *Apion* in vs disalloweth, but also doe teach others to circumsise themselves, as *Herodotus* reporteth. So that I verelie thinke, that *Apion* was iustly punished for blaspheming his countrie lawes and religion. For being forced to circumsise himselfe to auoide a great disease, he was hereby nothing helped, but for all this his priuie member rotting, he in extreame grieue and miserie gaue vp the ghost. For wise men ought to perseuer in their countrey lawes in all pietie, and not to deride and detract others: but *Apion* forsooke his owne religion, and slandered and belied ours. And this was *Apions* end: and here also should ende this booke, but that *Apolonius*, *Melen*, and *Lysimachus* and certaine others, partly for ignorance, partly for madnesse, haue most iniuriously belied our law-maker *Moses*, and the lawes hee made, detracting him as a deceitfull Magician, and then as the author of all malice and impietie amongst vs: and for such as teach no vertue nor goodnes at all. I will therefore as farre as in mee lieth declare both our conuersation in general, and in particular: for if my iudgement be any thing, our lawes are most forcible both to pietie, and to all humanitie in general, as also to iustice, paines taking, and contempt of death. I onely request this fauour of the Reader, that hee will not with a preiudicate or malicious opinion, peruse these writings: for I doe not write this as a prayse and vaine ostentation of our nation, but as a iust Apologie, refusing the slanderous reportes that some haue vsed against vs.

Apolonius doth not continually inueigh against vs as *Apion* doth, but onely here and there; sometime affirming vs to be somewhiles hated both of God and man, sometime to be cowards, other sometimes contrariwise complaining of our nations boldnesse. Saying moreover, that we are more fortith then any barbarous nation: and that therefore wee onely haue had none of our nation founders of artes or sciences, which are profitable for mans life: all which obiections are easily refuted, if we shew the contrarie to all these by him reported; both that wee haue obeyed our lawes, and liued in all integritie. If therefore I bee forced to shew that other nations haue made contrarie lawes, not I, but they are to be blamed, who comparing ours with them of other nations, affirme ours to be the worse: neither of which can charge vs, either that these laws which I will briefly set downe are not ours, or else that we haue not persisted in them as wee ought. Making therefore this beginning, I affirme that they who haue framed themselves to liue together vnder certaine rules and ordinances, and kept them inuiolate, and were the first founders of them, were more to be commended for humanitie and vertue, then they who liue vnder no rule nor ordinance at all: and euery law-maker endeouureth so to challenge antiquitie for their own ordinances, as that they may not be thought to imitate others, but to be themselves the first authors thereof, and guides to direct other mens liues. Which being so, it is the dutie of a good law-maker to make choice of that which is best, and most conuenient for them, who are to obey their lawes, and to satisfie them as much as may be, in proouing their lawes to be good and right, and both in wealth and woe, calamitie and felicitie, to remaine in them neuer changing nor altering them.

A them. I therefore auerre that our lawmaker is more auncient then any lawmaker mentioned. For *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, and *Seleucus* of *Locris*, and those the Greekes admire, are moderne, of late times in respect of him, as it is well knowne. For the Greekes themselves confesse, that in times past they wanted the name of law. This *Homer* can witness, who in his whole works neuer mentioneth this word, law, for the people of those times were not gouerned by lawes, but by indefinite sentences, and the princes pleasure, vsing customes but not written, and all tearing and chaunging them also as occasion serued.

Moses more auncient then all other law-makers.
Nouus C.
This word law is not in Homer.

B But our lawmaker being verie auncient (for this is euerie way manifest, euen by our aduersaries own confessions) shewed himself both a good prince and counsellor vnto his people: making lawes to direct and gouerne mens liues, hee perswaded them voluntarily to embrace them, and firmly to persist in them with all wisedome. And first of all let vs consider the workes of his greatnesse. For hee vndertaking the conduct of manie thousand of our forefathers out of Aegypt into our owne countrey, deliuered them from many calamities, almost impossible to be auoided: for they being to passe through a place wherein was no water, and a verie sandie ground, being also to warre and to keepe their wiues and children, and goods for the variable euent of wars, he in all these shewed himselfe a most wise and prudent counsellor, and a true patron and guide vnto them all: For he made all the multitude so to depend vpon him, that he might perswade them whatsoeuer he pleased, and yet in none of all these did hee vsurpe any authoritie ouer them: and in that time and place wherein all men of authoritie assume power vnto themselves, & vse tyrannie, at such time as the people do oftentimes offend and liue in all manner of impietie, he then being in authoritie did contrariwise vie all lenitie, and mildnesse, to the entent that he might bee a patterne of vertue and iustice to all the rest, giuing all those that willingly followed him most assured safetie, vsing in all accidents most straunge workes. And for this cause hee rightly deemed God to be his captain & counsellor: and first examining himselfe, and finding that all the lawes he had set downe were agreeable to the wil & pleasure of God, the chiefest care he now had was how to perswade his people the same, which he himselfe now knew, for they who direct their liues according to the will of God, auoid all sinne as our lawmaker did, being neither Magician nor deceiuer as his enemies iniuriously report, but such a one as the Greekes do boast *Minos* and others after him to haue bene: for some of them affirmed their lawes to be made by *Iupiter*, others by *Apollo* and *Delphos* Oracle, either so beleueing themselves, or else thinking that the people would be easily so perswaded. Now who of all the lawmakers made the best lawe, & who did most rightly thinke of God, hee that compareth all their lawes together may easily know: for now occasion is offered to speake of them: there are therefore an infinite companie of nations and lawes amongst men, and some nations are ruled by Monarches, other some by the common consent of the people. But our lawmaker doing neither of these, did as one should say therein declare his common wealth to be diuine, chietely assigning all power and principallitie ouer vs to God, causing all men to fixe their minds and cogitations on him, as the onely giuer and author of all goodnesse, giuing them to vnderstand, that whatsoeuer in their necessitie they entreate him for, hee heareth their prayers, and vnderstandeth what euery man doth in priuate, yea his verie cogitations; and that hee is one, vnbegotten, and in all times immutable and eternall, differing in a most excellent shape from all mortall creatures, and this wee knowe, but wee are altogether ignorant what God is as touching his substance and essence.

The life of Moses.

Moses maketh God his guide and counsellor.

The Origin of lawes amongst the Greekes.

And thus the wisest Greekes that euer were, iudged of God, who how learned they were (he giuing the ground of all their knowledge) I now omit to rehearse: & that these things afore rehearsed are best and most agreeable to the nature and magnificence of God, manie do witness, as *Pythagoras*, *Anaxagoras*, and *Plato*, and after them the Stoickes, and almost all other Philosophers haue so thought of the diuine nature. But they deliuering this their Philosophie in short speech, durst not publish the truth of their doctrine among the people, already seized vpon by superstitious opinions. But our lawmakers workes and words so agreed, that he satisfied at large all his people, and they that euer were to be borne of them, and their successors, inspiring as it were a certain constancie into them to perseuer in the same, still referring the cause of his lawes to their profit and commoditie. For he did not affirme the worship of God onely to be part of vertue, but he assigned other parts thereof, to wit, fortitude, iustice, and mutuall concord of all his citizens. For all our actions, speeches, and what else soeuer, are all referred to diuine pietie. Which hee left not touched without any more discourse of it. For these two are the methods of all discipline and

The opinion of the wisest Greekes concerning God.

Moses compared with other lawmakers.

Two methods of moralitie and discipline.

and moralitie, whereof one frameth and directeth the speech, the other the manners and actions; Q which being so, other lawmakers were indeed wise in aduice and counsaile, and yet they made choice of one of these methods, & left the other: For the Lacedemonians were instructed in manners, and not in words, as also they of Crete were: but the Athenians & almost all the Greeks were directed and trained vp by lawes in euerie thing, they were to doe, yet neuer could they put their written lawes in practise; but our lawmaker verie industriously did conioyne both these together, for he neither omitted the training them vp in manners and good exercises, neither did he surcease to leaue them written lawes. And first of all, making his entrance fro the verie meats, and prescribing to euerie one a conuenient diet, he left no man libertie amongst vs to direct himselfe in the least matter concerning his meat, but he by lawes defined, both from what meats we were to abstaine, and what to eate, and what ought to bee our ordinarie diet, as also when we ought to labour, and when to cease from worke, so that we as it were vnder the gouernment of a father or master, might neither sune willingly, nor for ignorance: for he did not appoint punishment for them that were ignorant of it, but by law enacted a most necessarie and milde chastisement for the voluntarie offenders: and for this cause he did not onely will, that wee should once or twice or often heare the lawes, but that once euerie week we all omitting other busines, should come to heare the lawes, and so learne them perfectly, which things all other lawmakers as it is well knowne omitted: All which laudable customes all other lawmakers haue neglected, & the most part of men are so farre from liuing according to their owne lawes, that they are altogether ignorant of them: and hauing offended their lawes through ignorance, they then learn by other mens meanes, that they haue made breach of their lawes, yea the chiefe and most eminent men amongst them, doe professe herein that they are ignorant, causing those that are learned and skilfull in their lawes, to sit as it were in commission with them to direct them. Whereas euerie one of our nation being demanded of our lawes, canne answer as readily as hee can tell his owne name: for euerie one of vs learning them as it were so loone as wee come to the vse of reason, wee haue them as it were written and printed in our mindes, and by this meanes both wee offend more seldome, and when wee offend, wee are sure to bee punished.

Moses came
maunded all
the lawes to
come & heare
the law.

The concord
of the lawes in
religion.

And this especially is that which hath caused such an vnitie and concord amongst vs. For to worship one God all after the same manner, and nothing to differ in manner and conseruation one from another, is the onely way to establish amitie and concord in a commonwealth. For K onely amongst vs no man shal heare any different speeches and opinions concerning God, which thing amongst all nations else is most frequent and ordinarie: for amongst them not onely euerie one of the comon people doth speak his pleasure in this point, but diuers Philosophers also presume to do it, some of them with their blasphemous speeches altogether destroying the nature of God, and others with the like impudencie denying him to haue any care of men: neither is there any difference amongst vs of affaires appertaining to mans life, but all men with vs follow one comon expresse labour, and we all ioynly asseme the sonne of God, and that hee hath care of humane affaires, and all our actions and exercises: yea any one may learne of our women and children, that all things whatsoever, are to be reduced to pietie. Hence it groweth that some detract our nation, for that amongst vs were no men inuents of new matters & actes: to whom we will thus answer, that other nations account it a glory not to persist in anie thing that their forefathers vsed, and should them of most account amongst them, that can best transgresse their forefathers wisdom. But we contrariwise do account it the chiefe point of wisdom and vertue, neither to do, nor thinke any thing contrarie to that which our ancessors haue decreed, which is a token that our law was established by as good aduice as was possible. For those lawes that in all points are not as they ought to be, are often by experience found faultie. But amongst vs who beleue that our law was first established by the will & pleasure of Almighty God, nothing is pious and vertuous which may any wise impugne the same. For who can take away any tittle thereof, or adde better in the stead? or who is hee that can transerre and carrie vs from the obseruance of them, and ordaine for vs better lawes to gouerne our common wealth? Or what law can be more iust M and better, then that which the wisdom of God (who is the Lord of all things) hath established? Hee first of all permitted the disposing of all principal affaires to the priests in general, and most wisely constituted a high priest as their head: neither were they chosen to this dignitie by our lawmaker, who either excelled in nobility of birth, or riches; but he appointed such to sacrifice vnto God, who were knowne to excell others in wisdom and sanctitie: and these do both

keepe

- A keepe our lawes, and obserue all other things belonging to their office with all integritie; for our priests are appointed ouer-seers of all things, and to iudge all strifes and controuersies, and to punish the offenders. What monarchie then or kingdom can be more holy then this? Or how can God bee better honoured then amongst vs, where all the people are prepared to pietie, and the priests commanded so to rule and gouerne the commonwealth, as if they were celebrating some festiuitie? And whereas other nations cannot celebrate their mysteries, which they tearme sacrifices, in a few daies; we with ioy and pleasure and immutable wils, do celebrate our sacrifice continually without intermission: It resteth now that I set downe our precepts & lawes, as arguments of that which I haue said. The first is of God: of whom our law saith, God hath all things, he is most perfect, most blessed, he is sufficient both for himselfe and all things else, he is the beginning, middest, and ending, famous amongst all things for his works & benefits, more manifest then any thing else, but his shape and greatnes is to vs vnspokeable, all matters (how precious so euer) being compared with his excellent beauty are nothing worth, and all Art compared with his inuention is vnartificiall, wee can neither see, conceiue, nor imagin any thing like him. He is holy, for we see his workes; the light, the heauen and the earth: the Sunne the moone, riuers, and sea, so many different shapes of liuing creatures, and increase of fruits: All these God himselfe made, not with hands or worke, nor as one needing any to help him, but he seeing them to be good, they were presently made. He is to be followed of all men, who ought to worship him by the exercising of vertue; for this is the most holy way to please him. We haue one temple, as also one God, which Temple is common to all men, as he is the common God of all men.
- C For similitude alwaies pleasest him, hee doe all our Priests honour with sacrifice, and he amongst them hath the first place, who by birth is the chiefe: and he first sacrificeth to God, seeth the lawes obserued, iudgeth controuersies, and punisheth those that are conuicted by the law: who soeuer disobeyeth him, shall be punished as one that rebelleth against God himselfe; he offereth sacrifices not pertaining to gluttony or drunkennes, for God is not pleased with such sacrifices, but is rather iniured, and superfluous expences are thereby made.

Of God and of
the diuine
Providence.

The workes
of God.

The sacrifices
of the olde
testament.

- But God loueth them that are temperate, and orderly, and of good behauiour, and especially requireth in vs that sacrifice, an inuiolable chastitie. In our sacrifices offered for our common good, we first of all pray in common, and then euery one for himselfe, because wee are all fellows, and he that delighteth herein more then in his own life, he is most acceptable to God.
- D We pray & vow vnto God, not requesting riches of him, for hee of his owne accord bestoweth them vpon euery one, and left them amongst vs, but we pray that wee may haue part of them, and hauing gotten them may keep them. Our law hath also appointed purifications both from our Chamber-bed and carnal copulation, & many other things, which are too long to rehearse. And this is our speech and opinion of God, who himselfe is our law. And what concerning marriage? Our law onely alloweth naturall copulation betweene man and wife, done to the intent to get children. But that men should abuse one another against nature, it altogether disalloweth and punisheth such offenders with death. It commandeth vs to marrie, not respecting the dowrie, neither must we take women violently & by force, nor allure them by deceitful persuasions, but that we rather obtaine his good will, who may graunt and vse ordinarie meanes to perswade. It also appointeth that a woman shall be in all things inferiour to the man, neither is she to obey in committing wickednes, but as one vnder gouernment. For it is God that gaue man this authoritie. VVith her the husband only may lawfully accompany, and it is abominacion for her to make triall of another man, & who so attempteth this, can no waies auoide death: the like penaltie attendeth him, if hee offer violence to a virgine depouled vnto another man, or if he by persuasions doe ouercome a married woman or other, that hath children vnder her, & all this our law commandeth: It hath also interdicted all women from concealing their children being borne, or otherwise to destroy them, for so she should be a child killer, destroy soules and mankind: Who so therefore vseth carnall copulation and corruption is vncleane by our lawes, and women after lawfull copulation must wash themselves, iudging that a part of their soule was by this act defiled, and shee beeing puffed vp was wounded in her body, and therefore our law ordained water of purification for them. Neither is it lawfull for them to feast and banquet at their child-birth, whereby an occasion of drunkennes may grow, but that their beginning should be temperate, they are likewise commanded to traine vp their children in learning, that they may learne the law, and actions of their forefathers, and imitate them; that so beeing trained vp in the law, they may not sinne nor transgresse them by ignorance.

Purifications
vied in sacrifice

Of marriage.

The punishment
for him that
doth rauish a
virgin.

The purification
for the
bodie.

Of the funerals of the dead.

The honour due to parents.

Against theft and vsurie.

How we ought to vsie our enemies.

A repetition of the precepts of the law.

The reward of such as keepe the law.

The continuance of the lawes amongst the Iewes.

Our law hath also provided for the buriall of the dead, that our funerals should neither bee pompeous, nor our sepulchers gorgeous, commaunding euery household to performe all necessities touching the buriall of their dead, permitting all men at any ones death to assemble themselves together, and bewaile the dead: It also commandeth euery one (yea euen the dead mans owne familie) to purifie themselves after the buriall, and to goe as farre off, as seeming to be vnclean. It also appointeth punishment for them that haue committed murder, either wilfully or against their will. It bindeth euery man to obey his parents next after God, & commandeth that those children that doe not shew themselves gratefull vnto them, or in any thing doe grieue them, that they should be stoned to death: It also commandeth all yong men to reuerence old men, because God is elder to vs all. It permitteth not friends to counsell any impietie; for God is not their friend who doth nor disclole them: and if friends fall out that doe know one anothers secrets, yet they are commanded not to bewray them. If any Iudge take a bribe, he is to be punished with death for omitting iustice, and assisting the guilty. No man must take any thing away that he himselfe placed nor, and no man must take that which is not his owne. No man for lending must take vsury; & many such like things our law commandeth, concerning cause of communion betwene vs and others.

It is also not amisse to recount how our lawmaker provided for the entertaining of strangers amongst vs: For he seemeth so to haue provided, that to our knowledge we neither corrupt our owne lawes, nor deny to impart them to others: but he entertaineth all liberally that will come and liue vnder our lawes, iudging the communie of mans life, not so much to consist in the nation whereof we come, as in the vnitie of our minds & conseruation. He forbiddeth others that are strangers, and come not with that intent to be admitted to our solemnities; yet he commanded vs to exhibite vnto them, all other things necessarie: and that we should giue vnto all men, fire, water, meat, & bury them being dead. He hath also most mildly determined how we ought to deale with our enemies, that wee neither destroy their countie with fire, nor cut downe their fruit trees. Wee are also forbidden to rob and spoile those that are slaine in fight, & deale iniuriously with our captiues; & especially if they be women: yea he so endeaoured to teach vs humanitie & mildnes, that he provided, that we vsie euen vnreasonable beasts courteously, & onely employ them to serue our lawfull need and no further: for hee forbiddeth vs to kill any tame thing bred in houses, and that wee should not kill the old birds and their yong together, and although many wilde beasts enemies to mankind doe asist vs in our labours, yet he commanded vs to spare them also. And in euery point hee established humanitie and mildnes amongst vs, vsing (as is before said) lawes to direct vs therein, enacting also other, how they who infringe the foresaid lawes, may bee with all seueritie punished: for the punishment allotted to the violaters hereof, is for the most part death: as if any man commit adulterie, rauish a virgin, vsie the sinne against nature with another, or suffer himselfe to be so abused. Wee also haue lawes concerning our seruants, and our measures, and waights, and vnlawfull bargaines & sales, or deceit, if either one take any thing that is an other mans, or which is not his own; all these are to be punished not as other nations punish them, but much more grieuouly. But whosoever either iniureth his parents, or committeth impietie against God, he shall presently be destroyed: but they that obserue this law are rewarded not with gold or siluer, nor with a crowne beset with precious stone: but euery one hauing his conscience to witnes, doth greatly profit & gaine eternitie, as both our lawmaker propheciet, & God himselfe doth most assuredly promise to them that obserue them. And if it chance that we be forced to suffer death for them, yet do we ioyfully go to execution, nothing doubting but that we shall so exchange this life for a better: I should be loath to report this, if our deeds did not make it manifest: for many of our forefathers, only for that they refused to speake against our lawes, or otherwise then our lawes permitted, haue most manfully and constantly indured all torments and death it selfe. If our nation were vnknowne to al the world, and that this our voluntary obseruation of our lawes, were not manifest to al people, if any man should report vnto the Greekes, that either he had read this which I haue declared, or else that he had found people in a strange land, such as we be, hauing so pious & honest opinions concerning God, and who had for many ages persecuted therein; I doubt not but they would all admire and wonder hereat, considering the great mutabilitie amongst themselves. To bee short, there are some who sticke not to deride them who haue lately written of the gouernment of Commonwealths and lawes, as though they had written things fabulous and altogether impossible. And that I speake nothing of other Philosophers that haue written of this argument, that

diuine

A diuine *Plato* amongst the Greekes, a man who in honest life, vertuous speech, and sound Philosophie, excelled all others. This man is almost continually scoffed at by them, who in their own conceit are skillfull in ciuill affaires, and brought in as a Vice in a Comedie. Whereas whosoever considereth his writings with diligence, shall often and easily finde matter agreeable with most mens manners: yea this *Plato* himselfe confesseth, that hee dare not by reason of the common peoples ignorance set downe the true opinion of God. But many thinke *Platoes* words full of vanitie, and licentiousnesse, and admire *Lycurgus*, and euery one commendeth the citie of *Sparta*, for that it so long time persevered in his lawes. It is therefore an euident demonstration of vertue to remaine in their lawes. But if those who so admire the Lacedemonians doe compare them with vs, & the time during the which their lawes were in force, with the time of our common wealth: they shall finde that ours hath continued more then two thousand yeeres. They shall also finde that the Lacedemonians did only perfectly obserue their lawes, during such time as they were in prosperitie and libertie, and that when their fortune chaunged, they then became vnmindfull of their lawes.

But wee, who haue felt many thousand mishaps by reason of the often change of princes in Asia, haue not in these our last miseries and euils forsaken our lawe. Neither can any man say, that libertie and licentious life is the cause, why wee so diligently obserue them, seeing that whoso please may see sufficient prooffe, that they tie vs to more strict life and laborious, then those of the Lacedemonians did them. For they neither tilled the earth, nor vsed any handie-craft, but ceasing from all labours and paines taking, liued in their Citie fatte and faire-like, hauing both their meate and all other necessities provided and prepared for them by others, and esteemed that onely their felicitie to doe or endure any thing, so that they might preuaile against those against whome they enterprised warres: and that they failed also herein, I omit to rehearse. For not onely one or two of them at once, but oftentimes whole companies of them, forgetting their owne lawes yeelded themselves to their enemies. And can any one tell of, I say not so many, but of one or two of vs that euer was treacherous to his own lawes, or that feared to die for them, I meane not a common death, such as souldiers are subiect vnto, but such a death as is effected by all torments & tortures that can be deuised. Which I thinke those that preuailed against vs imposed vpon vs, not for hatred, but that they desired to see so admirable a matter, and to see if we beeing but men, and such who esteemed it the greatest impietie possible to doe it, could be compelled by them to speake or doe any thing contrary to our lawes. Yet it is no wonder that we for our law doe die with such constancie, rather then any other nation: for other nations cannot abide to endure that which wee account a trifle, to wit, labour and simple fare, and that no man eate whatsoeuer, or what hee desireth, to lie with them whom he ought not, or to be idle (except he be of noble birth) or goe gallantly attired: and we are alwaies carefull that when we fight against our enemy, wee obserue our lawes concerning our meates. And thus wee take pleasure to obserue and keepe our lawes, and to exercise fortitude in obeying them.

Let now *Lysimachus* or *Molonus* passe, and such as they be, wicked, lying writers, and Sophisters, deceiuers of young men, and detractors of our owne nation: as though we were the wickedest people liuing. As for me, I will not examine the lawes of other nations: for it is our custome to keepe and obserue our owne, not to detract others, yea and our law-maker openly prohibited vs from blaspheming such, as other nations hold for gods, onely for the name of God attributed vnto them: yet may we not leaue the obiections of our accusers vnanswered, seeing that which wee are to speake against them, is not our owne deuice, but many before vs haue spoken it. Who then of all the wise Greekes will not condemne the most famous Poets, and especially the law-makers, who at first brought and settled such vain opinions of the gods amongst the common people? affirming the number of them to be so many as they thought good, and to be borne at diuers times one of another, allotting to euery one his proper place, as vnto other liuing creatures: some to be vnder the earth, others in the sea, and the ancientest amongst them in Hell, fettered and bound, & those whom they place in heaven, in words, they do tearme him a father, but in deeds they shew him to bee a tyrant, and for this cause they report that his wife, his brother, and his daughter, whom they affirme to haue been borne of his braine, conspired against him to binde him, and hang him, as they report him also, to haue dealt by his father. Against these vanities all excellent and wise men doe worthily inueigh, who beside this already rehearsed, in derision adde, how some of the gods are young, and some old, and some

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infants,

Plato admired amongst the Greekes.

Lycurgus the law maker amongst the Lacedemonians.

The Iewes compared with the Lacedemonians.

The strict lawes of the Iewes.

Moses forbidden to deride & blaspheme the gods onely for the name of God imputed vnto them. The number of gods amongst the gentils infinite.

The fable of Iupiter and Pallas.

infants, others are gods of artes and sciences, and one is a Smith, another a Weauer, another a Pilgrime, and is at variance with mortall men, others delight in musicke, others in shooting: moreouer that they are at variance one with another amongst themselves, and that they salout one with another in mens behalfe, and that not onely one of them laith violent hands vpon the other, but that also they are wounded by mortall men, & sorrow, & feeble griefe for the wounds; and that which is most abominable of all, do vse carnall copulation with mankind, & that most vndecently, that their vnbridled lust is extended both to men & women. Then that their chiefe God of all, whom they call father, contemned and drowned certaine women whom he himself had deceiued and gotten with childe, and that hee could not deliuer the children borne of these women from calamitie, for that destinie had obliged him, nor see their deaths without teares. This is all good stufte, as also is that which followeth, to wit. adulteries committed in heauen, H so openly, & impudently amongst the gods, that some professe themselves to enuy their fellow gods and goddes tied together in such filthines. And what should the rest of them doe, when as their king and the most ancientest amongst them, could not refraine his lustfull licentiousnes from the company of women? Moreouer, some of them became seruants vnto men, and some built houses for money, and others became shepheards, others like malefactors were chained in hell. What man then that euer was accounted wise, would not blush at these follies, and reprove the inuentors thereof, and the foolish beleeuers also? Others presumed to feigne both terror and feare, and madnes, and such simplicitie, as that they might be deceiued, and at other naughty passions to be found in the nature of their gods, & haue perswaded whole cities to offer sacrifices to the most noble amongst them. And they are in great perplexitie, thinking that some of the gods are the giuers of all good things, others againe to be their enemies, and so seeke to please them with gifts as they would doe wicked men; and they are verily perswaded, that they shall sustaine great damage by their meanes, except they doe daily pacifie their wrath by frequent gifts. What is the cause of this shamefull ignorance, and erroneous iniquitie concerning God? Truly I am perswaded, for that their first law-makers were themselves herein to seeke, and ignorant of the nature of God, & that they did not faithfully deliuer vnto their common wealth, so much as themselves knew concerning this point: but as though it had bin a thing of least moment, did wilfully let it passe, giuing licence to Poets, and permitting them to devise and make gods whom they pleased, and that the Orators should write of the common wealths affaires, and tell what them liked of strange gods. Moreouer, the painters and image-makers amongst the Greeks, had a great hand in making of gods, it being lawfull for them euerie one to frame what shape he list, and how he list, some of earth, others in colours: and the chiefe god-makers amongst them vse iuory and gold to make their gods of; a true argument of their mutable noueltie. And then the ancient gods whom they first so honoured and reuerenced as they could possibly deuise, being now withered with age, are out of credit, and other yongsters possesse their places & honours: their temples also some are desolate, others newly erected, as men pleased. Whereas contrariwise they ought most constantly to keepe their opinion of God, and his religion.

Appolonius Molon was one of these proud fooles: but those Grecians that followed true Philosophie, knew all that is already said, and the colde reasons of this allegorie, and therefore L did iustly despise them, and agreed with vs in the true & decent opinion of Gods nature. Which *Plato* well seeing, affirmeth that Poets are not to be permitted in a common wealth, and sendeth *Homer* away very honourably crowned and annointed, least that he with fables should destroy or depraue the true opinion of God. For *Plato* of all others especially imitated our law-maker, as he did herein also, commanding all his Citizens that all of them should perfectly learne his lawes, and that for no casualtie, any strange forraigne custome should be admitted into their citie, but that their common wealth should bee pure, and they persist in the obseruation of their lawes. But *Appolonius Molon* not respecting this, inueigheth against vs, for not receiuing into our societie men of strange opinions or religion, whereas not onely wee doe so, but commoly all Greekes, yea and the most prudent amongst them. The Lacedemonians did expell all strangers, and did not permit their citizens to trauell into other countries, fearing that by both these M waies their lawes might be corrupted. They therefore are to be spoken against rather than we, seeing they neither admit strangers to conuerse with them, nor to inhabite amongst them, nor impart their religion vnto them, but wee though not desirous to learne other nations religion, yet doe wee not deny to impart ours to strangers that desire to embrace it: which if I be not

Iupiter.

What is the cause of such error concerning God.

Poets & painters cause the multitude of gods.

Plato decreed that no Poet should be permitted in a common wealth

The Lacedemonians did expell all strangers.

THE SECOND BOOKE

A not deceiued is a token of magnanimitie, and clemencie in vs: but this shall suffice concerning the Lacedemonians. *Apollonius* was ignorant how matters stood with the Athenians, who boast that their citie is free from all nations: for they did most seuerely and without all mercy punish those that did but speake any worde against their God. For what was the cause of *Socrates* his death? he neither betrayed the citie to enemies, nor destroyed their temples, but only swore by a strange oath, which as he said (whether in iest or in earnest) a diuell taught him, and for this offence was he put to death, by drinking hemlocke: his accusers alleading, that hee corrupted yong men, and contemned the lawes, and religion of his country. And this *Socrates* sustained being a citizen of Athens.

Anaxagoras was of Clazomenia: & for that he affirmed the sunne which the Athenians worshipped for God, to be a fiery stone, he was by the sentence of some few condemned to dy. They also proclaimed, that whosoever would kill *Diagoras* of Melus should be rewarded with a talent for his labour, only for that this *Diagoras* was said to deride their mysteries: *Protagoras* also had been by them taken and put to death, had he not made quick escape, onely for that they supposed him to haue written certaine doubts of the Athenian Gods. And what wonder is it that they to vict these famous men, who spared not to vse the like cruelty vpon women? For they killed a priest, for that some accused her to worship strange Gods; & their law appointed, that whoso did introduce strange Gods into their citie, should bee punished with death. It is therefore euident, that they who enacted such straight lawes, did not beleue the Gods of other nations to be Gods: for had they beleueed in them, they would not haue deprived themselves of the benefit

C of many Gods. The very Scythians (who delight in manslaughter, so that they very little differ from brute beasts) yet do they think themselves bound to maintaine their own lawes, as best, so that they slew *Anatharsis* a famous Greeke, that came vnto them, onely for that hee seemed to attribute too much vnto the Grecian Gods, yea thou maist finde many amongst the Persians, who for this cause haue been tortured: And it is euident that *Appolonius* approoued the Persian lawes: for when the Greeks admired their fortitude and concord of opinions concerning God, I meane the fortitude they shewed in the burning of their temples, this *Appolonius* in all things imitated the Persians, violating other mens wives, and putting out their childrens eyes: whereas our lawes adiudge him to death that to vseth vnreasonable beasts: And neither the feare and terror of potentates, nor the fauour of them whom all men reuerence, could euer cause vs to forsake or abandon these lawes: neither do we exercise fortitude, to the end to deprime other men of their goods and fortunes by warre, but to keepe our owne lawes: and wee who patiently put vp all other iniurie, yet if any man do in our religion prouoke vs, we presently seeke reuenge, not respecting our own ability, yet though thereby we worke our owne vtter ruine, and calamitie. What therefore should moue vs to imitate the lawes of other nations, when they that made those lawes (yea euen the lawmakers themselves) did transgresse them? Or how can the Lacedemonians auoid reproach for their inhospitalitie, and neglecting marriage? Or the Elians and Thebans for accompanying with men, contrary to the law of nature, which fast most shamefull, they deemed good and necessary. Yea not content to do so themselves, they also ascribed the like vnto their Gods to be done by them (which the Greeks also now of late haue done) and for this cause

D they refused to marrie with their own women, iudging their satisfaction to bee contrarie to the prescript of nature: But I will speake no more of punishment, neither how great malefactors those first lawmakers freed from punishment, being bribed with money, and how vniust they were in the lawes appertaining to wedlocke. It is long to examine how great occasions of impiety they gaue. For many haue already long ago forsake their lawes: which cannot be said of vs, who for our lawes haue suffered losse of our cities, fortunes and liues, we keeping & persisting in our lawes euen vnto death: and if any few be in a strange country where there is a tyrant king, yet doth not hee so feare him that hee would for his commaund in any iot transgresse our lawes. If therefore wee doe valourously endure thus much for our lawes, all men must needs grant our lawes to be very good, but if they say wee suffer all these calamities for to maintaine wicked or

E naughty lawes, what punishment are they not worthy of, who haue (as they say) better lawes then we, doe so easily forsake them, whereas we doe maintaine ours euen with our owne liues? But seeing antiquitie of lawes is the greatest argument to proue their goodnes, I will set downe of what antiquitie our lawes are, together with our lawmakers opinion of the Deitie; if therefore any one compare our lawes with the lawes of all nations, he shall find that ours are of more antiquitie then theirs by many ages. For our lawes established amongst vs haue beene imitated

F Gggg 3 of

The Athenians manners.

Socrates a citizen of Athens.

Anaxagoras.

A talent is 600 crownes.

The Scythians

The Persians manners.

The Tewes constancie in their lawes.

Against the lawmakers of the Gentiles.

The inuirtute of lawmakers.

The Tewes strict obseruation of the law.

The Tewes lawes are of great antiquitie.

The lawes of
the Gentiles.

of all other nations: For though the first Greeks did colourably obserue lawes, yet all their Philosophers did imitate ours, and our opinions of God, and in humilitie taught others, communion of life, and conuersation: yea the common people did long since imitate our piety: neither is there any nation either Greeks or Barbarians, who haue not after some maner obserued a Sabbath as wee do, and fasting daies, and candlesticks with light, all which they learned of vs; yea many do also obserue our customes concerning their meates, and our vnitie and concord, wherein we excell all other nations, our communie also and industrie in arts and labours, and sufferance for our lawes. And which is most to be admired, our law, not hauing any to force vs to obserue it, hath so obliged our hearts, that as God is of all the world honoured without compulsion, so are our lawes amongst vs all, wee not forced thereunto: And whosoever doth diligently consider his owne nation and family, shall find that which I haue reported, to be true: I will now generally reprehend the voluntary malice of all men: for either they meane that wee hauing these good lawes do yet little esteeme them, & follow worse, or if they doe not so mean, let them hold their malicious tongue from any further calumnation. For I doe not take vpon me the defence of this cause, for that I beare any hatred to any man, but for that I and all Iewes do honour and reuerence our lawmaker, and beleue that whatsoeuer he prophesied proceeded from God, yea although our selues did not know the goodnes of our lawes, yet the multitude of them that imitate them were a sufficient motive to induce vs thereunto. But I haue a large and with all sinceritie discoursed our lawes, and commonwealth in my bookes of our antiquitie.

The cause why
Ioseph writ
these bookes
against Apion.
A brieue re-
hearfall of all
that is aboue-
said.

And I now againe haue made mention of them neither in contumely of other nations, nor in praise of our own, but only to reprove such as haue most maliciously and impudently belied vs, I contrarie to the knowne truth: And I thinke I haue already fully performed that which I promised. For I haue shewed our nation (contrarie to their affirmations) to be most ancient, which I haue proued by the testimony of many ancient writers, who in their works haue mentioned vs.

The intention
of the Iewes
lawes.

Our aduersaries affirme vs to haue come of Egyptians: I haue shewed that our forefathers came into Egypt out of some other place. They alleadge that we were expelled Egypt for their miserie, in that they were infected with disease; I haue proued that they came from thence to their owne country, by means of their owne prowesse and force, of their owne accord: Others labour to defame our lawmaker as a wicked person, whose vertue many of ancient times, and so long time as hath been since him, doe witness. It is not needfull to speake more largely of our lawes: for they by themselves appeare pious and good, and such as do not inuie or incite vs to the hatred of other nations, but rather to communion and friendship, being both enemies to iniquitie, and commanders of iustice, banishers of luxuriosities, and teachers of frugality and labour: forbidding all warres enterprised for auarice, and preparing the people to shew fortitude in them, and for them; inflicting enuitable punishment vpon their transgressors, not easily to be deceiued by gloasing speeches, and executing in action, all that they in word command: yea amongst vs the execution of them and obseruation is more readie then the words of them: I therefore confidently affirme that we doe teach more pious and vertuous maners then

The origen of
the Iewes
lawes.

other nations doe. For what can be better then inuolate pietie? What more iust then to obey the law? what more profitable and commodious, then to bee at vnitie and peace amongst our selues, and neither to forsake one another in calamitie, nor inuie one another in prosperitie, to contemne and despise death in time of warre, and in peace to labour and till our grounds, and to vse other arts and workes, and alwaies to thinke and beleue, that God beholdeth all our actions, and ruleth and disposeth all things? If this be either written or referred by any one before this time, we are then to thanke them as being their schollers: but if they are knowne neuer before to haue been extant, then we are knowne to bee the first authors and inuolters of it. Let therefore all *Apions* and *Molans* goe, and all others that with them are conuicted of lying and flandering. And this booke is written to thee *Epaphroditus* who louest the truth, and to others who by thee will, or are desirous to know the same.

DESIDE-
M



B **DESIDERIVS ERASMVVS**
ROTTERODAMVS TO THE MOST
VERTVOVS AND LEARNED FATHER, HELIAS
MARCEVS, THE MACHABAETAN RVLER
of the renowned Colledge of the
Machabees.



Have not grudged, vertuous Father, to dedicate vnto thee a daies labour; wherein I haue perused, and what in me lieth, amended the booke which Ioseph writ of the Ieuen Machabees, brethren: And would it had lien in my power more abundantly, to haue answered your expectation: I haue now (for that I counted the Greeke copy) by the Latine coniectured the Greeke, and altered some things, yet but very few. Ioseph doth not falsely boast himselfe to haue attained to the excellencie of the Greeke tongue, and this booke wil sufficiently witnesse the same; wherein hee shewed both great vanitie and Emphasis, in so much as hee esteemeth to haue handled that famous work with eloquent stile, & the ornament of discourse. Saint

D Jerome for this cause entitleth this booke Great eloquence, Suidas ἀνὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον, that is of the rule of reason: for the scope of this booke tendeth all to prooue, that Reason is of no force in man, except it beare seuerallie ouer all inordinate appetites. This is most evidently proued by the bookes of the Machabees, in the Scripture; which bookes the Iewes doe not receiue as Canonically, yet doe they account it amongst their sacred writ. I cannot but congratulate this worthy Colledge (which though famous for many other things yet is more happy) for that it is so blessed, as to enioy so worthy and unspeakable a treasure: Or rather all Colonia Agrippina, that happy & fortunate Citie; yet in nothing more happy, then for that it alone doth in her bosome shrine so many, so sacred, and excellent pledges of pietie: yet should it be more happy if it could expresse their vertues, whose sacred reliques it so religiously keepeth, and imitate their manners whose bodies it possesseth, to wit, if in sinceritie of religion it imitated the pietie of three Kings, and the sacred puritie of the eleuen Virgines, if it resembled the most valiant young men the Machabees, and the inuincible courage of that woman, whose valourous constancie no miserie could conquer. And this best portion and part of her felicitie, this worthy Citie might bestow vpon her selfe, yea and double the same. Doe thou goe forward in that which thou hast

E in hand, to wit, in spreading the praise of those Martyrs, making that vertuous example more commendable, and your Citie more famous.

F

Farewell.



FLAVIUS IOSEPHVS^H

OF THE RVLE OF REASON.

A MOST ELOQVENT BOOKE, CORRECTED
BY DESIDERIVS ERASMVVS, MOST LIVELY
setting downe the martyrdome of the
Machabees.



LAm vpon the instant request of *Polybius* of *Megalopolis*, to comit to writing the constant suffering of the *Machabees*, woorthy all admiration, not in a Rhetoricall and pleasing stile, but rather after our owne Country fashion, thereby to exhort our nation to patience in their calamities. But first of all, it is necessary for vs to speake something of reason, and assigne vnto it the power and vertue to deliberate. For he who hath once fully determined to suffer all miserie for Gods sake, is in my opinion already a Martyr: it is therefore a great merite once to haue so determined, and therefore as is aboue said, reason beareth the rule of all inferiour passions, & then if destinie denie vs opportunitie to suffer, yet haue we suffe-

Reason hath dominion ouer our passions.

The death of the reason beareth and their mother.

The description of reason and wisdom.

red all, because we purposed to suffer all. Whoso therefore will renounce the world, and aspire onely to celestially things, hee must first exercise sobrietie, banish gluttonie, with his page lasciuiousnesse, and all other such like vices as may possesse & captiue the mind: he must likewise mount vp vnto the top of Vertues tower, that after he may from thence warre against the vices of this body, feare, and griefe; the first whereof assaileth vs when we beginne, and the last when we haue begunne. There are many examples of the valiant souldiers of *G O D*, which I would vse, but that the ornaments sprung from the wombe of one woman may suffice mee, which thee brought forth not at one birth, but with the same pietie and zeale. And first I will speake of *Eleazar*, the cause and example of their passion, & then I will relate what tortures & torments their mother indured: yet cannot man but onely God determine, who amongst them was first, and who last in this noble agonie. They therefore being all settled in one opinion, resembling one another more in mind then they did in bodie, duellie considered the frailtie of this life, and therefore neither delighted in the flatteries of the world, nor any alluring enchantments thereof. They shewed themselves not to esteeme of torments, fetters, nor no other sort of tortures imposed vpon them: and to returne to our first saying, they premeditated patience, to endure whatsoever the Iudges crueltie could deuise. I wil therefore what I may, praise the fortitude of these brethren, or rather I will with all truth rehearse the most worthy agonie of these holy men, which deserueth all commendations; and setting all adulation apart, prosecute with a bare historicall narration the manner of their martyrdome.

But before I begin to declare the death of nobilitie, I will a little intreat of reason, which as I haue affirmed is no small motiue to martyrdome. Reason it is, that maketh vs obserue fasts and vse abstinence, it is reason that maketh vs despise money, & by it we are taught not to account of dignities and honours, which all men generally aime at, yea reasons gift it is that we doe resist the heat of lustfull desires. Hence cometh it, that hauing once overcome such things as the flesh delighteth in, we find our selues a little able to resist, we also learne to despise paines & torments, &

so

A so resolute to suffer all things that shall be imposed vpon vs. Which that it may more plainly appeare, let vs search out the cause of this order, and we shall find wisdom to be the cause heereof. For no man can determine and distinguish good from euill that is not endued with wisdom, this wisdom is alwaies accompanied with iustice, and iustice is still ioyned with vertue, and vertue and temperance cannot be separated; so that this wisdom consisteth vpon foure parts. Besides these, there are two things that either doe cause or hinder passion, to wit, paine and pleasure: one of the which we doe alwaies refuse, and the other we alwaies desire; yet where pleasure arieth, and is presently by reasons rule put away, the mind is there strengthened; & paine compared with glorie, is through hope of a greater reward contemned before it come; and being come, our minde is ashamed not to suffer that which it was before resolute to doe. Reason therefore is the guide of all our actions, and by it wee despise torments and detest vice, which like a skilful husbandman pruneth and cutteth away superfluous branches, and killeth the heate of all corrupt and hurtfull humors, onely leauing that to remaine in vie, which may some way be profitable vnto vs.

Griefe and paine cause or hinder passion.

Reason resembleth a skilfull gardener.

Thus reason purifieth vs by passion, encouraging to suffer, and in our suffering and agonie strengthening vs. Who is not desirous to eate of the flesh of wilde beasts and fishes? And vvhose lusteth not to eate of feathered fowles? nay, do not the daintie dishes gotten either in sea or land inuite vs to eate of them? What then caueth vs to abstaine from them? that all men desire the, yet no man eateth them? Euen in this thing the mind is taught to overcome it selfe in delightfull objects, and so to bridle all pleasure, that when occasion of martyrdome is offered, the mind setting aside all vanities, will not for a little pleasure forget his accustomed vertue.

C For this cause was *Ioseph* iustly praised in that he was not overcome by lust, which reigneth in a youthfull body: this reason so worketh with sound aduice and mature counsell, that it againe recouereth lost friendship and getteth new, and suffereth no crueltie to be committed. Of this we haue also the example of *Moses*, who had hee not iust occasion to bee angry against *Dathan* and *Abiram*, reason (no doubt) would haue caused him to haue smothered all griefe of mind. Did not our father *Iacob* with great vehemencie reprove his sonnes *Simon* and *Leui*, that without reason they had vsed such crueltie, saying, Cursed be your anger? Which anger and wrath of theirs, had it been bridled with reason, neither had they beene cursed, nor the other had perished. For this cause God, the maker of mankind, when he fashioned vs and our manners, hauing finished all lineaments of the body, hee now placed the mind to be in it, and to rule it, leauing it certaine precepts to obserue and keepe, to wit, temperance, and to embrace & follow that which is good, and cleaue vnto iustice, and rule and bridle all passions in the body subiect vnto it, & obserue the precepts of God.

An instance of Iosephs chastitie.

D But some will aske me wherefore we offer to commit wickednesse, seeing that reason ruleth our passion? But it is a ridiculous thing to thinke that reason to ruleth, for reasons rule cannot hinder the appetite from desire, but onely correct desire, and so preuaile that it suffer with patience the losse or abstinence from such things as it desired. For example sake, reason cannot hinder thee from being angry, but it can to worke that thou commit no impieie when thou art angry: in like manner it cannot hinder thee from desiring filthy pleasure, yet can it cause thee not to yeeld vnto it.

E Reason therefore cannot vriterly extinguish vice, but onely biddeth it. Witnesse in this the example of holy *David*, who fighting against strangers with great successe, and being at euening wearie and faine, he came vnto his princely tabernacle, that was guarded by his souldiers, where he found them all at meate: yet himselfe being thirstie, durst not drink, notwithstanding water was hard by, onely for that religion dissuaded him, for he had vowed not to drink before he had conquered his enemies. He also forbad his men to drinke, so that they might fight more courageously, if not for that they were valiant, at least for that they might so haue drinke. Whilist thus his thirst encreased, three young men of strong bodies armed themselves, and taking with them a vessell to put water in, they went vnto the enemies campe, and there assaulted the watchmen, who for feare of death fled, and so they past thorow the campe till such time as they came where the water was, and taking some from thence, they brought it to the king. But holy *David* so bridled his humane appetite, that by reason hee quenched his desire, and shewed an excellent token of patience, teaching how the feare of God was to be preferred before all things. For taking the water hee had much wished for, and which had been gotten with such danger, he presently poured it on the ground, as a sacrifice to *G O D*, chusing rather to die for thirst, then to offend

An instance of Dauids thirst.

Samuel. 1. 29.

David in his thirst refused to drinke the water: hee so desired.

Seleucus and
Nicanor.

Simon a tray-
tor to his
country.

Appolonius
captaine of
Syria, came
with an arme
to Ierusalem.

Angels vpon
horses, shi-
ning with fie-
rie brightnes.

Onias by
prayer obtai-
ned Appoloni-
us his life.

Antiochus
his rage a-
gainst the
Iewes.

Elezazar is
brought vnto
Antiochus.
2 Macch. 6.
Antiochus
his exhorta-
tion to Ele-
azar.

offend the diuine maiesty: yet reason is not so forcible, that it is able without due consideration to G
repress the inordinate motions of the mind, and mitigate the griefe of the body. But it is now
time to come to our historie, yet is not this former discourse to be thought impertinent, for that
it is somewhat appertaining to the matter ensuing. Such was the wisdom and fidelitie of our
forefathers, that *Seleucus* king of Asia enriched our Priests, and being a man of another religion,
did ascribe all his actions and worthy deeds, to the religion and faith of our ancestors. But wicked
mens madnesse could not herewith be satisfied. For one *Simon* hating the high priest *Onias*,
and finding no waies or meanes to be reuenged of him in his owne country, he went vnto *Ap-
polonius*, Gouverneur of Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia, & before him in a publique assembly told
him, that he could helpe the king to an infinite treasure, for (quoth he) there is hidden in Ierusa-
lem an infinite deale of gold and siluer, which by right belongeth vnto king *Seleucus*: *Appoloni-
us* hearing this, praised and commended *Simon*, and confiscated the gold and siluer to the trea-
sure-houle of *Seleucus*, and hauing authoritie from the king to get it, hee leuied an army, and so
accompanied with *Simon* came vnto our country, purposing if any violence were offered, to vie
the defence of his souldiers.

When the treasure-houle of our Temple was now a sacking, *Onias* wept bitterly, and said, that
it was a heauy sight to them to whom this treasure was committed, to see it, or any part of it ta-
ken away. But *Appolonius*, neither respecting the teares and entreaties of the old men, women,
nor children, pressed into the temple, they all praying GOD to punish him and to defend their
Temple. Being now with a great guard of armed men entred into the holy temple, there appea-
red certaine Angels on horsebacke with weapons in their hands, and shining with a fierie flame I
about them, & they daunted the courage of this Infidell *Appolonius*, who presently fell down flat
vpon his face; and lying so a great while, at last he came a little to himselfe, and rising vp, hee lea-
ned vpon his shoulder who kept the temple, not being able to stand alone, hee was so terrified
with the vision he had scene. When he came a little to himselfe, and was in some hope of recou-
erie, he stretched both his hands towards heauen, and himselfe despairing to obtaine pardon for
his offence committed, hee besought the Hebrewes (to spoile whose temple hee came) to make
intercession for him, himselfe with teares crauing pardon for his offence, and not onely acknow-
ledging his fault, but also confessing himselfe to haue deserued death, and all punishment possi-
ble. Holy *Onias* seeing this, & fearing also that if *Appolonius* should then die, the Hebrewes would
be suspected to haue made him away, he made prayers to God for him, and so obtained his ene-
mies life. *Appolonius* presently hastied to *Seleucus* to let him vnderstand what had happened, but
when he came hee found *Seleucus* dead, and *Antiochus* reigning in his steed, a man of tyrannous
nature, who bare an ancient grudge to *Onias* the high priest; and therefore made *Iason* his bro-
ther high priest in his steed; *Iason* promising *Antiochus* in lieu of this good turn, to pay him three
thousand sixe hundred and threescore talents of siluer every yeere.

This *Iason* being now made high Priest and chiefe amongst all the nation of the Iewes, hee
presently forced all the people to impietie, and to forsake religion; so that to build bathes, he hin-
dred the defence and building of the Temple, and all Doctors of our nation conspired with him
in this iniquitie. But hereat God was presently wroth: who being displeased, it was not needful
to seeke forraine enemies, for *Antiochus* himselfe was incited to rage against them. Who vvar-
ring against *Ptolomeus* king of Egypt, hee heard it reported that the Iewes did deeme him to be
dead, yet was he very gallantly entertained by the inhabitants of Ierusalem, and presently after
the fight, he made an edict, that whoso amongst the Iewes refused to offer sacrifice to the gods,
hee should presentlie die vpon the wheele. But the godly minded of our nation did little e-
steem this Edict, yea the women circumcising their infants (as our law requirerh) did afterward
cast themselues downe headlong, to the end that they might so obtaine a present death with-
out longer delay. *Antiochus* perceiuing that the severity of his Edict could not compell the
Hebrewes to forsake their religion, but that men voluntarily did chuse death; hee sitting in an
eminent place from whence all the Iewes might behold him, calling all of them together, he cau-
sed swines flesh to be sacrificed vpon the altar, and to be offered to euerie Hebrew to eate. A-M
mongst this whole multitude assembled from all places, was one *Elezazar* a Priest, well instructed
in learning, and the feare of God, a man of aged yeeres, and of a very reuerent countenance,
one that was knowne to all men, & famous for his vertue. To this man *Antiochus* said thus: Be
advised by me holy old man, to eschew those torments prepared for such as are obstinate, pre-
ferue thy reuerent age, and contemne not the benefit of this life, take the sacrifice and eate of the
swines

A swines flesh: for it is contrarie to all wise mens aduice to credit the Iewes opinions, and to refuse
that meate, which nature hath well ordained for mankind as any other. We shew our selues
vngatefull for Gods benefits, who contemne his graces, and make difference where nature hath
made none; or what reason is there to shew that this beast is more abominable then others? Ei-
ther all beasts are to be eaten, or else all to be eschewed: it is superstition and idlenesse to barre our
selues from any thing by a law, when we haue no other for it but our will. Set apart those vaine
and sortish opinions, and at least in this venerable age, change thy opinion into better. Or sup-
pose your lawes are forcible and to be obserued, yet will they excuse thee, seeing thou doost not
sinne voluntarily, but by compulsion.

Elezazar being permitted to speake, thus replied to *Antiochus*, who both exhorted & forced *Elezazar* an-
swer to *Antiochus*.
B him to breach of his lawes. Wee *Antiochus* doe not follow a vaine report, but wee obserue the
veritie of religion which our fathers kept, and feare of torments cannot make vs embrace ano-
ther religion, and forsake our owne: yea suppose our religion deliuered to vs by our fathers had
no firme grounds, yet would I in nothing, no not compelled by torments, forsake it. Doe not e-
steeme it a small matter to eate impious meate, and to taste of that which is sacrificed to the Idols,
for it is a profane thing to touch things that are profane. Our law condemneth your Philosophy,
wherein he is most ignorant that thinketh himselfe most wise. We are taught to embrace sobrie-
tie, to subdue in vs all inordinate appetite, to keepe our bodies chaste, & to suffer with patience
whatsoever for Gods sake is inflicted vpon vs, and not to denie the truth, iustice or pietie, or God
who alone is true: and therefore I refuse this profane meate, well knowing what I ought to eate,
C as warranted therein by the precept of Almighty God, whose lawes I haue learned to obey, and
eschew all meats sacrificed vnto Idols, & embrace with all my force that which is expedient for
the soule: it is open tyrannie to compell any one to that which religion forbiddeth, and to com-
maund that which is contrarie to iustice. Doe what thou wilt, mocke at thy pleasure, yet shalt
thou be more derided then thou thy selfe deridest. I will persist in the holy steppes of my forefa-
thers; notwithstanding thou therefore with tyrannous hands plucke out mine eyes, and with a
sharpe knife rip vp my entrails, thou shalt neuer conquer me. I will die chaste and sound, and pati-
ent in the loue of God; neither flatter thy selfe for that I am aged, and that my body is now fee-
ble: if need be that I must be sacrificed for Gods sake, thou shalt find mee in these yeeres as lustie
as a child, as constant as a young man, yea and most ioyfull in torments: and prepare an extra-
D ordinary fire for me, or what else soeuer, thou shalt find me more constant amidst torments, then
now I am before I come to them. O sacred religion! I will neuer violate thee the foundation of
my saluation, the defence of the believer, the ground of faith; neuer will I lift vp my hands con-
trarie to thy precepts, neuer will I believe any thing to be iust, which is repugnant to that which
thou hast taught me: I will not lose the merit of so many yeeres, nor relinquish the faith I haue
hitherto embraced. The chaste, pure, and deuout company of fathers, that receiue me into their
number, where I shall not feare (O impious king) thy threats. But thou hast changed the name
of king to tyrant, yet thou shalt neuer alleadge against me my deed, my consent, my word.

Whilst *Elezazar* full of constancie and libertie spake thus, the souldiers that stood thereabout *Elezazar* cru-
haled him to be tortured; and stripping him naked, they hanged him vp, and whipped him, & elly whipped.
E whilst on either side he was beaten, a crier with an impious voice still cried vnto him, Obey the
kings pleasure and commaund. But worthy *Elezazar* was not overcome by torment, but suffered
all tortures, as though he had been in rest and sleepe, and did manfully and without feare endure
all torments: and fixing his venerable eyes vpon heauen, hee knew in whom he believed, and to
whom he sacrificed his soule; and beholding the flesh on each side rent and torne from his body,
and the blood issuing out in great abundance, he admired his owne patience, and thanked God
the author thereof. At last, seeing in himselfe the frailtie of all flesh (which is scarcely able to en-
dure so sharpe torments) he fell vpon his face, which with stripes was all rent and torne, still glo-
rifying God, as he did before his fall. Then one of the souldiers to gratifie the king, did like a mad
man spurne and tread vpon him, thereby to increase his torments more. But *Elezazar*, both strong
F in body and mind, did like a right champion of the true GOD, neuer shrink at those paines,
but this patient old man did by patience overcome the cruelty of his tormentors, so that euen
the torturers themselves admired that hee endured so many torments. Then the kings officers
coming vnto him, said, How long *Elezazar* wilt thou neglect to obey the king, & to free thy selfe of
torments? eate of the flesh of swine, & redeem thy selfe from all thou endurest. *Elezazar*, although
in this martyrdome hee had been silent, yet could hee not without answering endure to heare so
profane

"prophane counsaile, but as tormented with this speech, he cried out; We sonnes of the Hebrews
 "are not so effeminate as to forsake the way of our saluation, wherein wee haue walked euen vntill
 "our old age, neither are we taught for the auoiding of contumelie which will not long continue,
 "to giue others example and occasion to sinne, it is but a while that this life is to continue: so that
 "we forsake but a small trifle, yet hope we for that which is of great moment. Wilt thou tyrant
 "seeme of vs if wee should yeeld vnto thee? nay thou mightest iustly reprocue our inconstancie.
 "We will therefore die, and resigne our soules (O venerable father *Abraham*) into thy bosome.

Elezars last
words in the
fire.

The souldiers seeing his constancie, did by the kings commaund cast him into the fire, and
 poured stinking & loathsome liquors into his nostrils. All which this reuerent old man did most
 willingly suffer, and so was consumed with the flame: yet when nature began to faile, hee spake
 after this manner, lifting vp his dazeld eyes to heauen: Thou art hee (O God) from whom life
 and saluation proceedeth: behold I die for obseruing thy lawes, be merciful vnto this thy nation,
 and doe not forsake them whom thou hast hitherto protected, euen in thy bosome, and vnder
 the shadow of the wings of thy clemencie, let my death end all miserie, & pacifie thy wrath bent
 against our whole nation for their offences, receiue mee for them all, and bestow them all vpon
 mee. And amidst these speeches he ioynfully yeelded vp the ghost.

Reasons vic-
torie.

It is most true therefore which we at first affirmed, to wit, that the enduring of paines & tor-
 ments is wrought by our reasons lore, which once determined and resolu'd, maketh a prosper-
 ous suffering of paines with all patience, which wisely aduising men to that which is best, doth
 settle and confirme our opinions to follow it. If therefore reason and the inferiour powers bear
 variance, we must subiect them to reason if we will make a perfect victorie. With this guide of
 reason our father *Elezar* was most safely directed, neither to be ouercome with paines, nor to
 giue place vnto vnlawfull enticements and allurements, he saued the shippe of his body, from all
 shipwracke that might arise by the tempestuous stormes of vanitie, and suffered himselfe with
 no contrarie wind to be driuen from the right course: yea though it was tossed vpon the waues
 of tyrannie, yet did it remaine sound and vnbroken, and keeping a direct course, arriued in the
 haven of saluation. Neuer any man did seeke so valiantly to defend his citie from an enemy, as
 this holy old man did his soule, who amongst stripes, crosses and flames, was still the same man
 hee was before. For as the toppe of a high rocke standeth safe, and resisteth the waue without a-
 ny damage vnto it selfe; euen so did the rocke of reason in this man beat back the rage of those
 tempestuous waues that did beat against his bodie, not permitting them to breake in and pierce
 the celestiall and diuine power of the soule. O happy old man, more blessed then all of thy age,
 O priest more sacred then all other priests, who didst not pollute thy sacred lippes with profane
 ments; impietie found no entrance that way, from whence so many prayers to God had proceed-
 ed. The tyrants crueltie could not preuaile against thee, thou therefore art made an example
 for all Priests of God to imitate. Such a one behooued it a priest to bee, more strong then tor-
 ments, more able to suffer then the torturers to inflict punishment, more forcible then Princes
 commaunds, yea and more potent then the fire, wherein thou didst perish: and finally thou wast
 ordained to be crowned with the lawrell of martyrdom for thy sufferance. Thou hast surpassed
 all antiquitie, thou shalt be an example to all posteritie. If then feeble old age wherein all strength
 and heat of bodie was extinguished, now vnfit to suffer torments (as beeing already broken with
 age) could by the aduice of reason endure so many torments, so many miseries, who dare denie
 reason to be the chiefe cause of our sufferance? We haue seene that all crueltie hath bene ouer-
 come by a determination to persist in the seruice and feare of God, yet many affirme that not all
 men who vse the aduice of reason are able to vndergoe such agonies; but their assertion is vaine,
 and of no force: for most euident it is, that hee cnely is ouercome by paine, whom wisdom hath
 not armed with patience. And no maruaile if he who rashly enterpriseth so weightie a matter, &
 without due consideration, do at last forsake and repent himselfe of that which he so vnadvisedly
 vndertooke. But if we with due aduice and deliberation arme our selues, it is not an easie mat-
 ter to remooue vs by any misfortune from our determination; when we make account that mis-
 fortune will betide vs, wee are not easily dismaied thereat when it doth betide, for that nothing
 befell vs that we expected not.

A similitude
taken from
the rocke.

Elezars
praise.

Therefore he that is wise and valiant is able to conquer his passions, for that hee doth well de-
 liberate, and when he commeth to his agony can put his determination in execution. Neither is
 the wisdom of this old man so much to be admired, seeing children and as it were infants haue
 so deserued commendations in this point, that they did work astonishment in their tormentors;
 for

A for the courage and crueltie of *Antiochus*, being ouercome by the wisdom of olde age, was
 now the more increased, and by wicked counsell caused seuen worthy children of the Hebrews
 to be brought vnto Antioch, out of their Castle Solandrum, who being young in yeeres, and so
 as he thought weake and vnable to suffer torments, his hope was that eyther by persuasions
 or terror of tortures, he might force them to renounce their religion. He therefore commaunded
 these seuen, together with their mother *Salomona* who now grew well in yeeres, to be brought
 before him: so they according to his commaund were brought, being of excellent beautie and
 worthy children of so virtuous a mother; yea they resembled Angels, their faces shining like the
 cleare light of the Sunne, their eyes sparkled in most comely and decent maner, as testifying that
 they surpassed in vertue all other of humane race and condition. Shee was descended of most

Antiochus
caused seuen
noble young
men of the
Hebrewes &
their moth-
er to be brought
to Antioch.
2. Machab. 7.

B vertuous & noble parentage, and so she her selfe had continued and liued; but that excellent fea-
 ture of body, enriched with nobility of bloud and dignitie, was now also made more noble by
 vertue and fortitude, wherein she passed all other things that could be said in her commendati-
 ons. The tyrant beholding them and their mother amongst them, with merrie and glad some
 countenance, he thus craftily spake vnto the children. I wish your good (O admirable young-
 men) for so both your beuty of body and noble parentage perswade me: doe not therefore like
 mad men resist my commaund, auoide not only torments, but death also. For I desire not one-
 ly to exalt you vnto honour, but also to increase your riches and possessions; contemne the su-
 perstitious and superfluous beliefe of your Countymen, and imbrace our religion: Which if
 you refuse to doe (as I hope you will not) I will deuise all torments, whereby I may by a ling-

The kings ex-
hortation to
the seuen bre-
thren.

C you and painefull death consume you. And to the end to terrifie them the more, he commaun-
 ded all instruments of torment to be presented vnto their view and eye-sight. So wheelles, rods,
 hookes, rakes, racks, caudrons, cages, gridirons, were brought forth; and engines to torment
 the fingers and hands, gauntlets, awles, bellows, brazen pots, and frying pans: for these are the
 names which we find. For that which I term bellows, was a thin plate of yron to kindle or
 blow the fire with, like a fan, and far more horrible deuises of torments were shewed vnto them
 too long to rehearse: whereof they hauing had a sight, *Antiochus* said.

Consent vnto me, O prudent young men: for if that I commaund you to commit a sin; yet
 doe you not offend in doing it, seeing you commit it onely vpon compulsion. But the young
 youtnes inflamed with a diuine spirit and sense, contemned so manie kinds of torments, and
 despised the tyrants threats and flatteries; and most godly (for they gaue him no iust occasion)
 they did driue the tyrant into a greater rage. And by this it is euident how reason is maister ouer
 passion: for if any sloathfull man not before trained vp to it, should of a sodaine come to such
 a push, at the verie sight of such torments his mind would haue been troubled, and his counte-
 nance appalled, his legs vnder him would haue trembled, and he with feare cofounded: so that he
 would presently haue stepped back from such an agonie, and would forth-with haue alleaged him-
 self vnable to beare so many and so grieuous torments, saying. My self being vnwise, what should
 I haue made choice of? Whether to indure those torments, or accept of the promised benefits?
 Whether should I haue been moued to pitie mine owne age, or to compassionate my mother?
 God would not haue denied pardon for this deede, I being forced therunto: and by dooing it

The young
mens con-
stancy.

E though against my wil, I shal get the Kings fauour. But where reason and aduise taketh place, and
 hath well trained the mind to perfection, the other consequently followeth: As by the exam-
 ple of these brethren I will declare, who as it were all with one voice denied to eate of the sacri-
 ficed swines flesh, as they were commanded. Wherefore (said they) O tyrant dost thou perse-
 cute vs that are innocent? We both desire and wish to die, and will vntill such time as death ex-
 pellet life, firmly keepe that which God commaunded and *Moses* taught vs. And thou tyrant,
 do not seek to seduce vs by protesting feined loue toward vs: a thou louer of iniustice, master of
 cruelty, deuiler of iniquity, the pardon which thou doest offer is to vs more painefull then pu-
 nishment: we are armed with contempt of death, and esteem not thy words, as being by our late
 master *Elezar* taught to despise them. Why then dost thou esteem such pusillanimity to be in vs
 F young me, seeing of late thou foundest such courage in an old man? Wee follow him: thou canst
 not trie and know our minds, except by tearing our bodyes, thou search them out: wee wil
 safely and securely suffer for our God any thing, and leauing this earth wee shall bee entertained
 into heauen; and thou for so tyrannizing most cruelly vpon innocent soules shalt be referred to
 eternall fire.

The seue bre-
thren reply vn-
to Antiochus.

The tyrant greatly moued, to see that hee could neither preuaile by faire promises nor by threat-

H h h h

Antiochus com-
manded Mac-
chabeus to be
racked.

threatnings, he caused them to be beaten with bulls peafels: & first of all he commanded *Macchabeus* the eldest of the seuen brethren to be stripped, and stretched out vpon a rack, and his hands to bee bound behind him, and then to be most cruelly beaten, who wearied his tormentors by suffering (so great the force of vertue is) so that they desired more to leaue bearing him, then he requested they should leaue. This done, he was put vpon a wheele, and a weight hanged at his feet, and so stretched round about it, thut his sinewes and entrailes brake, and so his paines increased: yet he being ouercome with pain, his mouth was not for all this stopped or hindred from calling vpon God, who beheld all; and reproving the tyrant who deuised those torments for the innocents, and taking strength, he is said to haue cried out after this manner. Bloody tyrant, who persecutest the maiesty of God, I whom thou thus tormentest, am no Witch, nor one who haue murdered and killed another man, but one who dies for iustice obseruing the law, and for charitie. Then when the torturers ouercome with compulsion, willed him to submit himselfe vnto the Kings pleasure, he answered: O ye wicked ministers of tyranny! your wheels are not so sharp and cruell, that I thereby will be forced to forsake heauen, whereon my mind is fixed: teare my flesh; yea if so you please, roste it at the fire: torture and torment each parcell of my body with fenerall cruelty; you shall for all this finde your selues vnable to force vs young men to impietie.

The death of
the elder bro-
ther.

As hee thus spake a fire was kindled, and hee as bee was vpon the wheele racked, was so throwne into the fire: and thus hee was by flames and torments so burned, that his bowells appeared; his mind nothing moued when his flesh yeelded ouercome with paines, who amidst his pangs cried thus vnto his brethren: (O beloued brethren) learne of me an example of vertue, consider the strength of an inuincible courage, contemne and despise the alluring baits of this world, and rather obey God then the tyrant, who can if he please humble the proud and mightie, and exalt the lowly and dejected. As thus hee spake, he was taken out of the flame, and fleane aliae, his tongue was pulled out of his mouth, and he put into a frying panne, and so hee departed out of this life to the great admiration of all that behelde him, and the ioy of his brethren and mother; and went before them to heauen, there to prepare a kingdome for himselfe and them.

The second
brother
brought.

After him the second brother called *Aber* was haled by the souldiers: and before the tyrant asked him whether he would relent, he caused all those torments to be shewed him, thereby to terrifie him: but he nothing thereat moued, and denying to ear of that foresaid sacrifice, his hands were bound with yron chaines, and he being hanged vp by them, the skinne of his bodie was fleane from the crowne of his head vnto his knees: so that the entrailes in his breast appeared naked; yet in such manner, as yet he might abide greater torments. For he was cast before a cruell Libarde thirsting most extreemly after blood, to the entent that he might deuoure with his teeth the rest of his bodie: but the beast smelling of him (no doubt by the great handie worke of Almighty God) forgot his cruelty, and turning away his face, he did no hurt to the Martyr.

But hereat the tyrants rage increased, and the Martyr by suffering such torments, was made more constant, crying aloud: O how pleasant is that death vnto me, which is caused by all sorts of torments for Gods sake; yea so much the more pleasant, for that I assuredly hope to finde reward for it in heauen. Let these torments inflicted vpon me (O tyrant) satisfie thy crueltie, for my pain is not by thy tortures encreased, but rather my pleasure, as thou shalt find by my patience in this agonie. More willing am I to suffer then thou to punish, yea my paine in suffering, is lesse then thine by inflicting the same vpon me. I am tormented for vertue and obseruing the law, and the iustice of God shall banish thee from thy regall seate: thou by tormenting art tormented and almost consumed, thy wrath and fury being almost spent vpon me in vaine, thou shalt not escape the day of iudgement: eternall paines are there prepared for thee, which neither thy profane mind is able to indure, nor thy cruelty of power to decline, thy sinfull soule being condemned to eternall punishments. Thus he remaining constantly in his faith, and animated by his brothers example, departed vnto heauen.

Machir the
third brother
is brought.

Then *Machir* the third son was brought, whom all men now pittied for the death of his two brethren, & many exhorted him by his brothers examples to desist from his opinion, & so avoid punishment: but he being hereat angry, thus replied. One father begot vs, one mother bore vs, one master instructed vs, we are all of one mind, and all alike affected, do therefore no longer prolong the time in vaine. I came hither for to suffer & not to speake, vse all your tyranny possible against this

A this body: for you haue no power at all ouer my soule. The tyrant hereat moued to see this third nothing relent by his brothers death, he deuised more cruelty then humane wit alone could inuēt. Wherefore hee commaunded a globe to be brought, and tyed the holy martyr about it in such sort, that all his bones were set out of ioynt, and displaced: whereat the holy martyr was nothing dismayd. The skin also of his head and face was pulled off, and then he was put vpon the wheel: but he could not be racked any worse; for that all his bones were displaced, and did hang one separated from another in most pittifull manner: and when blood issued from him abundantly, he was deprived of the vse of his hands, and feet; but perceiving his life to be spent, he spake thus and dyed. We O tyrant endure this torment for the loue God, and thou the author of such iniust cruelty shalt suffer euerlasting paine. Then his tongue being cut out of his mouth he was put into a frying pan, and so amidst those torments yeelded vp the ghost.

Iudas the
fourth bro-
ther is
brought.

Next after followed *Iudas* the fourth brother, whom all the people perswaded and entreated to obey the King: but he contemning their prayers and exhortations, said thus with all constancie: Your fire shal neither separate nor seuer me from the law of God, nor from my brethren, who instead of this mortall life enioy life euerlasting. I denounce vnto thee, O tyrant, destruction and ouerthrow; but to such as beleeeue, saluation: make triall of me therefore thou cruel wretch, and see if God will forsake me, who hath with open and stretched out armes, receiued my three brethren that are gone before me, and whom the wombe of so holy a mother at severall times brought forth vnto glory. The cruel tyrant hearing this, was much moued, and leapt down from his chaire to torment this martyr himselfe, that so he might ouercome him, and in his fury commaunded his tongue to be cut forth: but he hereat not terrified said vnto *Antiochus*. This crueltie will nothing auail thee, neither shalt thou hereby tyrant, as thou supposest conquere mee. Our God needs not by voice to be awakened, but rather by secret cogitation to be praised vnto his helpe his seruants: he prouideth for them that hold their peace, and heareth the prayers of such as do call vpon him if they deserue to be heard, and only requireth purity of soule. For our God knoweth all things before we aske, and before we our selues enter into cogitation thereof, he vnderstandeth our necessitie: cut out my tongue, thou canst not cut out my mind while my life remaineth. Those prayers which by it I haue vttered to Almighty God, haue taught it to suffer: would God thou wouldest so sanctifie all parts of my body by punishing them, for thou therein inflictdest punishment vpon thy selfe & reward vpon me, & think not that thou shalt thus escape long unpunished. When he had thus spoken, his tongue was cut out of his mouth, and he bound to a stake, and there he was beaten with ropes ends: and he did patiently endure this, notwithstanding the colour of his face became dead and wanne. Being loosed from thence he was put vpon the wheele: and then praying for his countymen, hee by death went vnto the rest of his brethren.

The death of
the fourth
brother.
Achas the
fifth brother
presented
himselfe to
torments be-
fore he was
called.

Then *Achas* the fifth brother before hee was haled to torments spake in this manner. Behold (thou tyrant) I come to be punished before thou command me, hope not therefore any iot to alter his mind, who as thou seest desireth to be tormented. The blood of my foure innocent brethren which thou hast shed, hath condemned thee to hell fire: I am to make them vp the number of five, that by it thy paines may be encreased. Tell me (bloody wretch) for what offence by vs committed dost thou thus punish vs? for what impiety dost thou so persecute vs? what villany haue we committed? what wickednesse, what naughtinesse haue we attempted? This is all thou canst allege against vs, that we honor God our Creator, & liue iustly in obedience of his lawes, and therefore do not esteem thy punishments: but they are to vs honour and saluation, and not punishment: we shall be greatly rewarded by God if no part of vs bee left free from torment. Whilest thus he spake, his executioners by the kings commaund tooke him and cast him into a brasen pot, and was prest downe in it, his head to his feet: and afterward he suffered all other torments, which his brethren had endured; yet not amazed hereat, he sodainly started vp and thus bitterly inueighed against the tyrant: Cruel tyrant, how great benefits dost thou against thy will bestow vpon vs! yea the more thou art incensed against vs, the more acceptable to God shalt thou be vs life euerlasting; if this temporall death should not betide me, euerlasting life could not befall me. And thus he finished his agonie and died.

Then the tormentors laid hands vpon the sixth brother who was called *Areth*, whom the tyrant permitted either to chuse honour or else punishment: but he aggrieved at his offer, said, Al- though tyrant I be younger in yeers then my martyred brethren, yet my constancie of mind to theirs

H h h h

The valour of
the six brother.

theirs is not inferiour: for we were all nourisht vp together, all together instructed, and we will al-
die together in the feare of God. Hasten therefore to thy deuised torments, and that time which
"thou wouldest spend in exhorting me, spend it in deuising tortures for me. *Antiochus* hereat
confounded, commanded him to be bound to a pillar with his head hanging downe, in such wise as
humours running into it might cause ache: & this done, he caused a fire to be made so far off him,
that it could not burne him, but rost him. He also commanded him as he hung to be pricked with
awles, that so the heat might pierce into the holes that they made in his flesh. Whilest thus hee
was tormented, much bloud like froth gathered about his head and face, and hee then spake in
this manner. O noble fight! O valiant war! O strife betweene pietie and impietie! These men
haue past their agonies, whose crowne of Martyrdome is the punishment of their persecutors:
"I do most willingly follow my brethren, that as by bloud I am conioyned vnto them, so by death
"I may not be separated from them. Deuise, O tyrant, some new torment, for these which thou hast
"alreadie deuised are alreadie ouercome. O maister of cruelty, enemy of pietie, persecutor of ius-
"tice! we fixe worthy young men haue conquered the kings power, & what his kingdome or the
"whole world could afford. Thy fire is cold and heateth not, and the kings weapons are bended
"and blunted in our bodies; our God giueth vs more courage to suffer, then thou hast to punish:
"and so the precept of God remaineth firme in vs. And as hee thus spake, one tooke holde of his
tongue with a hot paire of tongues: and suffering the same torments that his brethren had done,
and fryed in a frying pan, he gaue vp the Ghost.

The six brother
reproueeth An-
tiochus.

Jacob the se-
uenth brother
brought to tor-
ments.

Six of the brethren being now dead by diuersitie of torments, onely one of the seuen re-
mained aliue with his mother, named *Jacob*, younger in yeeres (but not in constancie of minde) I
then the rest of his brethren: hee presenting himselfe before the tyrant, moued him to compas-
sion, both for that he was left alone, and the last of his brethren, and also that hee was to perishe
wherefore hee called the child vnto him, and into a place where no instruments of torment
were, and taking him by the hand he said thus vnto him, hoping to winne him by faire speeches.
By thy brethrens calamitie thou now well hast learned what is prepared for thee if thou disobey
"me, deliuer thy selfe therefore from these torments, & I will giue thee what honour my kingdom
"can afford: thou shalt bee a Magistrate and Generall of my armie, and one of my counsellors:
"But perceiuing himselfe not to preuaile, he caused the young mans mother to be called vnto him:
who comming and standing neere her sonne, the tyrant said thus vnto her. Where are now O
worthy woman all thy children? Behold, of such a number, if thou please, the deuenie affords
"three one: aduise therefore thy child, and mollifie his obstinate minde by wholesome counsell.
"The mother hauing heard what the king said, she inclined her selfe vnto the king: which done,
that the king might not vnderstand her, she spake in Hebrew to her child as followeth. Pities thy
"mother O sonne, and comfort thy sorrowfull mother, who bare thee nine moneths in my womb,
"and gaue thee sucke three yeeres; and with great industrie haue brought thee vp to this age. I
"pray thee, deare sonne, consider the heauen and earth, and all that in them is, and know that God
"created them all of nothing, who also of nothing made mankind. Feare not this Ethnicks
"paines and torments, but imitate thy brethren, and contemne death, that in the day of mercie
"I may receiue thee and thy brethren againe in heauen. As his mother thus admonished him, he
"in the Hebrew tongue requested to be vnbound, for that he had a secret to disclose vnto the king: I
"who being vnfettered, he presently ran to the torments prepared: for there was a frying panne
red hot, that was prepared for such as were to suffer: vnto the which the child comming, remem-
bring his brethren, & beholding also the king, he said vnto him. Cruell tyrant, I now know thee
"not onely to haue bene cruell against my brethren, but euen crueltie is selfe. Wretch that thou
"art, who gaue thee this purple? and who exalted thee to this kingdome & dignitie? euen he whom
"thou in vs dost persecute, whose seruants and worshippers thou killest and tormentest, for which
"thy wickednes thy selfe shall suffer eternall fire and torments which shal haue no end. Thou art of
"higher dignitie & authoritie in this world then other men, yet he that made other men made thee
"also of the same nature that they are of: all men are borne & must die alike. He that killeth another,
"sheweth that himselfe may be killed: thou tearest and tormentest thy owne picture and image. M
"all in vaine: thou in thy furie killest him whom not long since God created like thy selfe, and ac-
"cording to the same lawe: thou thinkest all lawfull which thy kingly power can command:
"thou pullest out our tongues and tearest our bodies with flesh hookes, and consumest vs with
"fire: but they who haue already suffered this, haue receiued euerlasting ioy for their reward;
and thou shalt aunswere for all the punishments inflicted vpon them. Thinke not that I
expect

All men are
borne & must
die alike.

A expect any fauour at thy hands, I will follow my bretheren, and remaine constant in our
law. The tyrant hearing this, was wroth, and caused him to be tormented: but his mother in
torment comforted him, and with her kind hands held his head; when with violence of the tor-
tures bloud issued out of his mouth, nose and priue parts, the tormentors not ceasing till life in
him was almost spent: but they (by Gods appointment) gaue ouer; and so he tooke strength a-
gaine to endure more then any of his brethren had done; at last his hands and armes being cut
off, hee lifted vp his eyes to heauen, and cried; O *Adonai*; O *Sabaor* be mercifull vnto me, The death of
and receiue me into the companie of my brethren, let thy wrath now cease and grant them mer-
cie, who by vs doe make intercession to thee; hauing said thus his tongue being pulled out, he of
his owne accorde went into the fiery frying-pan; and so to the great admiration of *Antiochus*
B dyed.

The death of
the youngest
brother.

Beholde how euident it is; that reason can rule our affections, seeing that children heere-
by shewed more constancie then the tyrant could shewe crueltie. For, it was reasons force that
wrought in them that determination to suffer all torments, rather then to forsake the way of salu-
uation. These constant young men do fitly resemble inexpugnable towers, and them, who af-
ter a great tempest and shipwracke, doe safely enter the harbour of saluation, who guiding their
course amidst the boisterous waues, at last obtaining the wished shore. For euery one of them
strengthened the other by aduice and good counsaile, and none of them was like an effeminate
person, loath to suffer martyrdom. None vsed delay herein, but one followed anothers example.
Let vs therefore die for our lawe, and imitate the three children, whom the Assyrians fury con-
demned to the fiery furnace, whole patience spread their fame euen vnto heauen. Whilest
C thus one of them exhorted the other, it came to passe, that none of them offended, but each
one resolute in his religion, rooke example of the vertue, courage, and constancie of their fore-
father *Isaac*, who vnderstanding that it was Gods will he should be sacrificed, hee refused not to
submit his body to his fathers sword. Let vs (quoth they) yeelde our soules to him, of whom
we receiued both soule and body: It is a small matter for vs to suffer losse of these members, see-
ing that wee shall in lieu of them receiue euerlasting blisse. *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob* doe ioy-
fully expect vs, as coheires of their kingdome: let vs glorifie that wombe wherein wee were for
ten moneths space, let none of vs be more coward then the other, nor none of vs degenerate
from the other. Wee that were all begotten of one father, and sucked of one milke, must in
D all things resemble one another, wee had one teacher, and one lawe inuiolate. And in this
golden bond of concord were these brethren linked together, and none of them mourned to see
the other tormented, but all reioycied at the others death. O children whose dignitie farre sur-
passeth the royaltie of Kings and Princes, whose glory and vertue is vnspokeable! None of you
were terrified with feare, but you so hastened to your deaths, as though you had onely beene to
go to blisse and felicitie: you were truly brethren, who euen by death were linked together. God
hath greatly in you magnified our nation, and in you shewed vs all an example of fortitude: a
whom therefore I think he caused to be so many in number, as were the daies wherein he created
the world, so that these seauen brethren may resemble the seauen dayes, wherein all things were
made. And why should we so admire this fortitude in these young men, when a woman ar-
E med her selfe with contempt of death? Who indeede is not to be called a mother, but to bee
honoured with a higher title then humane frailtie can afford, who bare into this world so many
triumphs.

Reason mi-
stris of our
affection.

A similitude
of the waues.
The seauen
brethren ex-
hort one ano-
ther to suffer
death manful-
ly.

True brother-
hood.

A pledge and
signe of bro-
therly amity.

For the mother seeing her children dead, was with a kinde and godly zeale inflamed also to
suffer: and no maruaile, seeing that the very brute beasts, if they perceiue violence offered to their
young, do oppose themselves to perils in their defence, and protect them with their wings, teeth,
and talons: yea and euery one that is any way able to make resistance, opposeth her selfe to the
enemy to defend her young. And not onely brute beasts doo this, but euen Bees doe defend
not onely their young, but also their hony, threatening their stings to them that offer to taste ther-
of, and more esteeming the good of their young then their owne liues. But this zealous mo-
F ther directed by the spirit of God, and reasons lore, hastened that her children might dy before hir;
who not being to liue deprived of her children, chose rather to see them die ioyfully then to pe-
rish in care and sorrow. Therefore when all her family had suffered, she then the last and glorie of
them all, came to her agony, despising the tyrants threats, & offering hir motherly breast to those
torments which her children had suffered. O blessed stocke and blessed increase of the selfe same
wombe! Why should I not affirme that in all lineaments and feature of the bodie you are like
your

The mothers
griefe.

H h h h 3

The mother
suffered seven
torments be-
fore she was
tormented.

your mother: and if this be a commendation in them, that beside the shape of bodie receiue no-
thing else of their mother, I will say more of you, that you are like your mother in fortitude, ver-
tue, and religion, and that you so in all things resemble her; that you are every way equal vnto
her, save onely herein, that she with her eies beheld the immahity of your torments, being also
as constant in her owne martyr dome as you in yours. She therefore had excell'd you, that she
suffered seven torments before she came to suffer in her owne person; and feared in every one of
them least she should be overcome. But O thou example of all women I cannot tel, whether thou
bare these children in thy wombe, or created them, who could with drie eies looke vpon them
whilst they were torne in peeces: yea I say little, affirming that thou with patience didst behold
these fights, for euen thou thy selfe didst exhort them thereto, thou reioycdest to see one of
them torne in peeces with flesh hooks, the other to be racked vpon the wheel, and the third to be
bound and beaten, thou ioyfully admiredst the others burning, and exhortest the rest not to be
terrified herewith, and although whilst thou beheldest their torments, thy grief was greater then
that which thou hadst in childbirth, yet didst thou frame a light some and merry countenance, as
though it had bene one triumphing. While they were a killing thou didst laugh, and seeing only
one of all thy children left, herat thou didst nothing relent. Can I describe how every one per-
ished, seeing thou their mother didst laugh at their deaths, and when their sinewes were cut in
two, their heads fleane, their tongues pulled forth by the rootes, their hands broken, their bodies
in the fire, and cast vpon iron plates red hot, and vpon wheels, and their ribs pulled in sunder, &
many other torments for the which we want names? Neuer was any swanne, which by (the re-
port of antiquitie) sung so sweet a note before her death (sweeter then the most melodious har-
monie, and the most pleasant voice) as were the funerall verses of those thy children that peri-
shed.

You children were not overcome by the fabulous Syrens enchantments, who to honour God
doubted not to leaue your mother without children: And she, sprung of noble stock, chose rather
to want you all for a short time, then to incurre eternall damnation, wishing rather that the bo-
dies of her children should be tormented then their soules. Well shee knew, that nothing was
more fraile & infirm then our bodies, which though persecutiō be wanting, are often killed with
agues, and abundance of blood or fluxes: And who is ignorant of shipwracke incident to sail-
ers, hazard of life vnto them that trauaile, and sodaine death to those that lye in ease? Sodaine
casualty by fire, and by the hands of theeues, and a thousand other waies to dispatch our liues? K
Seeing then that our mortall bodies are subiect to so many miseries to bring vs to our end, who
would not make choise of a quick dispatch, wherby we lose the goods of this world, and gaine
life euermlasting? O thou most reuerent of all women, the credit of thy nation, and honour of our
religion, who like the Arke of Noe didst persist inuiolate amongst such stormy waues: for as it
withstood the force of the Deluge, and being built strongly with firme bords, did not suffer any
thing within it to perish: so thou suffrest not the tyrant to overcome the holy Ghost which thou
hadst receiued in thy heart.

A similitude
from the
Deluge.

Behold of what force and efficacie reason is, which often times maketh vs men inferior to wo-
men. For neither was Daniel so terrified at the sight of the Lions, nor the 3. children with the fie-
rie furnace, as this woman was grieved at the death of euery one of her children before she came
to her owne agonie. What would another woman & mother haue done in this case, but wept &
with pitifull lamentations haue cried: Ah wretch that I am, most vnhappy, & miserable of all that
breath, who therefore bare so many children into this world, that their feuerall deaths might be so
many feuerall occasions of my griefe & sorrow! she would haue iterated her frequent births, and
her toyle in her ten moneths bearing them, shee would haue bewailed her haplesse fortune who
brought forth so many deaths and dangers, she would haue recounted the milke wherewith she
fed them, and their meat she had prepared for them, the paines she had taken with them, how she
had caried them in her armes, and sung to them and taught them to speake, her cares, her watch-
ings, her feare, least any mishap should betide them: and with weeping teares would haue said,
shall I a grandmother embrace your children? who a while agoe was a too fruitfull mother, and
am now deprived of you all? if this day I die, I haue none to bury me. But this handmaide of
God forgot all these laments that another mother would haue had, and with an adamant sense
stouter then the neuer yeelding rockes, did neither forsake her children in their torments, nor in
their death, but in a manner compelled them to perish, and neuer forroved thereat. For being
apprehended together with her seven sonnes, she considering Eleazars martyr dome, did thus
exhort

The mothers
speech exhort-
ing her seven
sons to suffer.

IMMORTALITY OF THE MACHABEES:

811

A exhort them in the Hebrew tongue. O my most deare and louing children, let vs hasten to that
agonie herein we may bee a credit to our nation, and gaine of God an euermlasting reward: let
vs without feare present our selues vnto those torments, which Eleazars aged body endured: call
to mind our father Abraham of worthie memorie, who hauing but one onely sonne, did sacrifice
him being willed by God so to doe, and feared not to bring him to the Altar, whome hee dearly
in his age obtained. Isaac also was willing to bee sacrificed by his father, knowing that God was
to be obeyed in all things, the like may bee said of Daniel and the three children: beleeue me we
are rather tried then tormented. For whatsoeuer this world affordeth is mortall and like a sha-
dowe.

Thus did this mother arme her childrens minds with fortitude, and shee a woman wrought
in men manlike minds. Last of all, her children being all dead, shee a worthy mother of so ma-
nie champions, kneeling downe in the place of torment, besought of God an end of this life,
protesting that shee had no forsake of life so long deferred to die, but onely for her childrens
sake, and that now she had seene them all seuen triumphing. The furie of Antiochus now waxed
hot, and he commanded this worthy mother to be tormented, who was (as the tyrant willed) strip-
ped naked, and hanged vp by the hands, and most cruelly whipped; her dugges and paps were
pulled off, and she put into the red hore frying pan, being most willing to follow her childrens
steps in torment, and lifting vp her eyes and hands to heauen, shee prayed for all women with
child, and so yeelded her chaire to God. But Antiochus was thicken with fire from hea-
uen. O mistris of iustice, who followed thy triumphing children! O conquerour of tyrants, and
a looking glasse for all Martyrs! O example of patience! not only to women but to all men, that
shall bee after thee, reuerenced of them that now are, and to be worshipped of them that are to
come, and to be admired not onely of our nation, but of all other people. Thy light ob'reureth
the bright shining Moone, and though she fill the world with her brightnesse, yet is shee not
comparable to thy shining light. Seuen lights are on thee about, dauling the brightnesse of
the seuen planets: could any Painter expresse, or any hand in writing declare the torments of
your passions, none could with drie eye read or behold them; all people would flocke about to
see it, all people would praise and esteeme him to haue offered a great gift, who to Gods glory
had painted that golden stratageme. And if any skilfull workman should engraueth this Tragedy
vpon a sepulchre or in his house, doubtlesse hee should be freed from all plague and misfortune.

A golden say-
ing of the mo-
ther of her
seven childre.

The mother
followed her
sonnes in tor-
ments.

The light of
the iust.
1. Cor. 13.

D But where could a stone bee found able to containe so many torments? Therefore the olde man
Eleazar, the mother and her seven sonnes, are for their nobilitie graced with a sepulchre, and
great reuerence is done vnto them of all men, yea euen by men that are not of our religion: and
there is a constellation of eight starrs ordained as an argument of their iustice, and Angels did
execute their funeralls. The tyrant him selfe was astonished to see the constancie of such godlie
minds. And thus haue they found such fauour in the sight of God, that they haue obtained re-
mission of the finnes of our nation: for presently after, the tyrant was destroyed, and Israel there
was freed from his tyrannie.

But Antiochus seeing the greatness of their faith and their contempt of death, gathered an
armie of footmen out of the Hebrewes, by whose helpe he terrified his enemies, and got great
renowne. O blessed seede of Abraham! behold what benefit the agonie of the mother, and her
seven sonnes brought vnto vs their Countreymen: let vs persist in this pietie, that so wee may bee
like our forefathers: behold, the death of a few, did end all the miseries and finnes of our whole
nation, and you by your Countreymens hands, vanquished your persecutors enemies, and after
that victorie our finnes were remitted, and last of all, Antiochus being mad and his entrailes
deuoured with wormes, hee smelling most like carrion, gaue vp the ghost: and was euer af-
ter death punished for his offence. For when he could not make the Citizens of Ierusalem to for-
sake their law, he made warre against the Persians, and there receiued that which hee deferred.

Antiochus lea-
ued an armie
of footemen
from amongst
the Hebrewes.

Antiochus dy-
ed stinking ex-
ceedingly.
2. Ma. 9.

It now remaineth that we briefly repeate all that is before said. For in her agonie, this sacred
mother said thus vnto the standers by. Whilst it was lawfull for me, I kept my selfe a virgin, and
then I married and liued a chaste wife, and forsooke not my owne house, I brought forth such
sonnes as I neede not be ashamed of, and though daunted with my husbands death, yet I did not
forsake my faith: this, and many things else shee recounted. And what more? Shee set before her
childrens eies the examples of the Prophets, how Abel by his brother was slain, Isaac to be offered
insteade of a sacrifice, how Jacob was banished, Joseph kept in prison, Daniel cast before the Lyons,
the three children into the fierie furnace: she rehearsed also vnto them the booke of Esaias, where
it

An Epitome of
the life of the
seven sonnes
and their mo-
ther.

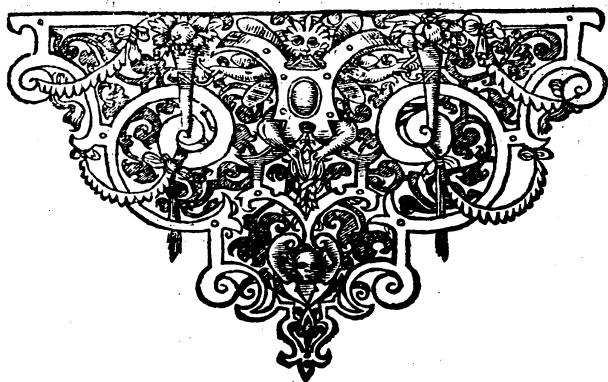
IOSEPHVS, OF THE MARTYRDOME

it is said: Although thou doe goe through the fire, the flame shall not burne thee. That of *David*, The iust shall haue much tribulation, and *Salomon*, who propoeth the tree of life to such as doe the will of God, not omitting that of *Ezechiel*, These drie and withered bones shall liue againe: Also that of *Moses* Canticle, I will kill and restore to life, and the length of your daies is in my hand. Vnhappy tyrant what did thy caudrons red hot, and thy torments profit thee? what auailed it thee to cut away their eye-lids, and to pul out their tongues? thou thy selfe for so doing doest now endure farre worse then all these. And they whome thou killedst (belene mee) enioy euerslasting comfort, and are now secure of blisse and reuenge. For they who suffer for Gods sake shall haue happie successe, when God the Father of all things shall reward them with life euerslasting that follow him. Thus haue I consecrated these worthy memorials, which I find in the holy Scriptures of the sacred Machabees, to the reading of all men, that shall liue in any age heereafter.

The ioy of the
blessed in e-
uerslasting life.

The end of all Iosephus workes.

FIN IS



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